A/39/PV.1-31

OFFICIAL RECORDS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY
THIRTY-NINTH SESSION

PLENARY MEETINGS

VOLUME I
(of three volumes)

VERBATIM RECORDS OF THE 1st TO 31st MEETINGS
18 SEPTEMBER—11 OCTOBER 1984

UNITED NATIONS

A/39/PV.1-31

OFFICIAL RECORDS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

THIRTY-NINTH SESSION

PLENARY MEETINGS

VOLUME I

(of three volumes)

VERBATIM RECORDS OF THE 1st TO 31st MEETINGS

18 SEPTEMBER—11 OCTOBER 1984

UNITED NATIONS

New York, 1990

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

Since the thirty-first session, the *Official Records of the General Assembly* have consisted of records of meetings, sessional fascicles for each of the Main Committees and the General Committee, annexes to the meeting records, supplements, the *List of Delegations* and the *Check List of Documents*. Information on other documents is given in the *Check List* and in the relevant annex fascicles.

Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

* * *

The records of the plenary meetings held during the thirty-ninth session appear in three volumes: the 1st to 31st meetings in volume I, the 32nd to 70th meetings in volume II, and the 71st to 108th meetings in volume III.

NOTE OF CONVOCATION

The Secretary-General of the United Nations presents his compliments to the Permanent Representative of . . . to the United Nations and, in accordance with rule 5 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly, has the honour to inform him that the thirty-ninth regular session of the Assembly will convene at United Nations Headquarters, New York, on Tuesday, 18 September 1984, at 3 p.m.

20 July 1984

READEX FICHE

AGENDA OF THE THIRTY-NINTH SESSION

NOTE. The figures in brackets indicate the numbers of the plenary meetings at which the agenda items were considered.

1. Opening of the session by the Chairman of the delegation of Panama [1].
2. Minute of silent prayer or meditation [1, 108].
3. Credentials of representatives to the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly [1, 32, 102]:
    - (*a*) Appointment of the members of the Credentials Committee;
    - (*b*) Report of the Credentials Committee.
4. Election of the President of the General Assembly [1].
5. Election of the officers of the Main Committees [2].
6. Election of the Vice-Presidents of the General Assembly [2].
7. Notification by the Secretary-General under Article 12, paragraph 2, of the Charter of the United Nations [54].
8. Adoption of the agenda and organization of work: reports of the General Committee [3, 27, 32].
9. General debate [4-31].
10. Report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization [94].
11. Report of the Security Council [105, 106].
12. Report of the Economic and Social Council [87, 101, 104-106]:
    - (*a*) Report of the Council;
    - (*b*) Reports of the Secretary-General;
    - (*c*) Reports of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.
13. Report of the International Court of Justice [94].
14. Report of the International Atomic Energy Agency [58, 59].
15. Elections to fill vacancies in principal organs [33, 34, 53, 77, 105]:
    - (*a*) Election of five non-permanent members of the Security Council;
    - (*b*) Election of eighteen members of the Economic and Social Council;
    - (*c*) Election of five members of the International Court of Justice.
16. Elections to fill vacancies in subsidiary organs and other elections [93]:
    - (*a*) Election of fifteen members of the Industrial Development Board;
    - (*b*) Election of twenty members of the Governing Council of the United Nations Environment Programme;
    - (*c*) Election of twelve members of the World Food Council;
    - (*d*) Election of seven members of the Committee for Programme and Co-ordination;
    - (*e*) Election of the members of the Board of Governors of the United Nations Special Fund for Land-locked Developing Countries;
    - (*f*) Election of the Executive Director of the United Nations Environment Programme.
17. Appointments to fill vacancies in subsidiary organs and other appointments [3, 93, 98, 105, 106, 108]:
    - (*a*) Appointment of members of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions;
    - (*b*) Appointment of members of the Committee on Contributions;
    - (*c*) Appointment of a member of the Board of Auditors;
    - (*d*) Confirmation of the appointment of members of the Investments Committee;
    - (*e*) Appointment of members of the United Nations Administrative Tribunal;
    - (*f*) International Civil Service Commission:
        - (i) Appointment of members of the Commission;
        - (ii) Designation of the Vice-Chairman of the Commission;

- (*g*) Appointment of members of the Joint Inspection Unit;
- (*h*) Confirmation of the appointment of the Executive Director of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization;
- (*i*) Confirmation of the appointment of the Secretary-General of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development;
- (*j*) Appointment of the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia;
- (*k*) Confirmation of the appointment of the Executive Director of the United Nations Special Fund for Land-locked Developing Countries.

18. Implementation of the Declaration of the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [85-87, 100, 105]:
    - (*a*) Report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples;
    - (*b*) Reports of the Secretary-General.
19. Admission of new Members to the United Nations [3].
20. The situation in Kampuchea: report of the Secretary-General [40-43].
21. Co-operation between the United Nations and the Organization of the Islamic Conference: report of the Secretary-General [54].
22. Co-operation between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity: report of the Secretary-General [54].
23. Co-operation between the United Nations and the League of Arab States: report of the Secretary-General [54].
24. Armed Israeli aggression against the Iraqi nuclear installations and its grave consequences for the established international system concerning the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and international peace and security: report of the Secretary-General [55, 56, 65].
25. The situation in Central America: threats to international peace and security and peace initiatives: report of the Secretary-General [35-39, 105, 108].
26. Question of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas): report of the Secretary-General [44-46].
27. Question of the Comorian island of Mayotte: report of the Secretary-General [94].
28. The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security: report of the Secretary-General [60-63].
29. Question of Namibia [78-84, 97]:
    - (*a*) Report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples;
    - (*b*) Report of the United Nations Council for Namibia;
    - (*c*) Reports of the Secretary-General.
30. Co-operation between the United Nations and the Asian-African Legal Consultative Committee: report of the Secretary-General [93].
31. Policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa [13, 66-71, 98, 99, 105]:
    - (*a*) Report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid;*
    - (*b*) Report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against *Apartheid* in Sports;
    - (*c*) Report of the Secretary-General.
32. International Year of Peace: report of the Secretary-General [54].
33. Question of Palestine [88-92, 94, 95]:
    - (*a*) Report of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People;
    - (*b*) Report of the Secretary-General.
34. Law of the sea: report of the Secretary-General [99].
35. United Nations Conference for the Promotion of International Co-operation in the Peaceful Uses of Nuclear Energy: report of the Preparatory Committee for the United Nations Conference for the Promotion of International Co-operation in the Peaceful Uses of Nuclear Energy [99].
36. The situation in the Middle East: reports of the Secretary-General [72-77, 101].
37. Question of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia [64, 65].

38. Launching of global negotiations on international economic co-operation for development [105-108].
39. Question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council [105].
40. Commemoration of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations in 1985: report of the Preparatory Committee for the Fortieth Anniversary of the United Nations [103].
41. Observance of the quincentenary of the discovery of America [105, 108].
42. Question of Cyprus: report of the Secretary-General [105, 108].
43. Implementation of the resolutions of the United Nations [105, 108].
44. Consequences of the prolongation of the armed conflict between Iran and Iraq [105, 108].
45. Implementation of General Assembly resolution 38/61 concerning the signature and ratification of Additional Protocol I of the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (Treaty of Tlatelolco) [97].
46. Cessation of all test explosions of nuclear weapons: report of the Conference on Disarmament [97].
47. Urgent need for a comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty: report of the Conference on Disarmament [97].
48. Establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the region of the Middle East: report of the Secretary-General [97].
49. Establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in South Asia: report of the Secretary-General [97].
50. Convention on Prohibitions or Restrictions on the Use of Certain Conventional Weapons Which May Be Deemed to Be Excessively Injurious or to Have Indiscriminate Effects: report of the Secretary-General [97].
51. Conclusion of an international convention on the strengthening of the security of non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons: report of the Conference on Disarmament [97].
52. Conclusion of effective international arrangements to assure non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons: report of the Conference on Disarmament [97].
53. Israeli nuclear armament: report of the Secretary-General [102].
54. Prevention of an arms race in outer space: report of the Conference on Disarmament [97].
55. Relationship between disarmament and development: report of the Disarmament Commission [102, 105].
56. Implementation of General Assembly resolution 38/72 on the immediate cessation and prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests: report of the Conference on Disarmament [97].
57. Implementation of the Declaration on the Denuclearization of Africa [97]:
    - (*a*) Implementation of the Declaration: report of the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research;
    - (*b*) Nuclear capability of South Africa:
        - (i) Report of the Disarmament Commission;
        - (ii) Report of the Secretary-General.
58. Prohibition of the development and manufacture of new types of weapons of mass destruction and new systems of such weapons: report of the Conference on Disarmament [97].
59. Review of the implementation of the recommendations and decisions adopted by the General Assembly at its tenth special session [102]:
    - (*a*) Report of the Disarmament Commission;
    - (*b*) Report of the Conference on Disarmament;
    - (*c*) Status of multilateral disarmament agreements: report of the Secretary-General;
    - (*d*) Prohibition of the nuclear neutron weapon: report of the Conference on Disarmament;
    - (*e*) Cessation of the nuclear-arms race and nuclear disarmament: report of the Conference on Disarmament;
    - (*f*) Prevention of nuclear war: report of the Conference on Disarmament;
    - (*g*) Implementation of the recommendations and decisions of the tenth special session:

        (i) Report of the Disarmament Commission;
        (ii) Report of the Conference on Disarmament;
    (*h*) Unilateral nuclear disarmament measures: report of the Secretary-General;
    (*i*) Comprehensive programme of disarmament: report of the Conference on Disarmament;
    (*j*) Disarmament Week: report of the Secretary-General;
    (*k*) Bilateral nuclear-arms negotiations;
    (*l*) Advisory Board on Disarmament Studies:
        (i) Work of the Advisory Board: report of the Secretary-General;
        (ii) Draft statute of the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research.

60. Review and implementation of the Concluding Document of the Twelfth Special Session of the General Assembly [97]:
    (*a*) Consideration of guidelines for confidence-building measures: report of the Disarmament Commission;
    (*b*) Freeze on nuclear weapons;
    (*c*) United Nations programme of fellowships on disarmament: report of the Secretary-General;
    (*d*) World Disarmament Campaign: report of the Secretary-General;
    (*e*) Implementation of General Assembly resolution 38/73 E on a nuclear-arms freeze;
    (*f*) Convention on the Prohibition of the Use of Nuclear Weapons: report of the Conference on Disarmament;
    (*g*) Disarmament and international security: report of the Security Council;
    (*h*) Regional disarmament: report of the Secretary-General.
61. Reduction of military budgets [97]:
    (*a*) Report of the Disarmament Commission;
    (*b*) Reports of the Secretary-General.
62. Implementation of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace: report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Indian Ocean [102].
63. World Disarmament Conference: report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the World Disarmament Conference [102].
64. Chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons [97]:
    (*a*) Report of the Conference on Disarmament;
    (*b*) Report of the Secretary-General.
65. General and complete disarmament [102]:
    (*a*) Study of the question of nuclear-weapon-free zones in all its aspects: report of the Secretary-General;
    (*b*) Military research and development: report of the Secretary-General;
    (*c*) Study on conventional disarmament: report of the Secretary-General;
    (*d*) Measures to provide objective information on military capabilities: report of the Secretary-General;
    (*e*) Prohibition of the development, production, stockpiling and use of radiological weapons: report of the Conference on Disarmament;
    (*f*) Prohibition of the production of fissionable material for weapons purposes: report of the Conference on Disarmament;
    (*g*) Curbing the naval arms race: limitation and reduction of naval armaments and extension of confidence-building measures to seas and oceans: report of the Secretary-General;
    (*h*) Contribution of the specialized agencies and other organizations and programmes of the United Nations system to the cause of arms limitation and disarmament.
66. Question of Antarctica: report of the Secretary-General [102].
67. Strengthening of security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region: report of the Secretary-General [102].
68. Review of the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [102]:
    (*a*) Implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security: report of the Security Council;
    (*b*) Implementation of the Declaration on the Preparation of Societies for Life in Peace: report of the Secretary-General.

69. Implementation of the collective security provisions of the Charter of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security: report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Implementation of the Collective Security Provisions of the Charter of the United Nations [102, 105].
70. Effects of atomic radiation: report of the United Nations Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation [100].
71. Report of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories: reports of the Secretary-General [100].
72. International co-operation in the peaceful uses of outer space [100]:
    - (*a*) Report of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space;
    - (*b*) Implementation of the recommendations of the Second United Nations Conference on the Exploration and Peaceful Uses of Outer Space: report of the Secretary-General.
73. Comprehensive review of the whole question of peace-keeping operations in all their aspects: report of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations [100].
74. Questions relating to information [100]:
    - (*a*) Report of the Committee on Information;
    - (*b*) Report of the Secretary-General;
    - (*c*) Report of the Director-General of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.
75. United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East [100]:
    - (*a*) Report of the Commissioner-General;
    - (*b*) Report of the Working Group on the Financing of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East;
    - (*c*) Report of the United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine;
    - (*d*) Reports of the Secretary-General.
76. International co-operation to avert new flows of refugees: report of the Secretary-General [100].
77. Israel's decision to build a canal linking the Mediterranean Sea to the Dead Sea: report of the Secretary-General [100].
78. Question of the Malagasy islands of Glorieuses, Juan de Nova, Europa and Bassas da India [100].
79. Question of the composition of the relevant organs of the United Nations [100].
80. Development and international economic co-operation [103, 104, 106, 107]:
    - (*a*) International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade:
        - (i) Report of the Committee on the Review and Appraisal of the Implementation of the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade;
        - (ii) Report of the Secretary-General;
    - (*b*) Review of the implementation of the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States: report of the Secretary-General;
    - (*c*) Trade and development:
        - (i) Report of the Trade and Development Board;
        - (ii) Reports of the Secretary-General;
    - (*d*) Industrialization:
        - (i) Report of the Fourth General Conference of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization;
        - (ii) Report of the Industrial Development Board;
        - (iii) Report of the Executive Director of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization;
    - (*e*) Science and technology for development: report of the Intergovernmental Committee on Science and Technology for Development;
    - (*f*) Food problems:
        - (i) Report of the World Food Council;
        - (ii) Report of the Secretary-General;
    - (*g*) Economic and technical co-operation among developing countries: report of the Secretary-General;

(*h*) Restructuring of the economic and social sectors of the United Nations system: report of the Secretary-General;

(*i*) Environment:

  (i) Report of the Governing Council of the United Nations Environment Programme;

  (ii) Report of the Secretary-General;

(*j*) Human settlements:

  (i) Report of the Commission on Human Settlements;

  (ii) Reports of the Secretary-General;

(*k*) Effective mobilization and integration of women in development: report of the Secretary-General;

(*l*) United Nations Special Fund;

(*m*) New and renewable sources of energy: report of the Committee on the Development and Utilization of New and Renewable Sources of Energy;

(*n*) Implementation of the Substantial New Programme of Action for the 1980s for the Least Developed Countries: report of the Secretary-General;

(*o*) Immediate measures in favour of the developing countries: report of the Secretary-General;

(*p*) Development of the energy resources of developing countries: report of the Secretary-General.

81. Operational activities for development [104, 106]:

(*a*) Operational activities of the United Nations system: report of the Secretary-General;

(*b*) United Nations Development Programme: report of the Secretary-General;

(*c*) United Nations Capital Development Fund;

(*d*) United Nations Fund for Population Activities;

(*e*) United Nations Volunteers programme;

(*f*) United Nations Special Fund for Land-locked Developing Countries;

(*g*) United Nations Children's Fund;

(*h*) World Food Programme;

(*i*) Technical co-operation activities undertaken by the Secretary-General;

(*j*) Liquidation of the United Nations Emergency Operation Trust Fund and allocation of the remaining balance: report of the Secretary-General.

82. Training and research [103]:

(*a*) United Nations Institute for Training and Research:

  (i) Report of the Executive Director;

  (ii) Report of the Secretary-General;

(*b*) United Nations University: report of the Council of the United Nations University.

83. Special economic and disaster relief assistance [103]:

(*a*) Office of the United Nations Disaster Relief Co-ordinator: reports of the Secretary-General;

(*b*) Special programmes of economic assistance: reports of the Secretary-General;

(*c*) Implementation of the medium-term and long-term recovery and rehabilitation programme in the Sudano-Sahelian region: report of the Secretary-General.

84. Adverse consequences for the enjoyment of human rights of political, military, economic and other forms of assistance given to the racist and colonialist régime of South Africa [71].

85. International Youth Year: Participation, Development, Peace: report of the Secretary-General [71].

86. Implementation of the Programme of Action for the Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination: report of the Secretary-General [71].

87. Importance of the universal realization of the right of peoples to self-determination and of the speedy granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples for the effective guarantee and observance of human rights: reports of the Secretary-General [71].
88. Elimination of all forms of racial discrimination [71]:
    (*a*) Report of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination;
    (*b*) Status of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination: report of the Secretary-General;
    (*c*) Status of the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid:* report of the Secretary-General.
89. Policies and programmes relating to youth: report of the Secretary-General [71].
90. Question of aging: report of the Secretary-General [71].
91. Implementation of the World Programme of Action concerning Disabled Persons: report of the Secretary-General [71].
92. International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women: report of the Secretary-General [101, 106].
93. United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace [101, 106, 107]:
    (*a*) Implementation of the Programme of Action for the Second Half of the United Nations Decade for Women: report of the Secretary-General;
    (*b*) Preparations for the World Conference to Review and Appraise the Achievements of the United Nations Decade for Women;
    (*c*) Voluntary Fund for the United Nations Decade for Women: report of the Secretary-General.
94. Elimination of all forms of discrimination against women [101]:
    (*a*) Report of the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women;
    (*b*) Status of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women: report of the Secretary-General.
95. Elimination of all forms of religious intolerance [101].
96. Human rights and scientific and technological developments [101].
97. Question of a convention on the rights of the child [101].
98. International Covenants on Human Rights [101]:
    (*a*) Report of the Human Rights Committee;
    (*b*) Status of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights: report of the Secretary-General;
    (*c*) Elaboration of a second optional protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, aiming at the abolition of the death penalty.
99. Torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment: reports of the Secretary-General [93].
100. Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees [101]:
    (*a*) Report of the High Commissioner;
    (*b*) Assistance to refugees in Africa: report of the Secretary-General.
101. International campaign against traffic in drugs: report of the Secretary-General [101].
102. Alternative approaches and ways and means within the United Nations system for improving the effective enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms [101]:
    (*a*) Implementation of General Assembly resolution 38/124;
    (*b*) National institutions for the protection and promotion of human rights: report of the Secretary-General.
103. Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories transmitted under Article 73 *e* of the Charter of the United Nations [87]:
    (*a*) Report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples;
    (*b*) Report of the Secretary-General.

104. Activities of foreign economic and other interests which are impeding the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in Namibia and in all other Territories under colonial domination and efforts to eliminate colonialism, *apartheid* and racial discrimination in southern Africa: report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [87].
105. Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples by the specialized agencies and the international institutions associated with the United Nations [87]:
    (*a*) Report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples;
    (*b*) Report of the Secretary-General.
106. United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa: report of the Secretary-General [87].
107. Offers by Member States of study and training facilities for inhabitants of Non-Self-Governing Territories: report of the Secretary-General [87].
108. Financial reports and audited financial statements, and reports of the Board of Auditors [98]:
    (*a*) United Nations;
    (*b*) United Nations Development Programme;
    (*c*) United Nations Children's Fund;
    (*d*) United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East;
    (*e*) United Nations Institute for Training and Research;
    (*f*) Voluntary funds administered by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees;
    (*g*) Fund of the United Nations Environment Programme;
    (*h*) United Nations Fund for Population Activities;
    (*i*) United Nations Habitat and Human Settlements Foundation;
    (*j*) United Nations Industrial Development Fund.
109. Programme budget for the biennium 1984-1985 [105].
110. Programme planning [105, 107]:
    (*a*) Report of the Committee for Programme and Co-ordination;
    (*b*) Reports of the Secretary-General.
111. Financial emergency of the United Nations [105]:
    (*a*) Report of the Negotiating Committee on the Financial Emergency of the United Nations;
    (*b*) Report of the Secretary-General.
112. Administrative and budgetary co-ordination of the United Nations with the specialized agencies and the International Atomic Energy Agency [105]:
    (*a*) Report of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions;
    (*b*) Impact of inflation and monetary instability on the regular budget of the United Nations: report of the Secretary-General;
    (*c*) Feasibility of establishing a single administrative tribunal: report of the Secretary-General.
113. Joint Inspection Unit: reports of the Joint Inspection Unit [105].
114. Pattern of conferences: report of the Committee on Conferences [98].
115. Scale of assessments for the apportionment of the expenses of the United Nations: report of the Committee on Contributions [1, 3, 105-108].
116. Personnel questions [105]:
    (*a*) Composition of the Secretariat: report of the Secretary-General;
    (*b*) Respect for the privileges and immunities of officials of the United Nations and the specialized agencies and related organizations: report of the Secretary-General;
    (*c*) Other personnel questions: reports of the Secretary-General.
117. United Nations common system [81, 98]:
    (*a*) Report of the International Civil Service Commission;
    (*b*) Reports of the Secretary-General.

118. United Nations pension system: report of the United Nations Joint Staff Pension Board [105].

119. Financing of the United Nations peace-keeping forces in the Middle East [81, 98]:
    (*a*) United Nations Disengagement Observer Force: report of the Secretary-General;
    (*b*) United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon: report of the Secretary-General.

120. Progressive development of the principles and norms of international law relating to the new international economic order: report of the Secretary-General [99].

121. Observer status of national liberation movements recognized by the Organization of African Unity and/or by the League of Arab States: report of the Secretary-General [99].

122. Status of the Protocols Additional to the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and relating to the protection of victims of armed conflicts: report of the Secretary-General [99].

123. Development and strengthening of good-neighbourliness between States [99].

124. Peaceful settlement of disputes between States [99].

125. Draft Code of Offences against the Peace and Security of Mankind: report of the Secretary-General [99].

126. Report of the Special Committee on Enhancing the Effectiveness of the Principle of Non-Use of Force in International Relations [99, 105].

127. Report of the United Nations Commission on International Trade Law on the work of its seventeenth session [99].

128. Consideration of effective measures to enhance the protection, security and safety of diplomatic and consular missions and representatives: report of the Secretary-General [99].

129. Report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against the Recruitment, Use, Financing and Training of Mercenaries [99, 105].

130. Report of the International Law Commission on the work of its thirty-sixth session [99].

131. United Nations Conference on the Law of Treaties between States and International Organizations or between International Organizations: report of the Secretary-General [99].

132. Report of the Committee on Relations with the Host Country [99].

133. Report of the Special Committee on the Charter of the United Nations and on the Strengthening of the Role of the Organization [99].

134. Draft Declaration on Social and Legal Principles relating to the Protection and Welfare of Children, with Special Reference to Foster Placement and Adoption Nationally and Internationally: report of the Secretary-General [99].

135. Review of the multilateral treaty-making process [99].

136. Draft Body of Principles for the Protection of All Persons under Any Form of Detention or Imprisonment [99].

137. Draft standard rules of procedure for United Nations conferences: report of the Secretary-General [99].

138. Right of peoples to peace [57].

139. Critical economic situation in Africa [47-52, 83].

140. Celebration of the one-hundred-and-fiftieth anniversary of the emancipation of slaves in the British Empire [105, 108].

141. Countries stricken by desertification and drought [103].

142. Use of outer space exclusively for peaceful purposes for the benefit of mankind [97].

143. Inadmissibility of the policy of State terrorism and any actions by States aimed at undermining the socio-political system in other sovereign States [102].

VOLUME I

Contents

Page

Note of convocation iii

Agenda of the thirty-ninth session v

Abbreviations xix

1st meeting

Tuesday, 18 September 1984, at 3.40 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 1:

Opening of the session by the Chairman of the delegation of Panama 1

AGENDA ITEM 2:

Minute of silent prayer or meditation 1

AGENDA ITEM 115:

Scale of assessments for the apportionment of the expenses of the United Nations: report of the Committee on Contributions 1

AGENDA ITEM 3:

Credentials of representatives to the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly:

(*a*) Appointment of the members of the Credentials Committee 1

AGENDA ITEM 4:

Election of the President of the General Assembly 5

ADDRESS BY MR. PAUL J. F. LUSAKA, PRESIDENT OF THE THIRTY-NINTH SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY 5

2nd meeting

Tuesday, 18 September 1984, at 5.40 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 5:

Election of the officers of the Main Committees 11

AGENDA ITEM 6:

Election of the Vice-Presidents of the General Assembly 11

Page

3rd meeting

Friday, 21 September 1984, at 10.45 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 115:

Scale of assessments for the apportionment of the expenses of the United Nations: report of the Committee on Contributions (*continued*) 13

AGENDA ITEM 19:

Admission of new Members to the United Nations 13

AGENDA ITEM 8:

Adoption of the agenda and organization of work: reports of the General Committee 19

AGENDA ITEM 17:

Appointments to fill vacancies in subsidiary organs and other appointments:

(*g*) Appointment of members of the Joint Inspection Unit 23

4th meeting

Monday, 24 September 1984, at 10.30 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 9:

General debate 25
- Mr. Reagan, President of the United States of America
- Mr. Guerreiro (Brazil)
- Mr. Taleb Ibrahimi (Algeria)
- Mr. Hallgrímsson (Iceland)

5th meeting

Monday, 24 September 1984, at 3.55 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 9:

General debate (*continued*) 41
- Mr. Alfonsín, President of the Argentine Republic
- Mr. Willoch, Prime Minister of Norway
- Mr. Sepúlveda Amor (Mexico)
- Mr. Amega (Togo)
- Mr. Da Gama (Portugal)
- Mr. Hameed (Sri Lanka)

Page

6th meeting

Tuesday, 25 September 1984, at 10.45 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 9:

General debate (*continued*) 63
Mr. Lusinchi, President of the Republic of Venezuela
Mr. Väyrynen (Finland)
Mr. Barry (Ireland)

7th meeting

Tuesday, 25 September 1984, at 3.40 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 9:

General debate (*continued*) 81
Mr. Lange (New Zealand)
Mr. Clark (Canada)
Mr. Tindemans (Belgium)
Prince Norodom Sihanouk, President of Democratic Kampuchea
Mr. Ramírez Ocampo (Colombia)
Mr. Bodström (Sweden)
Mr. Ellemann-Jensen (Denmark)
Mr. Khatri (Nepal)

8th meeting

Wednesday, 26 September 1984, at 10.30 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 9:

General debate (*continued*) 113
Mr. Genscher (Federal Republic of Germany)
Mr. Wu Xueqian (China)
Mr. Cheysson (France)
Mr. Iacovou (Cyprus)

9th meeting

Wednesday, 26 September 1984, at 3.25 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 9:

General debate (*continued*) 133
Mr. van den Broek (Netherlands)
Sir Geoffrey Howe (United Kingdom)
Mr. Abe (Japan)
Mr. Dizdarević (Yugoslavia)
Mr. Morán (Spain)
Mr. Dhanabalan (Singapore)
Mr. Haralambopoulos (Greece)

10th meeting

Thursday, 27 September 1984, at 10.15 a.m.

ORGANIZATION OF WORK 157

AGENDA ITEM 9:

General debate (*continued*) 157
Mr. Ortega Durán (Panama)
Mr. Gromyko (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics)
Mr. Mirdha (India)

Page

11th meeting

Thursday, 27 September 1984, at 3.20 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 9:

General debate (*continued*) 177
Mr. Ndinga-Oba (Congo)
Mr. Al-Thani (Qatar)
Mr. Tolentino (Philippines)
Mr. Goma (Zambia)
Mr. Al-Sabah (Kuwait)
Mr. Kusumaatmadja (Indonesia)
Mr. del Valle Alliende (Chile)
Mr. Poos (Luxembourg)
Mr. Aldali (Democratic Yemen)

ORGANIZATION OF WORK 207

12th meeting

Friday, 28 September 1984, at 10.35 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 9:

General debate (*continued*) 209
Mr. Belaúnde Terry, President of the Republic of Peru
Mr. Dost (Afghanistan)
Mr. Abdel Meguid (Egypt)
Mr. Aziz (Iraq)
Mr. Olszowski (Poland)

13th meeting

Friday, 28 September 1984, at 3.20 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 31:

Policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa:

(*a*) Report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid;*

(*b*) Report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against *Apartheid* in Sports;

(*c*) Report of the Secretary-General 229

AGENDA ITEM 9:

General debate (*continued*) 232
Mr. Terán Terán (Ecuador)
Mr. Andrei (Romania)
Prince Saud Al-Faisal (Saudi Arabia)
Mr. Sceberras Trigona (Malta)
Mr. Nzeyimana (Burundi)
Mr. Barre (Somalia)
Mr. da Luz (Cape Verde)

14th meeting

Monday, 1 October 1984, at 10.35 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 9:

General debate (*continued*) 261
Mr. Masri (Jordan)
Mr. Mladenov (Bulgaria)
Mr. Al-Sharea (Syrian Arab Republic)
Mr. Malile (Albania)

Page

15th meeting

Monday, 1 October 1984, at 3.20 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 9:
General debate (*continued*) 277
Mr. Chissano (Mozambique)
Mr. Caid Essebsi (Tunisia)
Mr. Choudhury (Bangladesh)
Mr. Treiki (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)
Mr. Velayati (Islamic Republic of Iran)
Mr. Saldívar (Paraguay)
Mr. Namaliu (Papua New Guinea)

16th meeting

Tuesday, 2 October 1984, at 10.40 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 9:

General debate (*continued*) 309
Mr. Ortega Saavedra, Co-ordinator of the Junta of the Government of National Reconstruction of the Republic of Nicaragua
Mr. Gratz (Austria)
Mr. Andreotti (Italy)
Mr. Al-Khalifa (Bahrain)
Mr. Yaqub-Khan (Pakistan)

17th meeting

Tuesday, 2 October 1984, at 3.35 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 9:

General debate (*continued*) 327
Mr. Mugabe, Prime Minister of the Republic of Zimbabwe
Mr. Savetsila (Thailand)
Mr. Hayden (Australia)
Mr. Andrade-Díaz-Durán (Guatemala)
Mr. Sipraseuth (Lao People's Democratic Republic)
Mr. Vega Imbert (Dominican Republic)
Mr. Farah (Djibouti)

18th meeting

Wednesday, 3 October 1984, at 10.25 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 9:
General debate (*continued*) 359
Mr. Fernández Saavedra (Bolivia)
Mr. Várkonyi (Hungary)
Mr. Shamir (Israel)
Mr. Malmierca Peoli (Cuba)
Mr. Kanu (Sierra Leone)

19th meeting

Wednesday, 3 October 1984, at 3.20 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 9:

General debate (*continued*) 379
Mr. Hlaing (Burma)
Mr. Niasse (Senegal)
Mr. Jackson (Guyana)
Mr. Al-Nuami (United Arab Emirates)
Mr. Oumarou (Niger)
Mr. Eastman (Liberia)

Page

20th meeting

Thursday, 4 October 1984, at 10.40 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 9:

General debate (*continued*) 405
Mr. Sankara, Head of State and President of the National Council of the Revolution of Burkina Faso
Mr. Chňoupek (Czechoslovakia)
Mr. Halefoğlu (Turkey)
Mrs. De Amorin (Sao Tome and Principe)
Mr. Tsering (Bhutan)

21st meeting

Thursday, 4 October 1984, at 3.45 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 9:

General debate (*continued*) 421
Mr. Belkziz (Morocco)
Mr. Touré (Guinea)
Mr. Osman (Sudan)
Mr. Wolde (Ethiopia)
Mr. Owiny (Uganda)
Mr. Umba di Lutete (Zaire)
Mr. Ince (Trinidad and Tobago)

22nd meeting

Friday, 5 October 1984, at 10.30 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 9:

General debate (*continued*) 449
Mr. Jorge (Angola)
Mr. Karamé (Lebanon)
Mr. Fischer (German Democratic Republic)
Mr. Maeso (Uruguay)

23rd meeting

Friday, 5 October 1984, at 3.20 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 9:

General debate (*continued*) 465
Mr. Udenhout, Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Suriname
Mr. Martynenko (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic)
Mr. Abdulla (Oman)
Mr. Estimé (Haiti)
Mr. Mwangale (Kenya)
Mr. Al-Asbahi (Yemen)
Mr. Affo (Benin)

24th meeting

Monday, 8 October 1984, at 10.30 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 9:

General debate (*continued*) 493
Mr. Duarte, President of the Republic of El Salvador
Mr. Mboumoua (Cameroon)

Page

Mr. Gurinovich (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic)
Mr. Bemananjara (Madagascar)

25th meeting

Monday, 8 October 1984, at 3.25 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 9:

General debate (*continued*) 511
Miss Chiepe (Botswana)
Mr. Annan, Vice-Chairman of the Provisional National Defence Council of Ghana
Mr. Gambari (Nigeria)
Mr. Jameel (Maldives)
Mr. Ould Minnih (Mauritania)

26th meeting

Tuesday, 9 October 1984, at 10.25 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 9:

General debate (*continued*) 531
Mr. Ngarukiyintwali (Rwanda)
Mr. Mkapa (United Republic of Tanzania)
Mr. Dugersuren (Mongolia)
Mr. Paz Barnica (Honduras)

27th meeting

Tuesday, 9 October 1984, at 3.20 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 8:

Adoption of the agenda and organization of work: reports of the General Committee (*continued*) 551

AGENDA ITEM 9:

General debate (*continued*) 551
Mr. Makhele (Lesotho)
Mr. Nguyen Co Thach (Viet Nam)
Mr. Semedo (Guinea-Bissau)
Mr. Tull (Barbados)
Mr. Rogers (Belize)
Mr. Lassou (Chad)

Page

28th meeting

Wednesday, 10 October 1984, at 10.30 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 9:

General debate (*continued*) 575
Mr. Harding (Jamaica)
Mr. Gutiérrez (Costa Rica)
Mr. Mahathir (Malaysia)
Mr. Adderley (Bahamas)
Mr. Compton (Saint Lucia)

29th meeting

Wednesday, 10 October 1984, at 3.30 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 9:

General debate (*continued*) 597
Mr. Talasasa (Solomon Islands)
Mr. Beye (Mali)
Mr. Radrodro (Fiji)
Mr. Bongo (Gabon)
Mr. Madi Soilihi (Comoros)
Mr. Baron (Dominica)

30th meeting

Thursday, 11 October 1984, at 10.25 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 9:

General debate (*continued*) 617
Mr. Jacobs (Antigua and Barbuda)
Mr. Jugnauth (Mauritius)
Mr. Jabang (Gambia)
Mr. Mnisi (Swaziland)

31st meeting

Thursday, 11 October 1984, at 3.20 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 9:

General debate (*continued*) 631
Mr. Nguema Onguene (Equatorial Guinea)
Mr. Molisa (Vanuatu)
Mr. Nga Gnii-Voué To (Central African Republic)

ABBREVIATIONS

ECA	Economic Commission for Africa
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
IAEA	International Atomic Energy Agency
ICAO	International Civil Aviation Organization
IDA	International Development Association
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IMO	International Maritime Organization
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNDOF	United Nations Disengagement Observer Force
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNEF	United Nations Emergency Force
UNEP	United Nations Environment Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNFICYP	United Nations Force in Cyprus
UNFPA	United Nations Fund for Population Activities
UNHCR	Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNIDO	United Nations Industrial Development Organization
UNIFIL	United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon
UNITAR	United Nations Institute for Training and Research
UNRWA	United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East
UNTAG	United Nations Transition Assistance Group
UNTSO	United Nations Truce Supervision Organization in Palestine
UPU	Universal Postal Union
WFP	World Food Programme
WHO	World Health Organization

United Nations
GENERAL ASSEMBLY
THIRTY-NINTH SESSION
Official Records

1st PLENARY MEETING

Tuesday, 18 September 1984, at 3.40 p.m.

NEW YORK

Temporary President: Mr. Jorge E. ILLUECA (Panama).

President: Mr. Paul J. F. LUSAKA (Zambia).

AGENDA ITEM 1

Opening of the session by the Chairman of the delegation of Panama

1. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I declare open the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly.

AGENDA ITEM 2

Minute of Silent Prayer or Meditation

2. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Before calling on representatives to observe a minute of silent prayer or meditation in accordance with rule 62 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly, I propose that, on this third Tuesday of September, we observe the International Day of Peace, as proclaimed by the Assembly in its resolution 36/67, of 30 November 1981, to be devoted to commemorating and strengthening the ideals of peace both within and among all nations and peoples. Peace is the primary objective of the United Nations. However, it remains an elusive objective rather than an accomplishment to be preserved.

3. As the threat of nuclear war and several armed conflicts keep reminding us, the eradication of warlike actions and the maintenance of international peace and security become each day the most timely and pressing of all our concerns. The peoples of the world rightly expect us to rededicate ourselves to the constant search for peace among nations and peoples envisaged in the Charter of the United Nations.

4. I now invite representatives to stand and observe a minute of silent prayer or meditation.

The members of the General Assembly observed a minute of silence.

AGENDA ITEM 115

Scale of assessments for the apportionment of the expenses of the United Nations: report of the Committee on Contributions

5. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Before turning to the next item on the agenda, I should like, in keeping with established practice, to invite the attention of the General Assembly to document A/39/498, containing a letter addressed to me by the Secretary-General in which he informs the Assembly that two Member States are in arrears in the payment of their financial contributions to the United Nations within the terms of Article 19 of the Charter. I should like to remind delegations that Article 19 of the Charter states:

> "A Member of the United Nations which is in arrears in the payment of its financial contributions to the Organization shall have no vote in the General Assembly if the amount of its arrears equals or exceeds the amount of the contributions due from it for the preceding two full years."

May I take it that the Assembly takes note of this information?

It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEM 3

Credentials of representatives to the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly: (*a*) Appointment of the members of the Credentials Committee

6. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Rule 28 of the rules of procedure provides that the General Assembly shall at the beginning of each session, on the proposal of the President, appoint a Credentials Committee consisting of nine members. Accordingly, it is proposed that for the thirty-ninth session the Credentials Committee should consist of the following Member States: Bhutan, China, Cuba, Equatorial Guinea, Italy, the Ivory Coast, Paraguay, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America. May I take it that the States I have mentioned are hereby appointed members of the Credentials Committee?

It was so decided (decision 39/301).

7. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): In keeping with an established tradition, I should like, as President of the General Assembly at its thirty-eighth session, which closed yesterday, to share with members some reflections on the work of that session and on the relationship between the Organization and the world in which we live. I venture to say that I may be able to offer a different approach to its deliberations because I have

been the only President of the General Assembly who has also had the honour and responsibility of serving simultaneously as a Head of State.

8. The session that has just come to an end, although perhaps less dramatic than others, was clearly an important one. It should be recalled that last autumn we had one of the greatest assemblages of world leaders in our history, including 18 Heads of State, 2 Vice-Presidents, 8 Prime Ministers and 99 Foreign Ministers. We are deeply grateful to Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, whose initiative led to such a distinguished gathering of heads of State and Government.

9. At its thirty-eighth session the General Assembly dealt with 146 agenda items, a record number in the history of the Organization.

10. Although we considered the most pressing issues facing mankind, it is apparent that most of the problems that confronted us a year ago still face us today. Because of the complexity of those problems—characteristic of the state of the world in which we live—it would have been unrealistic to expect that the thirty-eighth session, or any other single session, could take major steps towards their solution. The unfortunate shooting down of the Korean airliner, the absence of the Soviet Foreign Minister, Mr. Andrei Gromyko, from the general debate, the escalation of military activities in Central America, the massacre of more than 200 United States and French marines in Beirut by a terrorist group, the deployment of missiles in central Europe by the two power blocs and the abandonment of the negotiating table by the two super-Powers were only some of the many developments which from the very outset created a bleak and discouraging atmosphere for the Assembly.

11. We do not—and must not—expect quick and spectacular results. Although it is cause for regret, we must accept the fact that our world is characterized by controversies that have their roots in centuries-old discords that have never been resolved and that are aggravated today by national rivalries, distrust and insecurity and by gross inequality in access to material goods and opportunities, in itself an insuperable obstacle to a satisfying and productive life for all peoples.

12. I hope that my words will be taken not as a message of discouragement but, rather, as a message of encouragement to evaluate realistically the state of affairs that we faced last year and that, unfortunately, we shall have to deal with again in the immediate future. Of course, we would not be true to ourselves if we did not make an honest appraisal of where we stand and how far we still have to go to give true meaning to the purposes set forth in the Charter of the United Nations.

13. This is a proper occasion to make such an appraisal, because we are not only inaugurating a new session of the General Assembly but also today commemorating the International Day of Peace. This should remind all of us, in our twofold capacity as national representatives and international statesmen, that our first responsibility to each of our own peoples and to all the peoples of the world must be the cause of peace. It is only through a constant and genuine attachment to the basic objective of the United Nations—that is, the elimination of the scourge of war—that we can discharge our most important obligation, our obligation to humanity.

14. The Secretary-General, in his report on the work of the Organization [*A/39/1*], has wisely warned us of the danger of replacing the institution of the United Nations in the solution of the problems that led to its establishment by recourse to force or independent actions. He has reminded us that there is no proof that problems such as disarmament, hunger and economic development can be solved effectively through purely bilateral or unilateral efforts.

15. We need to revive political will and concerted energy to take measures that would resolve conflicts and alleviate the tensions that now afflict us. It is also appropriate to bear this ideal in mind, as well as the need to plan concrete measures, in studying the programme for the commemoration next year of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations.

16. One of my most valued tasks has been that of serving as the Chairman of the Preparatory Committee for the Fortieth Anniversary of the United Nations. Far be it from me to anticipate measures to be taken by the next session of the General Assembly in connection with the report that we are preparing. I cannot, however, conceal my pleasure at the great interest demonstrated by Member States in this issue, as well as my pleasure at the fact that the Committee recommended that at the thirty-ninth session an item entitled "Commemoration of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations in 1985" be included on the agenda.

17. It is really encouraging that India, on behalf of the non-aligned countries, has submitted a draft resolution [*see A/39/49, para. 71*] containing important proposals for the commemoration of the fortieth anniversary, including a suggestion that the theme of the commemoration be "United Nations for a better world".

18. I am convinced that the fortieth anniversary will give us all a useful and valuable opportunity to reaffirm our commitment to the purposes of the Charter of the United Nations. In doing so, we should give careful thought to the world situation and to the progress achieved thus far by the Organization, drawing from the failures of the past the necessary lessons to make a greater contribution to the establishment of a better world in the future.

19. It is particularly appropriate to proceed in that way because we are on the threshold of International Youth Year. Those of us who now have responsible posts are particularly committed to the young generation and to generations still to come. The world of the future will be their world, and what we do here—or fail to do here—will in large measure determine what shape that world will take. Therefore, the precedents that we establish here should promote the efforts to make that future world a world of peace, justice and equality.

20. In this connection, I must reject categorically the pessimistic view of some observers—who should know better—that the United Nations is becoming irrelevant to the solution of the real problems of the world community. In so many ways we see evidence that international co-operation through the United Nations system offers the best hope of coping with problems that transcend national boundaries. I have in mind, for example, the growing scourge of drug abuse, which is an increasingly critical problem

today, not only in the developed countries but also in the developing countries. The health and future well-being of thousands of young persons are of particular concern in this regard. For that reason, Panama was proud to join with the Presidents of Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Nicaragua and Venezuela in adopting the Quito Declaration against Traffic in Narcotic Drugs of 11 August 1984, and in asking that this traffic should henceforth be regarded as a crime against humanity.

21. I earnestly hope that the General Assembly will give serious consideration to the Declaration's call for "international legislative action capable of directing an effective campaign against traffic in narcotic drugs beyond national frontiers and imposing penalties on offenders, wherever they may be" [*A/39/407, annex, para. 8*].

22. In identifying ways in which international co-operation offers great hope, I wish to refer as well to the activities of the United Nations in the field of human rights. It is particularly encouraging to note the growing universality in the acceptance of international human rights instruments and the more systematic examination of human rights violations in all parts of the world. Evidence of this is seen, for example, in the expanding number of instances of the appointment of special rapporteurs to look into the human rights situation in specific countries. It is significant that Latin American Governments are foremost among those that have agreed to receive and co-operate with those special rapporteurs. Another example is the increasing emphasis on the examination on a global basis of specific problems such as disappeared persons and summary executions.

23. In my view, the need for serious reflection and for resolute action has never been greater. Last December, as we concluded the main body of the work of the thirty-eighth session [*104th meeting*], I felt it necessary to speak out about the intensification of the arms race, both nuclear and conventional, which I feared then, and fear now even more, represents the greatest threat to its survival that mankind has ever faced. I appealed from this podium particularly to the United States and the Soviet Union to halt the unbridled arms race and to return to the negotiating table. That appeal was repeated subsequently in letters addressed to the leaders of the two Governments. Regrettably, neither of those steps has been taken. Indeed, the situation has continued to deteriorate, the atmosphere of tension worldwide has not diminished and the arms race goes on. Last year, more than $750 billion was spent, and it is estimated that some trillion dollars will be spent in the coming year. Once again I urge those two countries in particular, and all of us and our Governments in general, to make a commitment now to a determined effort to take urgent and meaningful steps to reverse this deadly process, which is leading mankind towards extinction.

24. The arms race, of course, assumes a particularly dangerous dimension in a period such as this of great instability and turmoil. The Middle East conflict, which has festered so long and with such obvious implications for international peace and security extending beyond the confines of the region, appears as far from a solution as ever. In his report on the work of the Organization [*A/39/1*], the Secretary-General has given us a reminder of this situation and drawn our attention to the notable lack of concrete action towards a peaceful settlement of the problem.

25. We should, I believe, devote our attention to examining whether this institution can make a more practical and realistic contribution to this process than we have done in our repetitive debates and resolutions in the past. Whatever course we follow, however, we cannot succeed unless in the process we find a way to satisfy the aspirations of the Palestinian people to their legitimate national rights as an independent State, doing so in a way that permits all States in the area to exist within secure national frontiers.

26. Other areas of tension continue to plague the world. We must all share a sense of regret at the tragedy of the continuing conflict between Iran and Iraq, with its devastating loss of lives. The Secretary-General needs and deserves the full support of all Member States as he pursues his efforts to open the way to a solution.

27. We are also mindful of the long suffering on the island of Cyprus, which has fallen victim to foreign occupation. It is to be hoped that through the good offices of the Secretary-General the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities will soon reach the necessary agreement for the harmonious preservation of the independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment of the Cypriot nation.

28. In South Africa we see the undiminished evil of *apartheid* and the tragic cost in human lives and denial of human rights that the continuation of that policy, as anachronistic as it is abhorrent, entails. The related issue of Namibian independence is one on which I expect my successor, Mr. Paul Lusaka, who is one of the world's leading experts on the subject, will no doubt wish to comment in greater detail.

29. Regarding my own part of the world, I am pleased and proud to report that the efforts of the Contadora Group go forward firmly, despite all rumours or news to the contrary.

30. The Seventh Joint Meeting of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Contadora Group and of the Central American countries, held at Panama City on 7 September this year, clearly marked a major step forward in the negotiating process. The revised version of the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America [*see A/39/562*] accommodates, for the most part, the proposals put forward by the Central American Governments. Their final comments should reach Panama by 15 October at the latest, so that any last-minute changes that are necessary can be made to the document and the countries concerned can proceed to sign and implement it without delay.

31. The Contadora Group has played its part in this process satisfactorily. Now it is the responsibility of the Central American Governments to demonstrate by embracing this document their political will to achieve peace. The international community can help in seeing that this goal is achieved by urging the five Central American Governments to take the historic step of signing and implementing the Contadora Act, which affords a golden opportunity for a harmonious transition to peace and co-operation in Central America.

32. Last year a consensus in support of the Contadora initiative emerged in the statements made in the general debate in the Assembly. Moreover, it is very

encouraging that the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the European Community, Spain and Portugal will be meeting on 28 and 29 September in San José, Costa Rica, where it is expected that they will reaffirm their support for the Contadora process and respond to the appeals of the Committee for Action in Support of the Economic and Social Development of Central America, which has been set up under the auspices of the Latin American Economic System [*SELA*]. It is also gratifying that the representatives of the Contadora Group will be awarded the Prince of Asturias Prize on 17 October in Madrid. These developments give us some ground for optimism about the peace-making efforts of Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela.

33. As my term of office draws to a close, I wish once again to express my gratitude to all those Member States which made my election possible, particularly the countries of Latin America, the region to which the presidency of the thirty-eighth session fell in the geographical rotation. It is understandable, therefore, that, without forgetting the universalist as well as the multilateral and pluralist vision of the United Nations, my presidency should have had a markedly Latin American accent. This is because those of us who are admirers of Bolívar can join with the Liberator in saying: "My homeland is America". With the indulgence of representatives, I should like to share some thoughts on the current situation in Latin America as seen through the prism of the Charter of the United Nations.

34. From the southern bank of the Río Bravo to the furthest limits of the South Atlantic, in a vast expanse of 20.6 square kilometres, live 400 million individuals; by the year 2000, we shall number 550 million. History has made us neighbours, in this hemisphere, of a nation which was the first in modern times to rise up against and defeat a colonial empire, to become, some 20 decades later, a colossal military Power.

35. We Latin Americans have our own distinctive characteristics and aspirations. We are struggling to define and shape our own destiny. As independent and sovereign States we tend to pursue our interests by harmonizing them, within the continent and worldwide, with those of other States, without considering ourselves bound by the interests of any super-Power, especially when we have no say in its decision-making processes. As third-world countries, we belong to the Group of 77 and we share its views. We are moving towards a growing Latin American involvement in the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries as the most dynamic and positive force for furthering the objectives of the Charter of the United Nations.

36. In our part of the world we favour regional understanding under conditions of sovereign equality and mutual respect. This, logically, requires a reform of the Organization of American States [*OAS*] to bring it more in line with the purposes and principles set forth in the Charter of the United Nations. We consider that the election of the distinguished Brazilian statesman, João Baena Soares, as Secretary-General of the continental organization can pave the way for its effective restructuring.

37. The self-determination, independence and sovereignty for which the founding fathers of the Latin American republics fought have inspired the thinking of statesmen from the region who have been associated with the proposition that Latin America must benefit first and foremost from the development of its natural resources and its economic activities as the material underpinning of its distinctive personality and authentic culture.

38. Bolívar's idea of an Assembly of plenipotentiaries in the political sphere, a Latin American judicial organ in the legal sphere, an agreement on military forces for collective security, and an economic and social body to promote the well-being, progress and development of our peoples is still valid today and stands as the essential goal for the unity and integration of Latin America. Such Latin American mechanisms could operate side by side with the OAS, which is designed to serve as a common forum for negotiation and co-operation between the Latin American States and the United States of America.

39. Latin America has learned the hard lessons of the South Atlantic crisis and the Central American conflict. We are aware that, in accordance with the basic aims of the United Nations, a peaceful settlement must be sought of the question of Argentine sovereignty over the Malvinas Islands and that the right of the nations of Central America to peace and self-determination must be enforced.

40. It is in the same context that the Latin American peoples place the question of the independence of Puerto Rico, which, like Cuba, was viewed by Bolívar as a nation, one of the Hispanic-American historical and cultural communities with a legitimate claim in its own right to a place in the family of Latin American nations.

41. Peaceful settlements must also be found for the region's boundary questions. The sufferings and anxiety of the communities living in areas affected by such conflicts, which can be settled only through conciliation, must not be prolonged. There is no justification whatsoever for such conflicts between fraternal countries which are called to a higher common destiny.

42. The preservation of the neutrality of the Panama Canal is one of the priorities of Panama's foreign policy and is of the utmost importance for both the American continent and the international community. Respect for and compliance with such neutrality ensures the peaceful, equitable and expeditious use of the inter-ocean link and helps to establish the necessary conditions for its ongoing improvement.

43. Panama, the United States and Japan have set up a commission for the purpose of drawing up the terms of reference for a study of alternatives to the "Canal of Locks" so that the international water link can meet the demands of world shipping in the next century.

44. The future of the canal as a waterway providing an international public service depends on strict compliance with the letter and spirit of the 1977 treaties. The canal, its installations and the areas necessary for its defence serve peaceful communication and co-operation between all peoples and countries; in no circumstances must they be used for purposes of war or acts of aggression against any country.

45. It is therefore all the more significant that, in pursuance of the treaties, on 1 October 1984 the authority of the United States to administer the Americas School will expire and consequently the School's facilities and Fort Gulick will revert to Panama, where only the Panamanian flag will wave.

On the same date United States offices which provide postal services for the employees of the Panama Canal Commission will cease to operate, and those employees will thereafter use post offices of the Republic of Panama, which is taking resolute strides towards the strengthening of its sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence.

46. The solution of economic and social problems goes hand in hand with the solution of political problems. Accordingly, we attach the highest priority to SELA. We would recall here in this world forum that Latin America, with a foreign debt of $350 billion, has a greater stake than any other region in the resumption of the North-South dialogue with the aim of giving an impetus to international economic co-operation for development.

47. The Quito Declaration and Plan of Action, adopted by the Latin American Economic Conference, held at Quito from 9 to 13 January 1984 [*A/39/118, annex*], are of relevance to such issues. The Declaration contains a thorough and exhaustive analysis of Latin America's present situation and outlines possible solutions to be included in the plan of action that will be discussed at the tenth meeting of the Latin American Council of SELA in Caracas in a few weeks' time.

48. Here too we must recall that international stability cannot be achieved unless there is some significant redress for the impoverished peoples and nations of the world.

49. In this connection, as I said yesterday, at the close of the thirty-eighth session:

> "Efforts to obtain a favourable reaction to global negotiations from our partners to the north must be continued . . .
>
> " . . .
>
> "Only global negotiations which are universal, carried out with a clear sense of the interrelationships between issues of trade, development financing, the international monetary system and other basic elements of the development process will make it possible for the world economy to emerge from the structural crisis which it is currently undergoing and which has played such havoc with the fragile economies of the developing countries.
>
> "To persist in refusing to launch global negotiations can mean nothing else but a rejection of international co-operation, a withdrawal from multilateralism and a return to nationalistic bilateral approaches, with disastrous consequences for the preservation of the economic and political independence of the developing nations." [*106th meeting, paras. 22, 24 and 25.*]

50. I hope also that this session of the General Assembly and fortieth-anniversary convocations will continue a useful examination of the objectives and working methods of the United Nations in general and of the General Assembly and the Security Council in particular. In this context, I am very pleased to note that UNITAR has taken the initiative of proposing that next April former Presidents of the General Assembly meet to consider how the Assembly's performance might be improved. For my part, I should be most pleased to participate in such a worthy undertaking since in my opinion all the statesmen who have preceded me as Presidents of the General Assembly have earned the respect and gratitude of the international community.

51. Before concluding I should like to reiterate my deep thanks for the support and co-operation I unfailingly received from all delegations, the Secretary-General and the staff of the Secretariat. I shall always treasure the rewarding experience it has been to preside over this Assembly of nations. I believe that at its thirty-eighth session, despite the many difficult issues it faced and the limitations placed upon it by the nature of the world in which we live, the General Assembly was able, on balance, to make a meaningful contribution to furthering the objectives of the community of nations. I am confident that at its thirty-ninth session, under the wise guidance of Mr. Paul Lusaka, the General Assembly will likewise strive to deal in a constructive manner with the many remaining and new issues on its agenda.

52. What a great challenge it is! In many ways, slowly but surely, we are helping to shape the world of tomorrow—a tomorrow which in the brief space of 15 years will lead us into the third millennium. That world will continue to be one rich in diversity but one where with patience and goodwill we can harmonize cultures, religions, different ways of life and political systems which today divide us, and can achieve in that not-too-distant future, through the United Nations, our common goals. Let us not despair. Let us be convinced that, with mankind's limitless imagination, we will be able to give firm direction to this magnificent planet, eliminating conflicts and ensuring a better life for the billions of people who will by then have inherited the earth.

AGENDA ITEM 4

Election of the President of the General Assembly

53. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I now invite members to proceed to the election of the President of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly.

54. May I recall that, in accordance with paragraph 1 of the annex to General Assembly resolution 33/138, the President of the thirty-ninth session should be elected from among the African States. In this regard I have been informed by the Chairman of the Group of African States that his Group has endorsed the candidacy of Mr. Paul John Firmino Lusaka, of Zambia, for the presidency of the General Assembly.

55. Taking into account the provisions of paragraph 16 of annex VI to the rules of procedure, I therefore declare Mr. Paul John Firmino Lusaka, of Zambia, President of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly by acclamation (*decision 39/302*).

56. I extend my sincere congratulations to Mr. Lusaka on his election and invite him to assume the presidency.

Mr. Lusaka (Zambia) took the Chair.

Address by Mr. Paul J. F. Lusaka, President of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly

57. The PRESIDENT: I am deeply honoured to be elected President of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. My election to this high office is first and foremost a tribute to my country, Zambia, and to my President, Mr. Kenneth David Kaunda, who has made Zambia's philosophy of humanism

and support for the United Nations and international co-operation the hallmark of Zambia's foreign policy.

58. I would like to express my sincere thanks to each and every Member State represented in this Assembly for this unanimous election. I wish in particular to thank the members of the Group of African States at the United Nations for their support and request them to convey my thanks to the African Heads of State or Government for nominating me at the nineteenth ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, held at Addis Ababa in June 1983. I thank also the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries for supporting that nomination. Let me assure you that I shall endeavour to live up to the trust you have reposed in me. In doing so, I shall be guided by the Charter of the United Nations and by the collective will of this Assembly.

59. I assume this responsibility with some trepidation, especially when I look back at the long line of my illustrious predecessors, who constitute a veritable hall of fame. I have in particular the unique honour of assuming the presidency of the General Assembly after a Head of State, Mr. Jorge Illueca, President of Panama, who presided over the thirty-eighth session. With his gracious personality and dignified composure, his dedication and commitment to the spirit and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and his wise and courageous leadership of the Assembly, he has set an example which will not be easy for me to emulate. But I take solace in the fact that my task will be facilitated by the wise and experienced counsel of the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, whom I have come to admire and respect for his intellect, judgement, tact and understanding during our very long and intimate association in several capacities. I shall naturally rely on the usual co-operation of the States Members of the United Nations in our endeavour to carry out the difficult task before us.

60. Twenty years ago a distinguished son of Africa, symbolizing Africa's decade of independence and emancipation, was elected the nineteenth President of the General Assembly. It was a time of acute crisis for the Organization and the shadow of imminent collapse hovered over the General Assembly. It was our good fortune that, with exceptional skill and imagination, arrangements were found that ensured the survival of the Organization.

61. It is instructive to recall the underlying considerations and factors that compelled the consensus which surmounted the crises at that time. Member States, although dedicated to the important principle of collective financial responsibility for peace-keeping and for sustaining the Organization, were equally conscious of the critical role of the greatest of Powers in ensuring the efficacy of the United Nations. Consequently, every effort was made to promote a more co-operative relationship between the two major Powers with a view to ensuring the survival of the Organization.

62. Today, as we prepare to celebrate the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, we are challenged by a whole array of difficulties that spell profound crisis for the Organization. We all deeply regret the present low ebb in the relationship between the two super-Powers. While there is no assurance that good relations between the United States and the Soviet Union will result in a more effective United Nations, a non-co-operative relationship certainly adds to its difficulties. A central theme of the Charter is the principle of a concert of great Powers, and this is given concrete form by the special responsibility entrusted to the members of the Security Council. It is therefore understandable that we should make a strong appeal to the great Powers urgently to explore every avenue to resume dialogue in a spirit of understanding, responsibility and flexibility. There is an agenda demanding urgent attention, namely, the need to work out mutually acceptable arrangements to stabilize the strategic balance and to halt and reverse the arms race, particularly in the field of nuclear weapons. The world is not safe when the great Powers are not engaged in serious dialogue to control and to halt or freeze the ever-increasing modernization of nuclear weapons.

63. Conventional wisdom suggests that the greatest of Powers do not need the United Nations to survive. Indeed, some even assert that international security since the founding of the Organization has been guaranteed by the nuclear "balance of terror" and that the existence of the Organization has had nothing to do with it. While it can be argued that this balance of terror has played a role in preventing total war, it has contributed very little to the creation of real peace. In contrast, the United Nations has made substantial contributions. Certainly, a strong case can be made to show that a world without the United Nations would be a much more dangerous place in which to live. Even the balance of terror itself operates within a context of diplomacy and international exchange; and to this extent, at least, all States depend upon this context within which the United Nations is a major element.

64. However, whether one or another State could possibly survive without the United Nations is not the central or crucial issue. The small and medium-sized States need the United Nations. This is not because they are confident that the United Nations can ensure their security and independence or indeed their very survival. On the contrary, the cumbersome methods of the Security Council and its increasing difficulties in taking timely and effective decisions offer no firm hope in that direction. Rather, and I hope that this is true also for the great Powers, they need the United Nations because it still represents mankind's most imaginative structure for using co-operative methods to tackle man's ancient enemies, namely, war, disease, poverty and the denial of basic human rights and freedoms.

65. In favourable circumstances, the United Nations creates the setting within which States can use their common wisdom to enunciate the norms which, when observed, provide for the maintenance of international peace and security.

66. It is tempting for Member States—perhaps relying too much on their own military, industrial, economic and moral authority—to believe that they can not only ensure their own security, but also impose their own particular concepts of peace and security on the world community. History, in its long display of the rise and fall of great empires, teaches us a different lesson. No State—however awesome its military power or however great its industrial and economic strength—can have a unique grasp on common sense, nor can it unilaterally command the strength of purpose and the tenacity of commitment required to safeguard the peace and security of the world community. Of course, I am aware that a single

State might be well placed to obstruct international efforts to strengthen the global machinery for peace and security. But we should never forget that obstruction is no substitute for leadership.

67. The approach of the fortieth anniversary of the Organization affords us an uncommon opportunity to rededicate ourselves to the important truth that the world needs the United Nations. The conceptual framework which gave birth to the Organization is still as vital and necessary as when it was formulated in the critical period of the struggle against nazism and fascism. None the less, it is incumbent upon all of us candidly to recognize that all is not well in the Organization in the present circumstances.

68. I alluded earlier to the crises that we are now experiencing. It is true, of course, that since its inception the Organization has been buffeted to and fro and has gone through many trying periods. We have experienced various crises of confidence and disenchantment. We have been able to come through those crises.

69. However, what we are faced with today is more serious. Some Member States are questioning the very legitimacy of the Organization. Some assert that United Nations deliberative organs have ceased to honour the principles of objectivity, sobriety and fairness. It is even being suggested that those organs have served as instruments for the exacerbation of conflicts rather than for promoting understanding and reconciliation among States. Others bemoan the prevalence of double standards and the absence of consistency in decisions. The imposition of collective sanctions is judged to be totally effective in certain situations but is assessed as impracticable and counter-productive in others. Surely, such perceptions, even though they may not be totally accurate, do not enhance the credibility of the Organization.

70. But the time is long past for name-calling, for blaming one another, or for pointing accusing fingers in efforts to dissect the ills of the United Nations. What is required at this critical juncture is a time to pause, to reflect deeply and to re-evaluate the direction in which we must move if the Organization is to regain its credibility and full acceptance. This is not the time for fractious rhetoric, nor is it the time for facile or evasive answers or, indeed, ostrich-like behaviour. We should be united in our conviction that the United Nations remains an essential human instrument in the conduct of international relations. And, within the context of this conviction, we should examine our actions and systems in order to bring about whatever reforms are necessary to achieve the objectives for which the Charter was designed.

71. Obviously, this task will not be easy. Our ability to tackle successfully certain perennial issues on the agenda will markedly influence our chances of success. Let us hasten to grapple with an issue that continues to baffle the overwhelming majority of Member States. In accordance with its Charter principles, the United Nations is firmly opposed to the *apartheid* policy of the South African régime. However, there are those who appear to be disturbed by what they refer to as the majority's obsession with South Africa. The United Nations cannot, morally, coexist with *apartheid*. It is a diabolical policy that inevitably corrupts the people and the State that practise it. *Apartheid* not only robs Africans of their basic human dignity; it is also a device that imposes a patently unacceptable white minority rule in South Africa. Just as peace is indivisible, so also is the defence of freedom and democracy indivisible. It is indeed alarming that those States which take pride in their own free and democratic Governments do not realize that the policy of *apartheid* rudely negates every tenet of a true democracy. How can democratic principles gain wider acceptance if a State that crushes the central principles of democracy is treated as an ally by other States founded on democratic principles?

72. We are continuously urged by some to exercise the maximum patience and restraint, and we are called upon to allow South Africa a breathing space to put its house in order. The response of the United Nations should be unequivocal. We are not impressed by any tinkering with the system of *apartheid*. Constitutional change which fails to deal with the legitimate rights of the overwhelming majority of the people of South Africa deserves neither the support nor the acquiescent tolerance of the Organization. Acrobatic diplomacy that seeks to befuddle a gullible world community ought not to be seen as an appropriate demonstration of flexibility. The fundamental moral issue in dealing with *apartheid* in South Africa is clear, and, until the United Nations takes a categorical and uncompromising decision to combat racism and *apartheid*, the credibility of the Organization will be in question.

73. As I intimated at the beginning of my statement, the magnitude of the achievements of the United Nations in outlawing colonialism is enormous. On a personal note, I am privileged to serve as your President because of the new international norm against colonialism which the General Assembly enunciated in 1960. Nevertheless, there is a stubborn hold-out: South Africa continues to defy the international consensus on Namibia.

74. More than six years have elapsed since hopes were raised about the early attainment of Namibia's independence. The South African régime has demonstrated great acumen in its evasive diplomacy, and this has not been matched by any serious effort to implement fully Security Council resolution 435 (1978). Instead of a determined effort on all sides to secure South Africa's compliance with that resolution, we have witnessed vain attempts to link the independence of Namibia with extraneous issues. Meanwhile the agony and travail of the Namibian people continue. It is essential that we co-operate in redoubling our efforts to expedite the implementation of the United Nations plan with a view to enabling the people of Namibia to enjoy the freedom and independence which they so much deserve. In the mean time, I hope that the General Assembly will continue to give its strong support to the South West Africa People's Organization.

75. On the Middle East crisis, the wide divergence of views, as well as the profound emotion that this crisis has produced in our deliberations, have, regrettably, poisoned the atmosphere of the United Nations. Nevertheless, the search for peace in the Middle East remains an essential responsibility of the Organization. At a time when it is fashionable to belittle the achievements of the United Nations in that region, we should never forget the vital role which the Organization has played there since the outbreak of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Yet, today the Organization has little or no influence at all in the joint efforts to find a just and lasting settlement. It is significant, nevertheless, that only the United Na-

tions, in Security Council resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967, has outlined the principles for an equitable solution to the problem. Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) and the relevant General Assembly resolutions provide a framework for a peaceful settlement. In tackling the Middle East problem, greater understanding should be shown of certain basic considerations which cannot be ignored. Under the Charter of the United Nations it is inadmissible to condone the annexation of foreign territory as a result of conquest. Such a practice belongs to the past and should never have a place in the Organization. Equally, every Member nation has the right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries. Furthermore, the principle of self-determination and nationhood is sacred to the overwhelming majority of Member States, and it is our duty to do all in our power to defend that principle and to ensure its enjoyment by the Palestinian people.

76. There are two major obstacles to the involvement of the United Nations in the search for peace in the Middle East. The first is that one party to the dispute is apprehensive that it would not be treated even-handedly by the Organization. The second is the lack of meaningful co-operation between the major Powers towards the attainment of United Nations objectives in the Middle East. Surprisingly, it is often forgotten that the special role of the United States and the Soviet Union in efforts to promote a just and durable peace in the Middle East by agreeing that the peace conference on the Middle East should be under their joint chairmanship was underlined in December 1973. The General Assembly, in its resolution 31/62 of 9 December 1976, reaffirmed that arrangement. It is therefore difficult to imagine any combination of circumstances that will produce a lasting settlement in the Middle East without co-operation between the United States and the Soviet Union. Let us hope that those two major Powers will commence serious consultations at an early date to remove the remaining obstacles to the convening of a Middle East peace conference under the auspices of the United Nations.

77. It is not beyond the capacity of all concerned to work out, in an imaginative way, the appropriate modalities, such as those relating to representation, timing and agenda. In the final analysis and given the complexity of the issues as they exist in the Middle East, only a comprehensive framework offers the prospect of a solution that would satisfy the divergent interests of all the parties concerned.

78. We must recognize the fact, however, that for the United Nations to play an effective role in the Middle East and in the resolution of many political disputes, some change of direction is needed in its deliberative organs. The Secretary-General, in his report on the work of the Organization, in 1982, and on subsequent occasions, has made extremely appropriate remarks in this regard. There is no doubt that, in the pursuit of difficult negotiations, decisions in the deliberative organs of the United Nations can make or mar such negotiations. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance that in certain situations we should minimize the deep frustration and feeling of helplessness that have encouraged Member States to continue to raise specific issues in all forums of the Organization and to adopt repetitive resolutions.

79. What is required now is a return to that period of the history and development of the United Nations when the formulation of decisions was an effort requiring close consultations with all those concerned. In this connection, it is vital that we show greater respect for the decisions of the Organization. When Member States perceive that United Nations decisions will not be implemented, there is less likelihood that the formulation of decisions will be given careful consideration. Lack of adequate consultation in the formulation of decisions in turn brings disrespect and non-compliance with such decisions. Here we should see clearly that we have entered a vicious circle, which undermines the effective functioning of the deliberative organs and diminishes the power and credibility of the entire United Nations.

80. From the perspective of the public at large, it has been almost incomprehensible that the United Nations has not been able to play an effective role in either containing or resolving many ongoing regional conflicts, even though those have often entailed enormous loss of human life and of national opportunities. Is it not within our capacity to find just and lasting solutions to conflicts such as those in Afghanistan, Kampuchea, the Gulf and Central America? More often than not, the perceived complacency of the Organization has baffled the average man and woman in the international community. Perhaps they take more seriously than their Governments the declaration in the Charter that the United Nations was established "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war". Even though we ought to be grateful that the world has so far been spared the terrible consequences of a nuclear exchange between the super-Powers, we should equally be disturbed by the death and destruction that have resulted from regional conflicts.

81. It is true that in many instances those bitterly engaged in regional conflicts or civil strife have shown reluctance to make use of the available international machinery for the resolution of the conflicts. It may even be true that the misuse of the veto power in the Security Council, for example, has discouraged parties to such conflicts from turning to the United Nations. Nevertheless, if we are to revive and strengthen the credibility of the Organization, it is imperative that we reflect on how best to adapt our working procedures and approaches in the crucial area of the peaceful settlement of disputes.

82. It is of interest to recall that the United Nations has in the past made necessary adjustments in order to overcome an obstacle limiting its ability to assist States in the resolution of disputes. Even the much-discussed misuse of the veto power was tempered, at the very beginning of the Organization, when an abstention by a permanent member of the Security Council was interpreted as not constituting a veto. Furthermore, the Secretary-General has used the provisions of Articles 98 and 99 of the Charter in an imaginative and effective manner which has enabled him to offer his good offices to Member States in the pacific settlement of disputes. This procedure has allowed the Organization to play a constructive role in tackling certain serious political disputes at various times in the past. But, by its very nature, the use of good offices requires each party to a dispute to accept the offer of the Secretary-General. It is therefore incumbent on Member States to show a greater degree of readiness to make use of the good offices of the Secretary-General, who has been elected as the custodian of the Charter principles for the protection of international peace and security.

83. Another adaptation made by the Organization in the past relates to the peace-keeping machinery of the United Nations. When it became obvious that the collective security procedures of the Charter were encountering difficulties in their full implementation, new peace-keeping approaches came to the rescue. These have demonstrated their usefulness in many regional and international conflicts. Those Member States that have always been willing at great sacrifice to contribute men and material to the United Nations peace-keeping forces deserve our highest commendation and respect. It is, however, most regrettable that in certain instances when there is a developing consensus that United Nations peace-keeping forces could be of use in a given situation, that option is frustrated by the lack of consensus in the Security Council. In this period of reflection and re-evaluation, it is essential that we again examine seriously how best we can strengthen our peace-keeping machinery—particularly as regards the financing of the operations. We can see on the horizon a number of regional and international disputes that could have a chance of early solution if the parties were convinced that the United Nations peace-keeping machinery would be available as an element in a comprehensive package.

84. It is in the light of these changes and adaptations, which have enabled the Organization to overcome great difficulties in the past, that we should face the even greater difficulties of the present session of the General Assembly. It is also in this spirit that we should look seriously at whatever reforms are necessary to enhance the Organization's capacity to contribute to the resolution of conflicts.

85. In recent years Member States have indicated the importance they attach to the principle of interdependence and multilateralism. In practical terms, however, some have continued to wonder whether this principle is a mere slogan. But, even as a slogan, we are witnessing today a turning away from interdependence and multilateralism. Those who accept this trend have grounded their case in some of the observations I have been making. They believe that the voting patterns in multilateral bodies either do not reflect the distribution of power in the world community or reflect its misuse by a majority based on their sheer numbers.

86. It is, of course, understandable that a State which believes that its policy will not obtain adequate support in a multinational framework may turn away from it. Such a stance is understandable as a short-run policy. But in the long run, such an approach is bound to prove defeatist and inappropriate to the interdependent era in which we live. If we are to tackle successfully numerous problems across international boundaries, we cannot afford to ignore the reality of interdependence and the consequent necessity of multilateralism.

87. This necessity affects political concerns as well as economic and social issues. An overwhelming majority of the members of the General Assembly have become disenchanted by a decreased commitment of multilateral co-operation for development. The prosperity of all parts of the world economic system depends upon improving the social, economic and industrial situation in every part of the world community. The developing countries have, perhaps, taken too seriously a major aim of the world Organization, which is to promote social progress and a better standard of life for all. Instead of enhancing the capacity of the multilateral agencies to help in the economic development of developing countries, we are witnessing cut-backs in multilateral aid and even threats to deprive specialized agencies of necessary funds because of political stands that these agencies take on particular issues. It is not far-fetched to state that our inability to reach common ground on global negotiations is primarily due to the tendency to move away from multilateralism and to ignore the interdependent nature of the world community.

88. Yet at the present time, as I have said earlier, we are faced with an even greater challenge to multilateral negotiations, namely, the need to manage the enormous debt of developing countries. In this connection, it is vital that we recognize the collective responsibility of the international community in dealing with the debt situation. Both debtor countries and those providing the loans must sit together to work out appropriate arrangements to ease the debt problem. Unless this is done urgently, there is a large measure of risk of devastating breakdowns in global financial arrangements. Those that have acquired enormous debt should not bear the sole burden, since decisions taken outside their borders, whether in the form of increased rates of interest or of new import controls, have significantly affected their ability to service their debts, thus curtailing development which is essential for external balance. Equally, the burden of meeting their obligations may tempt them to adopt measures which may restrict international trade. Consequently, a multilateral approach is of the highest importance in dealing with these and other similar problems. In this regard, it is of the highest importance that we give serious consideration to the re-evaluation of the present international financial system as well as examine seriously in what direction the present world economic system is taking Member States, particularly the developing countries.

89. The international community has shown greater inclination to exercise its responsibility in providing relief and rehabilitation assistance in situations resulting from man-made and natural disasters. However, the response has not always been uniform. Many countries have been ravaged by several years of severe drought and continue to face critical food shortages, causing famine in many instances. The flow of many millions of refugees and displaced persons remains a serious concern, especially against the backdrop of the very inadequate resources generated by both the first International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa, held at Geneva in April 1981, and the Second International Conference, held at Geneva in July of this year. There is, therefore, a pressing need to go beyond relief and rehabilitation assistance to tackle the problem on a sustained and long-term basis.

90. Let me, in summary, return to the central themes of my remarks. It is, unquestionably, a Herculean task to construct a legitimate, stable, just and enduring world order. This task has engaged the attention of the ablest of statesmen in the modern international system. And yet this system which is emerging to meet the objective realities of an historically unprecedented interdependent era is, in fact, of a very recent origin. We have only begun to build the structure of peace required for the years to come. Clearly, this effort deserves our collective commitment and sustained support. In fact, the categorical

imperative that we should not flinch from this responsibility is now as clear as it has ever been.

91. If we take only a few moments to ponder deeply and reflect on the present state of international relations, particularly the relations between the super-Powers, we recognize the urgent need to do all in our power to strengthen the foundation of world order and stability. We may be euphoric enough to congratulate ourselves for having prevented, thus far, a thermonuclear war. We may also, with confidence, point out the various fail-safe devices designed to obviate an accidental nuclear exchange. None the less, we should never underestimate the enormous danger presented to humanity as a whole by these apocalyptic weapons of terror. Humility requires that we bear in mind the fact that human error, misperception and miscalculation could trigger off that which none of us desires—a nuclear holocaust.

92. Reflection on the history of modern international relations should give us some cause for concern. A major characteristic of this period is the alternation of periods of relative peace with periods of war: 40 years of relative peace from 1815 to 1854, 44 years of peace from 1871 to 1914, 20 years of peace from 1918 to 1939; and now we are about to conclude another period of 40 years of the avoidance of war between the major Powers. We should not lose sight of the fact, however, that while we have been fortunate in avoiding war between the super-Powers we have failed in the control and resolution of regional conflicts. Not only have these conflicts persisted among many small and medium-sized States, but also they have frequently involved one or more of the major Powers. In this connection we have not grappled with the need for conventional arms control with even as much effort and effect as has been applied to nuclear arms control.

93. In contemporary international relations we should take some comfort from the fact that the determination to avoid global war has gained expression in a pronounced growth of public knowledge and concern in many parts of the world. It was in this context that General Assembly resolution 37/16 of 16 November 1982 declared 1986 the International Year of Peace. It is to be hoped that that year will provide a focus for stimulating concerted action by Member States and non-governmental organizations to promote peace on the basis of fuller implementation of the decisions of the United Nations.

94. Where, it may be asked, does the United Nations fit into our collective effort to build a just, stable and legitimate world order? The United Nations still represents a central building-block for strengthening the foundations of world order.

95. I have attempted to review candidly with representatives the dilemmas in which the United Nations finds itself today. These dilemmas, however discouraging at times, make possible a better appreciation of what is required to ensure the greater credibility of the Organization. We have all become wearily accustomed to an avalanche of accusations against the United Nations as a wasteful international instrument that is of only marginal value. Such criticism of the United Nations, even when it is partly justified, can become a dangerous pastime. No Member State should become so much engrossed in the pursuit of its own immediate national interest that it fails to recognize that the United Nations is the only available international institution which has a reasonable chance of ensuring that right does not yield to might at all levels of international society.

96. Let those who mightily foster opposition to the Organization take note that, clearly, the world would become a more dangerous place without the United Nations. Instead of dismissing the United Nations or contemplating withdrawal from it, we should focus on those aspects of the Organization which provide windows of opportunity to build a more peaceful international society.

97. As we open the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly we are witnessing a vivid demonstration of the uniqueness of the United Nations. We have been able to attain almost universality of membership; we have been able to make the General Assembly truly a parliament of nations and a forum for humanity. I may add that we should avoid any step that would vitiate the principle of universality of membership. Within these walls we have Member States that either are ancient enemies or are now engaged in fierce combat. Contacts among representatives at the Assembly may yet provide a framework for serious, meaningful dialogue between the super-Powers, a development which would unquestionably be welcomed by the world community, since it is the super-Powers which hold our destiny in their hands.

98. As we prepare to celebrate the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations we need a rebirth and a renaissance. We have the instrumentality, so we must have the will. We have the dangers, so we must have the courage to overcome them. We have the Charter, so we must have the capacity to implement it. We have examples of international anarchy, so we must develop ways and means of controlling it. Our path is open. My message is one of hope. My words are an echo of deep-seated aspirations everywhere. The United Nations must press forward in dignity and effectiveness, with streamlined mechanisms and revitalized will to achieve the hopes of the peoples of the world today. There shall be no slide-back. Let us together seize this opportunity. Let us begin now, lest we later find that we are too late.

The meeting rose at 5.05 p.m.

United Nations
GENERAL ASSEMBLY
THIRTY-NINTH SESSION
Official Records

2nd PLENARY MEETING

Tuesday, 18 September 1984,
at 5.40 p.m.

NEW YORK

President: Mr. Paul J. F. LUSAKA (Zambia).

AGENDA ITEM 5

Election of the officers of the Main Committees

1. The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform members that the following representatives have been elected Chairmen of the seven Main Committees of the General Assembly and are accordingly members of the General Committee for the thirty-ninth session (*decision 39/303*):

First Committee: Mr. Celso Antônio de Souza e Silva (Brazil);

Special Political Committee: Mr. Alpha Ibrahima Diallo (Guinea);

Second Committee: Mr. Bryce Harland (New Zealand);

Third Committee: Mr. Ali Abdi Madar (Somalia);

Fourth Committee: Mr. Renagi Renagi Lohia (Papua New Guinea);

Fifth Committee: Mr. Ernest Besley Maycock (Barbados);

Sixth Committee: Mr. Gunter Goerner (German Democratic Republic).

I congratulate the Chairmen on their election.

AGENDA ITEM 6

Election of the Vice-Presidents of the General Assembly

2. The PRESIDENT: Pursuant to rule 31 of the rules of procedure, we shall now proceed to the election of the Vice-Presidents of the General Assembly, who are to be chosen in such a way as to ensure the representative character of the General Committee.

3. All members of the General Assembly are eligible in this election except those already represented in the General Committee—namely, those countries whose representatives have been elected to the presidency of the General Assembly or to the chairmanships of the Main Committees.

4. In accordance with paragraphs 2 and 3 of the annex to General Assembly resolution 33/138 of 19 December 1978, the 21 Vice-Presidents shall be elected according to the following pattern: five representatives from African States; five representatives from Asian States; one representative from an Eastern European State; three representatives from Latin American States; two representatives from Western European or other States; five representatives from the permanent members of the Security Council.

5. In accordance with paragraph 16 of annex VI to the rules of procedure, the election of the Vice-Presidents of the Assembly by secret ballot will be dispensed with when the number of candidates corresponds to the number of seats to be filled. In other words, whenever the number of candidates in a given group corresponds to the number of seats to be filled in that group, those candidates will be declared elected. We shall proceed accordingly.

6. I shall now read out the names of the States endorsed by the regional groups: five African States: Chad, Djibouti, Ghana, Morocco and Togo; five Asian States: Bahrain, Bangladesh, Cyprus, Malaysia and Yemen; one Eastern European State: Bulgaria; three Latin American States: Bolivia, Cuba and Guatemala; two Western European or other States: Iceland and Italy.

7. Mr. LESLIE (Belize): I should like to extend the congratulations of the delegation of Belize to you, Sir, on your election to the presidency of the General Assembly. My Minister for Foreign Affairs will extend appropriate congratulations to you and to your predecessor during the course of this session of the General Assembly.

8. With your permission, Mr. President, I should like to make specific reference to the election of Guatemala to one of the vice-presidencies of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. The delegation of Belize joined in the consensus achieved through many hours of discussion and negotiation to present a slate of candidates to represent the Latin American and Caribbean grouping of States in important positions during this General Assembly.

9. My delegation has the deepest respect for the Group of Latin American States, of which it is a part, and has no doubt that the representatives elected to high office will be a credit both to our group and to the United Nations. My delegation, however, would like to place on record its reservation on the candidature of Guatemala for vice-presidency of the General Assembly. In spite of its reservation, Belize joined in the consensus of the Group of Latin American States, but this decision by my delegation should not be interpreted as approval of Guatemala's international posture, as a comment on its record at the United Nations or as acceptance of its persistent non-recognition of the existence of the independent State of Belize within its own land and sea boundaries or of its claim over our territory. It should be seen, rather, as a sign of our solidarity with the Group of Latin American States, and it should be interpreted by the General Assembly and the Guatemalan authorities as another contribution in good faith by Belize to the

dialogue on peace and co-operation between our two countries in our troubled region.

10. The PRESIDENT: Since the number of candidates endorsed by each group corresponds to the number of seats to be filled in that group, I declare those candidates elected, in addition to the five permanent members of the Security Council.

The representatives of the following 21 Member States were thus elected Vice-Presidents of the General Assembly: Bahrain, Bangladesh, Bolivia, Bulgaria, Chad, China, Cuba, Cyprus, Djibouti, France, Ghana, Guatemala, Iceland, Italy, Malaysia, Morocco, Togo, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America and Yemen (decision 39/304).

11. I wish to take this opportunity to congratulate the States which have been elected Vice-Presidents of the General Assembly.

12. The General Committee for the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly has now been fully constituted in accordance with rule 38 of the rules of procedure.

The meeting rose at 5.45 p.m.

United Nations
GENERAL ASSEMBLY
THIRTY-NINTH SESSION
Official Records

3rd PLENARY MEETING

Friday, 21 September 1984, at 10.45 a.m.

NEW YORK

President: Mr. Paul J. F. LUSAKA (Zambia).

AGENDA ITEM 115

Scale of assessments for the apportionment of the expenses of the United Nations: report of the Committee on Contributions (*continued*)*

1. The PRESIDENT: Before taking up the other items on the agenda for today I should like to draw the attention of the General Assembly to document A/39/498/Add.1, which contains a letter addressed to me by the Secretary-General informing me that since the issuance of his last communication [*A/39/498*], dated 18 September 1984, El Salvador has made the necessary payment to reduce its arrears below the amount specified in Article 19 of the Charter of the United Nations. May I take it that the Assembly takes note of this information?

It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEM 19

Admission of new Members to the United Nations

2. The PRESIDENT: I now invite the General Assembly to consider the recommendation by the Security Council for the admission of Brunei Darussalam to membership in the United Nations. In this connection, a draft resolution has been submitted [*A/39/L.1/Rev.1 and Add.1*].

3. May I take it that the General Assembly adopts the draft resolution by acclamation?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 39/1).

4. The PRESIDENT: I therefore declare Brunei Darussalam admitted to membership in the United Nations.

5. I request the Chief of Protocol to escort the delegation of Brunei Darussalam to its place in the General Assembly Hall.

The delegation of Brunei Darussalam was escorted to its place in the General Assembly Hall.

6. The PRESIDENT: It is indeed an honour and a privilege for me, at the start of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly, to welcome Brunei Darussalam as the 159th Member of the United Nations. The assumption by Brunei Darussalam of its full international responsibilities as a sovereign and independent State on 1 January 1984 and its membership in this Organization mark yet another step towards the achievement of one of the fundamental goals of the United Nations, universality of membership.

7. I am happy to see Brunei Darussalam assume its rightful place in the international community. I am confident that it will support the work of the United Nations and its efforts to promote the ideals of peace, justice, co-operation and understanding in the South-East Asian region and throughout the world.

8. On behalf of the General Assembly, and on my own behalf, I should like to convey my congratulations to the new Member State of Brunei Darussalam. I wish also to welcome most warmly the Head of State and Prime Minister of Brunei Darussalam, Sultan Hassanal Bolkiah Mu'izzaddin Waddaulah, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Prince Mohamed Bolkiah, and the other members of his delegation. Their presence here today marks a historic moment both for the United Nations and for the Government and people of Brunei Darussalam.

9. I now call on the representative of the United Kingdom.

10. Sir John THOMSON (United Kingdom): Mr. President, in my first statement at the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly it gives me the greatest pleasure to congratulate you on behalf of the United Kingdom Government. Your high qualities are universally acknowledged. Your experience we have all learned to value, and we know that it will enable you to guide the proceedings of this General Assembly in accordance with the high standards of your predecessors. That said, I would like to add my own very personal congratulations and my delight that a friend should be sitting in the seat you now occupy. It seems particularly appropriate that you, as a great representative of Africa and especially as a notable representative of the Commonwealth, should be presiding on this occasion when we have just admitted as the 159th Member of the United Nations the 49th member of the Commonwealth—and the 45th to be a Member of the United Nations.

11. On 7 December last year the General Assembly unanimously adopted a decision extending to the Government and people of Brunei its warm congratulations on their forthcoming independence and best wishes for peace, happiness and prosperity in the years ahead [*decision 38/417*]. I could not improve on those sentiments but I do wish to echo them on this auspicious occasion and to extend a very warm welcome to His Majesty the Sultan and the delegation of Brunei Darussalam, who join us for the first time today.

12. It is always a pleasure to welcome newly independent States into the United Nations. That pleasure is naturally all the greater for my delegation when the State concerned is one with which Britain has enjoyed close ties of friendship stretching back

---

*Resumed from the 1st meeting.

over many years. Such is the case with Brunei, which today becomes the 159th Member of the United Nations. In fact, until Brunei's independence on 31 December last year, Brunei had been in treaty relationship with my country since 1847, when a treaty was signed for the furtherance of commercial activities. By a further treaty in 1888, Brunei was, at the request of the then Sultan, placed under British protection, while continuing to be governed and administered by the Sultan and his successors as an independent State. Britain assumed responsibility for Brunei's defence and foreign relations, while Brunei maintained control over its internal affairs. By a supplementary agreement of 1906, the Sultan undertook to accept a British resident as agent and representative of the British Government. The British resident was empowered to advise the Sultan on matters of internal administration. In 1959 the agreement of 1906 was replaced by a new treaty: Britain remained responsible for Brunei's external affairs and defence, and a High Commissioner was appointed to Brunei in its own right. An amending agreement of 1971 provided that Brunei should enjoy full internal self-government, and the direct responsibility of the British Government was reduced to the conduct of the State's external affairs.

13. This process of gradual transfer of responsibilities to the Territory—a process that has been central to our decolonization policy since the Second World War—was reflected in a Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation, signed in 1979, in which it was agreed that, after a transitional period, Britain would relinquish its final responsibilities towards Brunei on 31 December 1983. Brunei would then, in the words of the Treaty, "resume full international responsibility as a sovereign and independent State".

14. We have been proud of our association with Brunei, as we have been proud of our close and continuing association with the member States of the Association of South-East Asian Nations [*ASEAN*], of which Brunei became the sixth member earlier this year. We feel privileged and honoured to be able to address the General Assembly this morning on what is surely a milestone in Brunei's history. We are also naturally delighted that Brunei has seen fit to join the Commonwealth as its 49th member. I have no doubt that our enduring relations with Brunei will go from strength to strength in the coming years and that they will be closer for the mutual affection and understanding that has grown up between our two countries over the past 150 years. I am confident, too, that Brunei's representatives will make a significant contribution in the field of international relations and that we shall all gain from the new insights they bring to our discussions.

15. Mr. President, I echo what you said in your opening remarks about the universality of membership of the United Nations. The way in which the United Nations has grown from 51 to 159 Member States is testimony to the achievements of the international community—and, I would venture to say, not least of my own country—in the past 40 years. Sometimes we are told that the world is going from bad to worse, but I think the expansion of the General Assembly, symbolized by the admission today of Brunei, shows that in some directions, and not least in the direction of universality, we are making progress.

16. It remains only for me to say how delighted I am that the General Assembly has seen fit to admit Brunei Darussalam into membership of the United Nations by acclamation. This is testimony to the confidence I am sure we all feel in Brunei's future. I hope too that Brunei will be able to count on the support both of this institution and of its Member States, support that is always vital and never more so than in the early days of nationhood.

17. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Malaysia, who will speak on behalf of the members of ASEAN.

18. Mr. RITHAUDDEEN (Malaysia): I am indeed happy to be among the first to congratulate you, Sir, on your unanimous election as President of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. Your election is not only a tribute to Zambia, which you have represented with distinction and which is highly respected in international councils for its humane, courageous and thoughtful policies: it is also a reflection of the high regard in which you are held for your own professionalism and competence and for your sense of fairness and impartiality, as well as for your personal qualities of moderation, patience and good humour. For these reasons, your election has given my delegation great pleasure, and in offering you my congratulations I want to assure you of my delegation's constant support and co-operation in your endeavours.

19. It is with great pleasure and pride that I speak this morning, on behalf of the five member countries of ASEAN—namely, Indonesia, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Malaysia—to express our warmest welcome and felicitations to Brunei Darussalam, a close neighbour of ours and the sixth fellow-member of ASEAN, on the occasion of its admission to membership of the United Nations. We feel particularly pleased and privileged to have with us this morning Sultan Hassanal Bolkiah Mu'izzaddin Waddaulah, who is personally leading the delegation of Brunei Darussalam. We know that His Majesty has made a special effort, in spite of his many other responsibilities, to be here for this historic occasion, which is itself a tribute to Brunei Darussalam's commitment to the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations.

20. Speaking for a moment as a representative of Malaysia, I feel particularly honoured that it has fallen to me to speak on behalf of ASEAN on this happy occasion. Malaysia's ties with Brunei Darussalam go back many centuries. Indeed, we spring from the same historical and cultural roots; we have similar traditions and customs; we are heirs to the same heritage. Therefore, with Brunei Darussalam's full independence we feel as though we are welcoming home a beloved brother.

21. The full independence and the admission of Brunei Darussalam to the United Nations also represent an event of historic significance to ASEAN, whose membership was increased for the first time since its formation when Brunei Darussalam became its sixth member in January 1984. Even before its full independence, Brunei Darussalam had been an observer to the annual ministerial meetings of ASEAN. Since then, as a full member, it has participated actively and constructively in the work of ASEAN, and we are confident that its membership of ASEAN will be a source of added strength to our organization. All the member countries of ASEAN look forward to continuing their close and cordial relations with Brunei Darussalam. We wish to reaffirm

to His Majesty and to the Government of Brunei Darussalam our full support for their endeavours to enhance the welfare and well-being of their people and to promote peace, security, co-operation and understanding among nations.

22. Let me, in conclusion, express once again, on behalf of the ASEAN member countries, our congratulations to the delegation of Brunei Darussalam and our warmest good wishes for the continued prosperity and well-being of Brunei Darussalam and all its people. We are convinced that the participation of another new Member will enrich the United Nations and contribute immeasurably to the protection and promotion of the principles on which the Organization was founded.

23. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of the Islamic Republic of Iran, who will speak on behalf of the Group of Asian States.

24. Mr. RAJAIE-KHORASSANI (Islamic Republic of Iran): On behalf of the Group of Asian States, which I have the honour of presiding over this month, I extend my warmest congratulations to you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. I wish you total success in dealing with the great task bestowed upon you by the Assembly.

25. I have the honour also of extending our gratitude to your predecessor, the President of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly, for his leadership of that entire session.

26. On behalf of the Group of Asian States, my delegation has the honour and the sincere pleasure of welcoming Brunei Darussalam as the 159th State Member of the United Nations. The Asian Group is particularly pleased with the membership of Brunei Darussalam in the light of the fact that it is an Asian State and will be an addition to our Group.

27. I note with special satisfaction that the long-overdue liberation, on 1 January 1984, of Brunei Darussalam from colonial domination and its admission to the United Nations mark yet another step forward towards the complete elimination of colonialism from our world. Since their subjugation as a protectorate in 1888, the people of Brunei Darussalam have never lost sight of their God-given right to self-determination nor of the fact that, with the exception of submission to God, all forms of submission are plain evil and therefore unacceptable.

28. The members of the Group of Asian States therefore congratulate the people of Brunei Darussalam, on this occasion, on their perseverance and exuberance and wish them success in their independence, social progress and quest for self-sufficiency. We hope that soon we shall witness such moments for other regions still deprived of their inalienable right to self-determination.

29. We also welcome the delegation of Brunei Darussalam and wish it success and fruitful participation in the work of the United Nations. We are confident that Brunei Darussalam will make a valuable and positive contribution to the work of the Organization. In whole-heartedly congratulating and welcoming the delegation of Brunei Darussalam, in my capacity as chairman of the Group of Asian States, I should like to assure its representative that at Headquarters he will enjoy the full and warm support and co-operation of the members of the Asian Group.

30. I wish to take the opportunity also, on behalf of my own delegation, the delegation of the Islamic Republic of Iran, to welcome the Islamic State of Brunei Darussalam sincerely to the community of nations. The delegation of Brunei Darussalam can rest assured of the unreserved support and co-operation of the Mission of the Islamic Republic of Iran to the United Nations.

31. The PRESIDENT: I call next on the representative of Botswana, who will speak on behalf of the Group of African States.

32. Mr. LEGWAILA (Botswana): At the appropriate time the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Botswana and his African colleagues will express from this rostrum, in more colourful and eloquent terms, the great sense of pride we all feel in seeing you, Sir, accede to the high office of President of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. In my humble capacity as chairman of the Group of African States for this month, I can only extend to you our sincere congratulations and wish you well in your stewardship of this important session.

33. It is my honour also to extend to your predecessor the deep gratitude of my Group for the exemplary manner in which he guided the proceedings of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly.

34. Welcoming a new member into our ranks is by all accounts a happy occasion. We are indeed very happy to welcome Brunei Darussalam to membership of the United Nations and express to it the best wishes of the Group of African States.

35. The fact that at almost every session in the past few years we have welcomed a new free nation into our ranks demonstrates quite clearly that we are making steady progress towards the total elimination of the remaining pockets of colonial resistance in the world today. The extension of the frontiers of freedom has become inevitable. So has the march towards the universalization of the membership of the United Nations.

36. But as we justifiably celebrate the arrival in our midst of the new, free nation of Brunei Darussalam, let us not forget that the struggle must continue. Today it is Brunei Darussalam; tomorrow it must be Namibia whose independence and freedom we must welcome and celebrate in the General Assembly—and by tomorrow I mean the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations and the fortieth session of the General Assembly.

37. On behalf of the Group of African States it is a great honour and privilege for me to assure our new friend of the abiding friendship of the African States here at the United Nations. Brunei can always count on our unreserved support and co-operation as it seeks to discharge the onerous responsibilities it takes upon itself today.

38. Botswana, as a member of the Commonwealth, is also very happy to welcome an additional member to that organization, but since I am representing the Group of African States here, I can only welcome Brunei Darussalam to the United Nations in my capacity as chairman of the African Group for this month.

39. The PRESIDENT: I now call upon the representative of the German Democratic Republic, who will speak on behalf of the Group of Eastern European States.

40. Mr. OTT (German Democratic Republic): In my capacity as chairman of the Group of Eastern European States, I would like to express deep satisfaction in welcoming Brunei Darussalam as the 159th Member of the United Nations and congratulating it on its admission. Having gained independence, the people of that country has begun a new stage in its history, since it is now able to determine its future by itself, free from colonial oppression.

41. The admission of Brunei Darussalam to the United Nations is a further step on the road to the full implementation of the principle of universality of the world Organization. At the same time, it is a convincing sign of the efficiency and importance of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. When we celebrate next year the twenty-fifth anniversary of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), we can look back with pride and satisfaction at the large number of countries that have gained their independence. We do not, however, forget the important tasks still facing us in the further process of decolonization. It is our desire—and everything should be done to fulfil the aim—that in the near future Namibia may also take its place in the United Nations as an independent and sovereign State.

42. In co-operation with the non-aligned States and on the basis of the Charter of the United Nations and resolution 1514 (XV), we will also in future advance the cause of freedom and independence of the peoples of Namibia and all other colonially dependent territories, especially in the Pacific region.

43. We strongly object to all imperialist attempts to reach their political, economic and militarily strategic interests at the cost of the oppressed peoples by the forced maintenance of colonial status or by neocolonial manoeuvres.

44. The delegations of the European socialist countries are convinced that Brunei Darussalam will consistently fulfil the obligations of the Charter. We would like to take this opportunity to assure the new Member State of our close co-operation and assistance. We wish the people of Brunei Darussalam success in strengthening its independence and shaping its national development.

45. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of Peru, who will speak on behalf of the Group of Latin American States.

46. Mr. ARIAS STELLA (Peru) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Speaking in my capacity as chairman of the Group of Latin American States for the month of September, I should like to express my most sincere congratulations to you, Sir, on your well-deserved election to the presidency of the General Assembly at its thirty-ninth session. We are certain that, thanks to your extensive diplomatic experience, your stature, your acknowledged record in defence of the right of peoples to enjoy sovereignty, independence and self-determination, the Assembly will be able to deal successfully with the problems that arise in the course of its deliberations.

47. May I also express our gratitude to your predecessor, the President of the General Assembly at its thirty-eighth session, Mr. Jorge Illueca, President of the sister Republic of Panama, for the excellent way in which he carried out the mandate given him by the Assembly.

48. The Latin American and Caribbean States extend their warmest welcome to Brunei Darussalam, whose admission as the 159th Member of the United Nations is a significant step in our recognition and affirmation of the universality of the Organization and its role in the quest for harmony between nations. We have no doubt that the Government of Brunei Darussalam will make its best endeavour in our common task of promoting international peace and security and co-operation, to which we, the Members of the United Nations, are all committed.

49. Approximately 500 years ago the American continent and the island of Borneo were united by the ships of the comrades of the great navigator, Ferdinand Magellan. Today, with the admission of Brunei Darussalam to the Organization, we have an opportunity to establish new contacts between our peoples, as part of the United Nations family. In the light of those initial geographic links and the historic relationships that we have had with the Asian continent, we hope to be able to develop close and fruitful co-operation with Brunei Darussalam.

50. The Latin American and Caribbean States, which it is my honour to represent, express their most cordial greeting to the Sultan of Brunei Darussalam, Head of State and Prime Minister of that country, and express every good wish for the success of its Government and the prosperity of its people.

51. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of the United Kingdom, who will speak on behalf of the Group of Western European and Other States.

52. Sir John THOMSON (United Kingdom): I promise, Mr. President, that I shall not always speak twice on the same item. However, I welcome this opportunity, as it enables me not only to welcome Brunei Darussalam twice but also to congratulate you twice.

53. An accident of the alphabet has determined that now I have the privilege and honour of speaking as this month's chairman of the Group of Western European and Other States. In that capacity, Sir, I give you the congratulations of the Group as a whole.

54. It also gives me particular pleasure to congratulate Brunei Darussalam on its admission by acclamation to membership in the United Nations. The large number of delegations that sponsored the draft resolution of admission bears witness to the goodwill felt by so many Member States towards Brunei Darussalam and the satisfaction at Brunei Darussalam's decision to join the international comity of nations and to take on the responsibilities placed on all of us by the Charter of the United Nations.

55. I know I speak for my colleagues in the Group when I say how pleased we are to welcome the representatives of Brunei Darussalam in our midst today. I assure the delegation of Brunei Darussalam that it may always rely upon the trust, co-operation and assistance of the members of the Group of Western European and Other States in the fulfilment of the objectives we at the United Nations have set ourselves.

56. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of Democratic Yemen, who will speak on behalf of the Group of Arab States.

57. Mr. AL-ASHTAL (Democratic Yemen) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The Minister for Foreign Affairs of my country will at a later stage extend his congratulations to you, Sir, on your election as President of the General Assembly at its thirty-ninth session. But as I have the opportunity to speak today

it gives me great pleasure to congratulate you on behalf of the Group of Arab States, as well as on my own behalf, on your election to the presidency of the thirty-ninth session. I am confident that you will be able to carry out the great task entrusted to you, thanks to your great competence, your wisdom and your extensive experience in the work of the United Nations.

58. It also gives me pleasure on behalf of the Group of Arab States to join in welcoming Brunei Darussalam on its admission to the international family within the framework of the United Nations. The young State of Brunei Darussalam will undoubtedly contribute effectively, together with the international community, to the realization of the lofty goals of the United Nations in a manner which will promote international peace and security in an era of international political tension and economic crisis.

59. I should like to refer to the special relationship that Brunei Darussalam enjoys with many of the member States of the Arab Group. In addition to the historic links between the Arab States and Brunei Darussalam, a fertile common heritage of long standing unites them, despite the great geographic distance separating them. For example, hundreds of thousands of Yemenis continue to live in many of the States of South-East Asia, including Brunei Darussalam.

60. In the light of this special relationship between many of the Arab States and Brunei Darussalam, we look forward to the young State's participation in and support for the efforts of the Arab States in this international forum to find solutions to their just causes, particularly that of Palestine and the Palestinian people's struggle to regain their national rights and of the struggle by the Arab States to recover their occupied territories.

61. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of the United States of America, the host country.

62. Mrs. KIRKPATRICK (United States of America): It is a real pleasure to see you, Sir, presiding here over the work of the General Assembly. We have all observed your very considerable diplomatic skills in the years that I have been present at the United Nations and, like all other Members whom we know, the United States feels confident that the Assembly will benefit greatly from your guidance during this session.

63. The United States is extremely pleased to have been among the sponsors of the application of Brunei Darussalam for membership in the United Nations. As host country, the United States welcomes Brunei to New York, and as a founding Member of the United Nations we welcome Brunei Darussalam to the United Nations. We believe that Brunei Darussalam will be a most constructive Member of the Organization.

64. Brunei and the United States have enjoyed a variety of ties, all of them friendly, extending back over the past 100 years and more. Our consular relations date from the late nineteenth century, and commercial contacts and mutually advantageous trade go even further back. Full diplomatic relations were established with the resumption of Brunei's independence on 1 January of this year, and a United States embassy has opened for business in Bandar Seri Begawan, just as the embassy of Brunei Darussalam has opened in Washington.

65. The United States is confident that in the months and years to come we will all benefit here by the presence of the delegation of Brunei Darussalam in our midst. In addition, in having become the sixth member of ASEAN, Brunei has joined an organization which, as we all know, is an outstanding example of common purpose, regional co-operation and constructive action.

66. On the occasion of the admission of Brunei Darussalam to the United Nations, and on behalf of the United States delegation and the American people, I wish to extend most sincere congratulations to the people of Brunei and to His Majesty the Sultan and Prime Minister. We look forward to working closely with the representatives of Brunei Darussalam in the General Assembly and throughout the United Nations system. We welcome the representatives of Brunei Darussalam to New York City, the United States and the United Nations.

67. The PRESIDENT: I now take pleasure in inviting the Head of State and Prime Minister of Brunei Darussalam, Sultan Hassanal Bolkiah Mu'izzaddin Waddaulah, to address the General Assembly.

68. Sultan Hassanal BOLKIAH: Permit me, Sir, on behalf of my delegation, to add our congratulations on your election as President of the General Assembly at its thirty-ninth session to those of other delegations. My delegation is confident that, with your rich experience and wisdom, you will ably and successfully manage the proceedings and affairs of the Assembly. I should like to thank you and other speakers for your kind words of welcome.

69. I should like also to take this opportunity to thank all the members of the Security Council, who scrutinized our application for membership in the United Nations, for their favourable endorsement. We are particularly grateful to the other members of ASEAN and to the United Kingdom for jointly sponsoring our application. Last but not least, we wish to thank all those Member States which acted as sponsors of the draft resolution welcoming us to the United Nations.

70. My country and my people are grateful to you, Mr. President, and to the nations of the General Assembly for the honour that this moment marks. It marks not only our accession to membership in this fellowship of nations but also the international endorsement of our sovereignty and integrity as a nation.

71. By most of the traditional ways of measuring, Brunei Darussalam is a small nation. Our land area is modest. Our population barely exceeds 200,000. Our national resources, though plentiful and valuable, are not as great as those of some.

72. Despite these limitations, my country can offer the world several things which, in my judgement, are valuable. First of all, we can offer experience: the perspective lent by a long and difficult history. We are a new nation, but an ancient country, one of Asia's oldest. Visitors to Brunei many centuries ago found an established social system with a rich and flourishing culture. Five hundred years ago, under the leadership of my ancestor, Sultan Bolkiah, the fifth Islamic sultan, Brunei played an important role in the spread of the Islamic faith in South-East Asia.

73. So we have known pride and glory. But we have also experienced much pain. For 300 years, from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries, our land and

our region were racked by rampant piracy, a series of wars and the violence of those who called themselves explorers, but whom we knew as exploiters.

74. In this century we have lived under the protection of an imperial Power, albeit a benevolent one—Great Britain—and for a time during the Second World War under military occupation by Japan.

75. In short, our country has known peace, but also war; wealth, but also poverty; energetic commerce, but also isolation; development, but also exploitation; self-government, but also foreign rule. All this has not been without benefit to us. It has taught us to appreciate the realities of this world. Hence, my delegation wishes to assure the General Assembly that our approach to the United Nations is a realistic one. We do not see the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations as mere abstract concepts. As a small nation rich with experience, we really appreciate the moral and legal significance of those principles and will always strive to achieve congruence between those principles and our own conduct in world affairs.

76. We wish to assure the Assembly that we accept fully the obligations enshrined in the Charter. Together with other Member States, we shall always strive for the achievement of those aims and objectives. We genuinely believe in the preservation of world peace through collective security. We endorse the promotion of economic development through mutual help. We shall uphold the principle that each country has the inalienable right to establish its own form of government, without any kind of outside interference, and always having regard to the prevailing circumstances in each country and the aspirations of its own people for a better standard of livelihood and well-being.

77. We have a major stake in the efficacy of international law, in the principles of the Charter and in the collective security system which the United Nations represents. I therefore assure the Assembly, on behalf of my delegation, that it will not find us wanting should our adherence to those principles ever be put to the test in future.

78. My delegation is conscious that there is a substantial body of opinion that maintains that the United Nations has fallen far short of the expectations of its Members; yet others suggest that it is becoming irrelevant. We believe that this is not because there is anything wrong with the ideals of the United Nations. We believe that the effectiveness of the United Nations depends on its Members. It can be only as effective as its Member States will allow it to be. We small States need the United Nations more than others. But that is not to say that my delegation will be uncritical. When the need arises we shall be critical, but we shall not be intemperate in language or lacking in objectivity.

79. We shall support practical measures and we shall not make proposals which violate the very norms which we profess to uphold.

80. We live in a world in which violence is a fact of life. In South-East Asia, peace, security and stability are being threatened by forces that are disregarding the basic principles of the Charter of the United Nations. I refer, of course, to the armed invasion and continued occupation of Kampuchea by Vietnamese forces, disregarding the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other States and in violation of international law and normal standards of international behaviour.

81. In the Middle East, the continued denial of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people constitutes the core of the problems of that region. Brunei Darussalam remains steadfast in its conviction that a just, lasting and comprehensive solution must take into account the legitimate right of the Palestinian people to self-determination in their own State of Palestine. We also support the Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole representative of the Palestinian people. Brunei Darussalam joins other nations in opposing the continued Israeli occupation of Arab lands, including southern Lebanon.

82. We also wish to express our deep concern at the continuing conflict between Iran and Iraq, which has cost thousands of lives and untold human suffering and destruction on both sides. Brunei Darussalam joins other Muslim countries in calling earnestly upon the two nations to halt the war and settle their disputes peacefully in the interest of Islamic solidarity.

83. With regard to the situation in Afghanistan, Brunei Darussalam shares the indignation and concern of the majority of the nations of the world, and calls for the withdrawal of foreign forces from Afghanistan and for respect for the right of self-determination of the Afghan people and the restoration of an independent, non-aligned Afghanistan.

84. As we are all aware, the Charter of the United Nations in its provisions calls for, among other things, the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples. Yet in South Africa the Government continues to pursue its inhuman system of racial discrimination. Brunei Darussalam, like other freedom-loving nations, strongly deplores the repressive policies and practices of the South African Government.

85. We wish also to express our support for the people of Namibia in their struggle for liberation from South African colonialism and for complete independence for Namibia.

86. Small countries like ours want peace but we see a world where others want to settle issues by force of arms. Our only hope is to look to the moral and persuasive authority of the United Nations and its machinery for the maintenance of peace and security. We shall, of course, endeavour to build up our defences to the extent that men and resources permit, but we believe that in the world of today the collective strength of the United Nations is the ultimate hope for us small countries. We firmly believe that the security and well-being of our country can be assured only on the basis of strict adherence to the basic principles of the Charter. For small countries like ours, world peace is a necessary pre-condition of our economic and political survival.

87. My delegation would also like to place on record our appreciation of the co-operation, friendship and support which our neighbours in the ASEAN region have extended to us. Even before we assumed full responsibility for our external affairs, the five member countries of ASEAN extended to us the hand of friendship and co-operation. They encouraged us to get acquainted with matters of diplomacy and regional co-operation. As their efforts to strengthen regional peace, progress and prospects are entirely consistent with our own hopes and aspirations, we are now a part of ASEAN. As a new

member of ASEAN we shall naturally work to strengthen those bonds. We seek to strengthen the degree of cohesion among ASEAN members by preventing external interference and containing intraregional differences. But we shall still look to the United Nations to discharge effectively its responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security in our region, for the unresolved problem of the foreign intervention in and occupation of Kampuchea, in violation of Charter principles, causes my delegation grave concern.

88. We need peace for more reasons than one. We have the resources to give our people a better life. Anyone who has visited Brunei Darussalam will vouch for the advancements that have been made in so many fields of endeavour for the well-being of our people. We have devoted our resources to free education, subsidized food and fuels, pensions for the aged and widowed, medical and health care, including a flying doctor service, and earnings without income tax. Those and many other services are all provided to protect the citizen's welfare. We wish to be left alone and free from foreign intervention. We want to build our country and give our people an even better life. We wish to see the achievement of our aims for accelerated economic growth, social progress and cultural development. At the same time, we need to develop productive sectors in agriculture, forestry, fisheries and manufacturing. We are determined to continue to modernize our country while keeping faith with the principles of our ancient faith, Islam.

89. We are confident of the possibilities of success because we have before us the example of my father, the Seri Begawan Sultan Haji Sir Muda Omar Ali Saifuddin, the 28th Sultan of Brunei Darussalam and the architect of modern Brunei. He began the modern development of Brunei, its successful commercial relations, its new buildings and its educational, religious and social welfare institutions. He held to the goal of national independence despite pressures to make other choices. He set before us the challenges of reinvesting our wealth to create other sources of wealth and well-being for our people.

90. In our task of nation-building and development we need the United Nations to ensure peace and stability. We shall also need much assistance. We shall need training in specialized fields. We shall need experts and technical expertise. We shall need to acquire skills. We shall turn to the United Nations and its agencies for such help as we may require. My delegation sincerely hopes that we shall be able to secure such help when needed. In return, if there is any way in which my small country can be of assistance to the United Nations, we shall endeavour to do our best when called upon to do so.

91. The PRESIDENT: I thank the Head of State and Prime Minister of Brunei Darussalam.

AGENDA ITEM 8

Adoption of the agenda and organization of work: reports of the General Committee

92. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly will first examine section II of the first report of the General Committee [*A/39/250*], which deals with the organization of the thirty-ninth session. Members are aware that by its decision 34/401, which is reproduced as annex VI to the rules of procedure, the General Assembly adopted a number of provisions aimed at rationalizing its procedures and organization. Many of these provisions have already been implemented at the thirty-fourth to thirty-eighth sessions of the General Assembly, but some have not yet been or have been only partly implemented. It is hoped that at the present session the Assembly will endeavor to advance this process of rationalization.

93. The provisions of General Assembly decision 34/401 that directly affect the organization of work of the General Committee are reproduced in paragraph 2 of its report.

94. May I consider that the Assembly takes note of the action taken by the General Committee in that paragraph?

It was so decided.

95. The PRESIDENT: Regarding the schedule of meetings referred to in paragraphs 3 to 5 of its report, the General Committee draws the Assembly's attention to paragraph 3 of its decision 34/401. In this connection, I should like to remind the Assembly that rules 67 and 108 of the rules of procedure provide that the President may declare a meeting open and permit the debate to proceed when at least one third of the members of the General Assembly are present, and that the Chairman of a Main Committee may declare a meeting open and permit the debate to proceed when at least one quarter of the members of the Committee are present.

96. In paragraph 4 the General Committee recommends that, during the period of the general debate, morning plenary meetings should begin at 10 a.m. instead of 10.30 a.m., and in paragraph 5 it recommends to the General Assembly that delegations should be reminded of the importance of punctuality in the interest of ensuring an effective and orderly organization of work and achieving economies for the United Nations. May I take it that the Assembly approves these recommendations?

It was so decided.

97. The PRESIDENT: As I have already indicated in the General Committee and would like to assure the Assembly, I shall be in the Chair punctually at the scheduled time, and I urge the Chairmen of the Main Committees to do the same. It is essential that at least one member of each delegation be present at the scheduled time in order to avoid quorum problems. I sincerely hope that all delegations will make a special effort to co-operate in this regard.

98. We turn now to paragraphs 6 and 7 of the report of the General Committee, concerning the general debate. May I consider that the Assembly approves the recommendations in paragraph 6?

It was so decided.

99. The PRESIDENT: In view of the very large number of speakers already inscribed, I shall urge representatives to speak in the order in which they appear on the list. Those who are unable to speak at the scheduled time will be put at the end of the list for that day.

100. In paragraph 7 of its report, the General Committee draws the Assembly's attention to paragraph 5 of its decision 34/401 and recommends that the practice of expressing congratulations in the General Assembly Hall be prohibited. I should like to make it clear that the General Assembly Hall encompasses the area where the delegations are seated as

well as the adjacent wings on both sides behind the glass partitions. May I take it that the Assembly approves the recommendation in paragraph 7?

It was so decided.

101. The PRESIDENT: Now that the Assembly has taken this decision, may I add that it is my firm intention to see to it that it is applied strictly and consistently, in fairness to all delegations. I should like to request delegations to inform the heads of delegations and Foreign Ministers about the decision that we have taken this morning in order that they may not be surprised when they are not congratulated after they have made their statements.

102. Regarding explanations of vote referred to in paragraph 8 of its report, the General Committee draws the Assembly's attention to paragraph 7 of its decision 34/401.

103. Paragraph 9 of the General Committee's report deals with the closing date of the session and paragraph 10 with the records of the Main Committees.

104. I take it that those recommendations are approved by the Assembly.

It was so decided.

105. The PRESIDENT: In paragraph 11 of its report, the General Committee draws the Assembly's attention to paragraphs 18 and 19 of its decision 34/401, concerning the election of the Chairmen of the Main Committees. May I express the hope that these provisions will be fully implemented to facilitate the organization of work of future sessions of the General Assembly.

106. In paragraph 12, the General Committee draws the Assembly's attention to paragraph 17 of its decision 34/401, concerning concluding statements in the General Assembly and its Main Committees.

107. Paragraphs 13 and 14 of the General Committee's report refer to questions related to the programme budget. In paragraph 13, the Committee draws the Assembly's attention to paragraphs 12 and 13 of its decision 34/401, concerning the need to allow sufficient time for the consideration of administrative and budgetary questions.

108. As members are aware, this has been a serious problem, especially towards the end of the session; this year, Friday, 7 December, is the target date for conclusion of the work of the Main Committees, except for the Fifth Committee.

109. In paragraph 14, the General Committee draws the Assembly's attention to regulation 4.9 of the Regulations Governing Programme Planning, the Programme Aspects of the Budget, the Monitoring of Implementation and the Methods of Evaluation, which reads as follows:

> "*Regulation 4.9.* No Council, Commission or other competent body shall take a decision involving either a change in the programme budget approved by the General Assembly or the possible requirement of expenditure unless it has received and taken account of a report from the Secretary-General on the programme budget implications of the proposal." [*Resolution 37/234, annex.*]

110. Paragraphs 15 and 16 of the Committee's report refer to documentation. In paragraph 15, the Committee draws the Assembly's attention to paragraph 28 of its decision 34/401.

111. Regarding paragraph 16, may I consider that the Assembly approves the recommendation of the General Committee regarding the need for maximum restraint in requests by Member States and subsidiary organs for the circulation of material as official documents of the Assembly?

It was so decided.

112. The PRESIDENT: We turn now to paragraph 17 of the Committee's report, in which it draws the Assembly's attention to paragraph 32 of its decision 34/401, concerning resolutions.

113. In paragraph 18, relating to special conferences, the General Committee draws the Assembly's attention to recommendation 6 of the Committee on Conferences, adopted by the Assembly in subparagraph (*b*) of its decision 34/405.

114. In paragraph 19, the General Committee, in the light of recommendations submitted by the Committee on Conferences, recommends to the Assembly that the following subsidiary organs of the Assembly should be authorized to hold meetings during the thirty-ninth session:

(*a*) *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Indian Ocean;
(*b*) Committee on Applications for Review of Administrative Tribunal Judgements;
(*c*) Committee on Relations with the Host Country;
(*d*) Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People;
(*e*) Preparatory Committee for the Fortieth Anniversary of the United Nations;
(*f*) Special Committee against *Apartheid;*
(*g*) Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples;
(*h*) United Nations Council for Namibia;
(*i*) Working Group on the Financing of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East.

May I consider that it is the wish of the Assembly to approve that recommendation?

It was so decided (decision 39/403).

115. The PRESIDENT: Finally, in paragraph 20 of its report, the General Committee wishes to recall that, in accordance with a decision taken by the General Assembly at its thirty-eighth session [*3rd meeting, para. 157*]:

(*a*) smoking is prohibited in small conference rooms, such as rooms 5 to 10 and A to E;
(*b*) smoking is discouraged in large conference rooms, such as rooms 1 to 4.

I trust that the General Assembly will take duly into account the provisions of its decision 34/401, which the General Committee has drawn to its attention, namely, paragraphs 3, 5, 7, 12, 13, 17, 18, 19, 28 and 32 of that decision.

It was so decided.

The recommendations of the General Committee concerning the organization of the session (A/39/250, paras. 2–20) were thus adopted (decision 39/401).

116. The PRESIDENT: We turn now to section III of the first report of the General Committee, concerning the adoption of the agenda.

117. May I just recall to members of the Assembly rule 23 of the rules of procedure, which provides that: "Debate on the inclusion of an item in the agenda, when that item has been recommended for inclusion

by the General Committee, shall be limited to three speakers in favour of, and three against, the inclusion."

118. I should like to stress that at this time we are not discussing the substance of any item.

119. I should also like to remind delegations that interventions will have to be made from their seats, in keeping with paragraph 11 of annex VI to the rules of procedure.

120. May I first call the Assembly's attention to paragraph 22 of the General Committee's report, in which the Committee draws the Assembly's attention to the fact that, as a consequence of the resignation of the Vice-Chairman of the International Civil Service Commission, it will be necessary to amend the title of sub-item (*f*) of item 17 to read as follows:

> "(*f*) International Civil Service Commission:
> "(i) Appointment of members of the Commission;
> "(ii) Designation of the Vice-Chairman of the Commission."

May I take it that the Assembly takes note of the amendment of the title of this sub-item?

It was so decided.

121. The PRESIDENT: In paragraph 23 of its report, the General Committee recommends to the Assembly that consideration of item 108 of the draft agenda, on the question of East Timor, should be deferred to the fortieth session and that, consequently, the item should be included in the provisional agenda of that session. I take it that the Assembly adopts this recommendation.

It was so decided.

122. The PRESIDENT: In paragraph 24 of its report, the General Committee merely informs the Assembly that it has taken note of the suggestions made by the Secretary-General regarding the grouping of related items under a single heading and the staggering of more items over two or more years.

123. We turn now to the agenda which the General Committee recommends for adoption by the Assembly.

124. In accordance with past practice, we shall follow the numbering given in paragraph 25 of the Committee's report and shall consider together several items in groups, where that seems appropriate. I should like to remind members once again that at present we are not discussing the substance of any item, except when such discussion can assist the Assembly in deciding whether or not to include an item in the agenda.

125. I now invite members to turn to paragraph 25 of the report of the General Committee.

126. Items 1 to 6 have already been acted upon in plenary meeting. Therefore, their inclusion has been approved.

127. We come now to items 7 to 27. I take it that it is the wish of the Assembly to include those items in the agenda.

It was so decided.

128. The PRESIDENT: Next we turn to item 28, entitled "The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security: report of the Secretary-General." I call upon the representative of Afghanistan.

129. Mr. ZARIF (Afghanistan): At the first meeting of the General Committee two days ago, [*see A/BUR/39/SR.1*] the delegation of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan made a statement in which we elaborated the reasons for which Afghanistan is opposed to the inclusion of item 28 in the agenda of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. For the record, we wish to reaffirm our objection to the inclusion of this item in the agenda.

130. The PRESIDENT: May I take it that item 28 should be included in the agenda?

It was so decided.

131. The PRESIDENT: We come now to items 29 to 77. May I take it that those items should be included in the agenda?

It was so decided.

132. The PRESIDENT: We come now to item 78, concerning the question of the Malagasy islands of Glorieuses, Juan de Nova, Europa and Bassas da India. Taking into account the report of the General Committee and the statements made in that Committee, may I take it that item 78 should be included in the agenda?

It was so decided.

133. The PRESIDENT: We come now to items 79 to 141. May I take it that those items should be included in the agenda?

It was so decided.

134. The PRESIDENT: We now turn to the question of the allocation of items, dealt with in section IV of the first report of the General Committee [*A/39/250*] and in its second report [*A/39/250/Add.1*]. In paragraph 26 of its first report, the Committee draws the Assembly's attention to paragraph 4 of its decision 34/401, which states that:

> "Substantive items should normally be discussed initially in a Main Committee and, therefore, items previously allocated to plenary meetings should henceforth be referred to a Main Committee unless there are compelling circumstances requiring their continued consideration in plenary meeting."

135. The modifications indicated in paragraph 27 of the first report of the General Committee and the recommendation made in paragraph 2 of its second report are reflected in the proposed allocation. The Assembly will therefore consider them when it comes to the relevant items under paragraph 28 of the first report.

136. I now invite members to turn to the list of items recommended for consideration in plenary meeting, in paragraph 28 of the first report of the General Committee.

137. Regarding item 18 on the list, the General Committee recommends, in subparagraph 27 (*a*) (i) of its report, that the Assembly should refer to the Fourth Committee all the chapters of the report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples relating to specific Territories so that the Assembly may deal in plenary meeting with the question of the implementation of the Declaration as a whole. May I take it that the Assembly approves that recommendation?

It was so decided.

138. The PRESIDENT: I now invite members to consider item 26, concerning the question of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas). As stated in subparagraph 27 (*a*) (ii) of its report, the General Committee

recommends to the Assembly that the item should be considered directly in plenary meeting, on the understanding that bodies and individuals having an interest in the question would be heard in the Fourth Committee in conjunction with the consideration of the item in plenary meeting. May I take it that the Assembly approves that recommendation?

It was so decided.

139. The PRESIDENT: We turn now to the recommendation of the General Committee on the allocation of item 29 on the list, concerning the question of Namibia. As indicated in subparagraph 27 (*a*) (iii) of its report, the General Committee recommends to the Assembly that the item should be considered directly in plenary meeting, on the understanding that hearings of the organizations concerned would be held in the Fourth Committee. I take it that the Assembly approves that recommendation.

It was so decided.

140. The PRESIDENT: I now invite members to turn their attention to item 31 on the list, concerning the policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa. As stated in subparagraph 27 (*a*) (iv) of its report, the General Committee recommends to the Assembly that the item should be considered directly in plenary meeting, on the understanding that the representatives of the Organization of African Unity and of national liberation movements recognized by that organization would be permitted to participate in the discussion in plenary meeting and that organizations and individuals having a special interest in the question would be permitted to be heard by the Special Political Committee. May I take it that the Assembly approves that recommendation?

It was so decided.

141. The PRESIDENT: I now invite the Assembly to turn its attention to subparagraph 27 (*a*) (v) of the report of the General Committee, regarding item 42, on the question of Cyprus, in which the Committee recommends that the Assembly should defer a decision on the allocation of the item to an appropriate time in the future.

142. Mr. KIRCA (Turkey): My delegation wishes to place on record, in explanation of vote on item 42, that, for reasons already explained in the General Committee [*see A/BUR/39/SR.2*], the Turkish delegation has not participated and will not participate in the votes pertaining to the inclusion and to the allocation of this item.

143. The PRESIDENT: May I take it that the Assembly adopts the recommendation of the General Committee?

It was so decided.

144. The PRESIDENT: Next we turn to subparagraph 27 (*a*) (vi) of the Committee's report, concerning item 139, on the right of peoples to peace. The Committee recommends that this item should be considered directly in plenary meeting. May I consider that the Assembly adopts that recommendation?

It was so decided.

145. The PRESIDENT: In subparagraph 27 (*a*) (vii) of its report, the General Committee recommends that item 140, concerning the critical economic situation in Africa, should also be considered directly in plenary meeting. May I take it that the Assembly approves that recommendation?

It was so decided.

146. The PRESIDENT: Finally, the General Committee recommends, in subparagraph 27 (*a*) (viii) of its report, that the Assembly should consider item 141, concerning the celebration of the 150th anniversary of the emancipation of slaves in the British Empire, directly in plenary meeting. May I take it that the Assembly adopts that recommendation?

It was so decided.

147. The PRESIDENT: May I take it that the Assembly approves the allocation of the other items listed for consideration directly in plenary meeting?

It was so decided.

148. The PRESIDENT: We turn next to the items which the General Committee recommends for allocation to the First Committee.

149. In connection with item 55, concerning the relationship between disarmament and development, the General Committee recommends, in paragraph 2 of its second report [*A/39/250/Add.1*], that the item should be allocated to the First Committee. May I take it that the Assembly approves this recommendation?

It was so decided.

150. The PRESIDENT: In connection with item 65, concerning general and complete disarmament, I would point out that the General Committee recommends, in subparagraph 27 (*b*) (ii) of its first report [*A/39/250*], that the relevant paragraphs of the annual report of the IAEA, which is to be considered directly in plenary meeting under item 14, should be drawn to the attention of the First Committee in connection with its consideration of item 65. May I take it that the Assembly approves that recommendation?

It was so decided.

151. The PRESIDENT: May I take it that the Assembly approves the proposed allocation of items to the First Committee?

It was so decided.

152. The PRESIDENT: We turn now to the list of items which the General Committee recommends for allocation to the Special Political Committee. May I take it that the Assembly approves the proposed allocation of items to the Special Political Committee?

It was so decided.

153. The PRESIDENT: We turn next to the list of items which the General Committee recommends for allocation to the Second Committee.

154. In connection with item 80 (*b*), concerning the review of the implementation of the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States, the General Committee, in subparagraph 27 (*c*) (i) of its report, draws the attention of the General Assembly to Economic and Social Council resolution 1984/64, in which the Council recommends that the Assembly, at its thirty-ninth session, should commemorate the tenth anniversary of the adoption of the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States in a suitable and appropriate manner at a plenary meeting on 12 December 1984. May I take it that the Assembly takes note of that recommendation?

It was so decided.

155. The PRESIDENT: Regarding item 80 (*k*), on effective mobilization and integration of women in development, the General Committee recommends, in subparagraph 27 (*c*) (ii) of its report, that docu-

ments concerning the integration of women in development should be made available to the Third Committee under item 93. May I take it that the Assembly approves that recommendation?

It was so decided.

156. The PRESIDENT: In connection with item 142, concerning countries stricken by desertification and drought, the General Committee, in subparagraph 27 (*c*) (iii) of its report, recommends to the Assembly that the item be allocated to the Second Committee. May I take it that the Assembly approves that recommendation?

It was so decided.

157. The PRESIDENT: May I take it that the Assembly approves the allocation of all the other items proposed for allocation to the Second Committee?

It was so decided.

158. The PRESIDENT: We come now to the items proposed for allocation to the Third Committee. May I take it that the Assembly approves the proposed allocation of items to the Third Committee?

It was so decided.

159. The PRESIDENT: The next list of items is those recommended for allocation to the Fourth Committee. May I take it that the Assembly approves that proposed allocation?

It was so decided.

160. The PRESIDENT: We turn now to the list of items recommended for allocation to the Fifth Committee.

161. Regarding item 114, concerning the Joint Inspection Unit, the General Committee recommends, in subparagraph 27 (*d*) of its report, that the item should be allocated to the Fifth Committee, on the understanding that the reports of the Joint Inspection Unit dealing with subject-matters assigned to other Main Committees would be referred also to those Committees. May I take it that the Assembly approves that recommendation and the allocation of the other items proposed for allocation to the Fifth Committee?

It was so decided.

162. The PRESIDENT: We come finally to the list of items proposed for allocation to the Sixth Committee. May I take it that the Assembly approves that proposed allocation?

It was so decided.

The General Assembly thus adopted the agenda and the allocation of agenda items for the thirty-ninth session (decision 39/402).

163. The PRESIDENT: I thank members of the Assembly for their co-operation, which has made it possible for us to complete this task so expeditiously.

164. Each Main Committee will receive promptly the list of agenda items allocated to it, so that it may begin its work as soon as possible, in accordance with rule 99 of the rules of procedure.

AGENDA ITEM 17

Appointments to fill vacancies in subsidiary organs and other appointments:

(*g*) Appointment of members of the Joint Inspection Unit

165. The PRESIDENT: As indicated in a note by the President of the General Assembly [*A/39/503 and Corr.1*], the Assembly is required, during its current session, to appoint a person to fill the unexpired portion of the term of office of Mr. Mark E. Allen, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, as a member of the Joint Inspection Unit. Mr. Allen has resigned from membership of the Unit with effect from 21 September 1984.

166. In accordance with the procedures described in article 3, paragraph 1, of the statute of the Joint Inspection Unit, the regional group concerned was consulted and it was determined that the Federal Republic of Germany should be requested to propose a candidate to replace Mr. Allen.

167. As a result of further consultations in accordance with article 3, paragraph 2, of the statute of the Joint Inspection Unit, including consultations with the President of the Economic and Social Council and with the Secretary-General in his capacity as Chairman of the Administrative Committee on Co-ordination, I now submit to the Assembly the candidature of Mr. Siegfried Schumm, of the Federal Republic of Germany, for appointment as a member of the Joint Inspection Unit for a term beginning immediately and expiring on 31 December 1987. May I take it that it is the wish of the General Assembly to appoint this candidate?

It was so decided (decision 39/305 A).

The meeting rose at 12.35 p.m.

United Nations
GENERAL ASSEMBLY
THIRTY-NINTH SESSION
Official Records

4th PLENARY MEETING

Monday, 24 September 1984,
at 10.30 a.m.

NEW YORK

President: Mr. Paul J. F. LUSAKA (Zambia).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate

1. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations Mr. Ronald Reagan, the President of the United States of America, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

2. Mr. REAGAN (United States of America): First of all, I wish to congratulate you, Mr. Lusaka, on your election as President of the General Assembly. I wish you every success in carrying out the responsibilities of that high international office.

3. It is an honour to be here, and I thank you all for your gracious invitation. I would speak in support of the two great goals that led to the formation of the United Nations—the cause of peace and the cause of human dignity.

4. The responsibility of the General Assembly—the peaceful resolution of disputes between peoples and nations—can be discharged successfully only if we recognize the great common ground upon which we all stand: our fellowship as members of the human race, our oneness as inhabitants of this planet, our place as representatives of billions of our countrymen whose fondest hope remains the end to war and to the repression of the human spirit. These are the important, central realities that bind us, that permit us to dream of a future without the antagonisms of the past. And, just as shadows can be seen only where there is light, so, too, can we overcome what is wrong only if we remember how much is right; and we will resolve what divides us only if we remember how much more unites us. This chamber has heard enough about the problems and dangers ahead; today let us dare to speak of a future that is bright and hopeful and can be ours only if we seek it. I believe that future is far nearer than most of us would dare to hope.

5. At the start of this decade one scholar at the Hudson Institute noted that mankind also had undergone enormous changes for the better in the past two centuries, changes which are not always readily noticed or written about.

6. "Up until 200 years ago, there were relatively few people in the world," he wrote. "All human societies were poor. Disease and early death dominated most people's lives. People were ignorant, and largely at the mercy of forces of nature."

7. "Now," he said, "we are somewhere near the middle of a process of economic development . . . At the end of that process, almost no one will live in a country as poor as the richest country of the past. There will be many more people . . . living long, healthy lives, with immense knowledge and more to learn than anybody has time for." They will be "able to cope with the forces of nature, and almost indifferent to distance."

8. We do live today, as that scholar suggested, in the middle of one of the most important and dramatic periods in human history—one in which all of us can serve as catalysts for an era of world peace and unimagined human freedom and dignity.

9. Today I would like to report to you, as distinguished and influential members of the world community, on what the United States has been attempting to do to help move the world closer to this new era. On many fronts enormous progress has been made, and I think our efforts are complemented by the trend of history.

10. If we look closely enough, I believe we can see all the world moving towards a deeper appreciation of the value of human freedom in both its political and its economic manifestations. This is partially motivated by a world-wide desire for economic growth and higher standards of living. And there is an increasing realization that economic freedom is a prelude to economic progress and growth and is intricately and inseparably linked to political freedom.

11. Everywhere, people and Governments are beginning to recognize that the secret of a progressive new world is to take advantage of the creativity of the human spirit; to encourage innovation and individual enterprise; to reward hard work; and to reduce barriers to the free flow of trade and information.

12. Our opposition to economic restrictions and trade barriers is consistent with our view of economic freedom and human progress. We believe such barriers pose a particularly dangerous threat to the developing nations and their chance to share in world prosperity through expanded export markets. Tomorrow, at the International Monetary Fund, I will address this question more fully, including America's desire for more open trading markets throughout the world.

13. This desire to cut down trade barriers and our open advocacy of freedom as the engine of human progress are two of the important ways the United States and the American people hope to assist in bringing about a world where prosperity is commonplace, conflict an aberration, and human dignity and freedom a way of life.

14. Let me place these steps more in context by briefly outlining the major goals of American foreign

policy and then exploring with you the practical ways we are attempting to further freedom and prevent war. By that I mean, first, how we have moved to strengthen ties with old allies and new friends; secondly, what we are doing to help avoid the regional conflicts that could contain the seeds of world conflagration; and thirdly, the status of our efforts with the Soviet Union to reduce the levels of arms.

15. Let me begin with a word about the objectives of American foreign policy, which have been consistent since the post-war era and which fuelled the formation of the United Nations and were incorporated into the Charter of the United Nations itself.

16. The Charter states two overriding goals: "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind" and "to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small".

17. The founders of the United Nations understood full well the relationship between these two goals. And I want you to know that the Government of the United States will continue to view this concern for human rights as the moral centre of our foreign policy. We can never look at anyone's freedom as a bargaining chip in world politics. Our hope is for a time when all the people of the world can enjoy the blessings of personal liberty.

18. But I would like also to emphasize that our concern for protecting human rights is part of our concern for protecting the peace.

19. The answer is for all nations to fulfil the obligations they freely assumed under the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The Declaration states that: "The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections". The Declaration also includes the right of everyone: "to form and to join trade unions," "to own property alone as well as in association with others," "to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country," and to enjoy "freedom of opinion and expression". Perhaps the most graphic example of the relationship between human rights and peace is the right of peace groups to exist and to promote their views. In fact, the treatment of peace groups may be a litmus test of a Government's true desire for peace.

20. In addition to emphasizing this tie between the advocacy of human rights and the prevention of war, the United States has taken important steps, as I mentioned earlier, to prevent world conflict. The starting-point and corner-stone of our foreign policy is our alliance and partnership with our fellow democracies. For 35 years, the North Atlantic alliance has guaranteed the peace in Europe. In both Europe and Asia, our alliances have been the vehicle for a great reconciliation among nations that had fought bitter wars in decades and centuries past. And here in the western hemisphere, North and South are being lifted on the tide of freedom and are joined in a common effort to foster peaceful economic development.

21. We are proud of our association with all those countries that share our commitment to freedom, human rights, the rule of law—and international peace. Indeed, the bulwark of security that the democratic alliance provides is essential, and remains essential, to the maintenance of world peace. Every alliance involves burdens and obligations, but these are far less than the risks and sacrifices that would result if the peace-loving nations were divided and neglectful of their common security. The people of the United States will remain faithful to their commitments.

22. But the United States is also faithful to its alliances and friendships with scores of nations in the developed and developing worlds with differing political systems, cultures and traditions. The development of ties between the United States and China—a significant global event of the last dozen years—shows our willingness to improve relations with countries ideologically very different from ours.

23. We are ready to be the friend of any country that is a friend to us and a friend of peace. And we respect genuine non-alignment. Our own nation was born in revolution; we helped promote the process of decolonization that brought about the independence of so many members of this body, and we are proud of that history.

24. We are proud, too, of our role in the formation of the United Nations and our support of the Organization over the years. And let me again emphasize our unwavering commitment to a central principle of the United Nations system, the principle of universality, both here and in the United Nations technical agencies around the world. If universality is ignored, if nations are expelled illegally, then the United Nations itself cannot be expected to succeed.

25. The United States welcomes diversity and peaceful competition; we do not fear the trends of history. We are not ideologically rigid; we do have principles and we will stand by them, but we will also seek the friendship and goodwill of all, both old friends and new.

26. We have always sought to lend a hand to help others—from our relief efforts in Europe after the First World War to the Marshall Plan and massive foreign assistance programmes after the Second World War. Since 1946, the United States has provided over $115 billion in economic aid to developing countries, and today it provides about one third of the nearly $90 billion in financial resources, public and private, that flows to the developing world. And the United States imports about one third of the manufactured exports of the developing world.

27. But any economic progress, as well as any movement in the direction of greater understanding between the nations of the world, is, of course, endangered by the prospect of conflict at both the global and the regional levels. In a few minutes I will turn to the menace of conflict on a world-wide scale and discuss the status of negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union. But permit me first to address the critical problem of regional conflicts, for history displays tragic evidence that it is these conflicts which can set off the sparks leading to world-wide conflagration.

28. In a glass display case across the hall from the Oval Office at the White House there is a gold medal—the Nobel Peace Prize won by Theodore Roosevelt for his contribution in mediating the Russo-Japanese War in 1905. It was the first such prize won by an American, and it is part of a tradition of which the American people are very

proud, a tradition that is being continued today in many regions of the globe.

29. We are engaged, for example, in diplomacy to resolve conflicts in southern Africa, working with the front-line States and our partners in the Contact Group. Mozambique and South Africa have reached a historic accord on non-aggression and co-operation; South Africa and Angola have agreed on a disengagement of forces from Angola, and the groundwork has been laid for the independence of Namibia, with virtually all aspects of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) agreed upon. Let me add that the United States considers it a moral imperative that South Africa's racial policies evolve peacefully but decisively towards a system compatible with basic norms of justice, liberty and human dignity. I am pleased that American companies in South Africa, by providing equal employment opportunities, are contributing to the economic advancement of the black population. But clearly, much more must be done.

30. In Central America, the United States has lent support to a diplomatic process to restore regional peace and security. We have committed substantial resources to promote economic development and social progress.

31. The growing success of democracy in El Salvador is the best proof that the key to peace lies in a political solution. Free elections brought into office a government dedicated to democracy, reform, economic progress and regional peace. Regrettably, there are forces in the region eager to thwart democratic change, but these forces are now on the defensive. The tide is turning in the direction of freedom. We call upon Nicaragua, in particular, to abandon its policies of subversion and militarism, and to carry out the promises it made to the Organization of American States to establish democracy at home.

32. The Middle East has known more than its share of tragedy and conflict for decades, and the United States has been actively involved in peace diplomacy for just as long. We consider ourselves a full partner in the quest for peace. The record of the 11 years since the October war shows that much can be achieved through negotiations; it also shows that the road is long and hard.

33. Two years ago, I proposed a fresh start toward a negotiated solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict. My initiative of 1 September 1982 contains a set of positions that can serve as a basis for a just and lasting peace.[1] That initiative remains a realistic and workable approach, and I am committed to it as firmly as on the day I announced it. And the foundation-stone of this effort remains Security Council resolution 242 (1967), which, in turn, was incorporated in all its parts in the Camp David accords.

34. The tragedy of Lebanon has not ended. Only last week, a despicable act of barbarism by some who are unfit to associate with humankind reminded us once again that Lebanon continues to suffer. In 1983 we helped Israel and Lebanon reach an agreement that, if implemented, could have led to the full withdrawal of Israeli forces in the context of the withdrawal of all foreign forces. This agreement was blocked, and the long agony of the Lebanese continues. Thousands of people are still kept from their homes by continued violence and are refugees in their own country. The once-flourishing economy of Lebanon is near collapse. All of Lebanon's friends should work together to help end this nightmare.

35. In the Gulf, the United States has supported a series of Security Council resolutions that call for an end to the war between Iran and Iraq that has meant so much death and destruction and has put the world's economic well-being at risk. Our hope is that hostilities will soon end, leaving each side with its political and territorial integrity intact, so that both may devote their energies to addressing the needs of their people and a return to relationships with other States.

36. The lesson of experience is that negotiations work. The peace treaty between Israel and Egypt brought about the peaceful return of the Sinai, clearly showing that the negotiating process brings results when the parties commit themselves to it. The time is bound to come when the same wisdom and courage will be applied, with success, to reach peace between Israel and all of its Arab neighbours in a manner that assures security for all in the region, the recognition of Israel, and a solution to the Palestinian problem.

37. In every part of the world, the United States is similarly engaged in peace diplomacy as an active player or a strong supporter.

38. In South-East Asia, we have backed the efforts of the Association of South-East Asian Nations [*ASEAN*] to mobilize international support for a peaceful resolution of the Cambodian problem, which must include the withdrawal of Vietnamese forces and the election of a representative government. ASEAN's success in promoting economic and political development has made a major contribution to the peace and stability of the region.

39. In Afghanistan, the dedicated efforts of the Secretary-General and his representatives to find a diplomatic settlement have our strong support. I assure the General Assembly that the United States will continue to do everything possible to find a negotiated outcome which provides the Afghan people with the right to determine their own destiny, allows the Afghan refugees to return to their own country in dignity, and protects the legitimate security interests of all neighbouring countries.

40. On the divided and tense Korean peninsula, we have strongly backed the confidence-building measures proposed by the Republic of Korea and by the United Nations Command at Panmunjom. These are an important first step towards peaceful reunification in the long term.

41. We take heart from progress by others in lessening tensions, notably the efforts by the Federal Republic of Germany to reduce barriers between the two German States.

42. And the United States strongly supports the Secretary-General's efforts to assist the Cypriot parties in achieving a peaceful and reunited Cyprus.

43. The United States has been and will always be a friend of peaceful solutions.

44. This is no less true with respect to my country's relations with the Soviet Union.

45. When I appeared before the General Assembly, at its thirty-eighth session [*5th meeting*], I noted that we cannot count on the instinct for survival alone to protect us against war. Deterrence is necessary but not sufficient. America has repaired its strength. We have invigorated our alliances and friendships. We

are ready for constructive negotiations with the Soviet Union.

46. We recognize that there is no sane alternative to negotiations on arms control and other issues between our two nations, which have the capacity to destroy civilization as we know it. I believe this is a view shared by virtually every country in the world and by the Soviet Union itself.

47. I want to speak to the General Assembly today on what the United States and the Soviet Union can accomplish together in the coming years, and the concrete steps that we need to take.

48. As I stand here and look out from this podium, there in front of me I can see the seat of the representative of the Soviet Union, and not far from that seat, just over to the side, is the seat of the representative of the United States. In this historic assembly hall it is clear there is not a great distance between us. Outside this room, while there will still be clear differences, there is every reason why we should do all that is possible to shorten that distance. That is why we are here. Is that not what the United Nations is all about?

49. On 16 January last, I set out three objectives for United States-Soviet relations that can provide an agenda for our work over the months ahead.

50. First, I said, we need to find ways to reduce, and eventually to eliminate, the threat and use of force in solving international disputes. Our concern over the potential for nuclear war cannot deflect us from the terrible human tragedies occurring every day in the regional conflicts I have just discussed. Together we have a particular responsibility to contribute to political solutions to these problems, rather than to exacerbate them through the provision of even more weapons.

51. I propose that our two countries agree to embark on periodic consultations at policy level about regional problems. We will be prepared, if the Soviets agree, to make senior experts available at regular intervals for in-depth exchanges of views. I have asked Secretary of State Shultz to explore this with Foreign Minister Gromyko. Spheres of influence are a thing of the past. Differences between American and Soviet interests are not. The objectives of this political dialogue will be to help avoid miscalculation, reduce the potential risk of United States-Soviet confrontation and help the people in areas of conflict to find peaceful solutions.

52. The United States and the Soviet Union have achieved agreements of historic importance on some regional issues. The Austrian State Treaty and the Berlin accords are notable and lasting examples. Let us resolve to achieve similar agreements in the future.

53. Our second task must be to find ways to reduce the vast stockpiles of armaments in the world. I am committed to redoubling our negotiating efforts to achieve real results: in Geneva, a complete ban on chemical weapons; in Vienna, real reductions—to lower and equal levels—in Soviet and American, Warsaw Pact and North Atlantic Treaty Organization conventional forces; in Stockholm, concrete practical measures to enhance mutual confidence, to reduce the risk of war and to reaffirm commitments concerning non-use of force; in the field of nuclear testing, improvements in verification essential to ensure compliance with the threshold test-ban and peaceful nuclear explosions agreements; and in the field of non-proliferation, close co-operation to strengthen the international institutions and practices aimed at halting the spread of nuclear weapons, together with redoubled efforts to meet the legitimate expectation of all nations that the Soviet Union and the United States will substantially reduce their own nuclear arsenals. We and the Soviets have agreed to upgrade our hotline communications facility, and our discussions of nuclear non-proliferation in recent years have been useful to both sides. We think there are other possibilities for improving communications in this area that deserve serious exploration.

54. I believe the proposal of the Soviet Union for opening United States-Soviet talks at Vienna provides an important opportunity to advance these objectives. We have been prepared to discuss a wide range of issues of concern to both sides, such as the relationship between defensive and offensive forces and what has been called the militarization of space. During the talks we would consider what measures of restraint both sides might take while negotiations proceeded. However, any agreement must logically depend upon our ability to get the competition in offensive arms under control and to achieve genuine stability at substantially lower levels of nuclear arms.

55. Our approach in all these areas will be designed to take into account concerns the Soviet Union has voiced. It will attempt to provide a basis for a historic breakthrough in arms control. I am disappointed that we were not able to open our meeting at Vienna earlier this month on the date originally proposed by the Soviet Union. I hope we can begin these talks by the end of the year or shortly thereafter.

56. The third task I set in January was to establish a better working relationship between the Soviet Union and the United States, one marked by greater co-operation and understanding.

57. We have made some modest progress. We have reached agreements to improve our hotline, extend our 10-year economic agreement, enhance consular co-operation and explore co-ordination of search and rescue efforts at sea.

58. We have also offered to increase significantly the amount of United States grain for purchase by the Soviets and to provide the Soviets with a direct fishing allocation off United States coasts. But there is much more we could do together. I feel particularly strongly about breaking down the barriers between the peoples of the United States and the Soviet Union and between our political, military and other leaders.

59. All of these steps that I have mentioned, and especially the arms control negotiations, are extremely important to a step-by-step process towards peace. But let me also say that we need to extend the arms control process, to build a bigger umbrella under which it can operate—a road-map, as it were, showing where during the next 20 years or so these individual efforts can lead. This can greatly assist step-by-step negotiations and enable us to avoid having all our hopes or expectations ride on any single set or series of negotiations. If progress is temporarily halted at one set of talks, this newly established framework for arms control could help us take up the slack at other negotiations.

60. Today, to the great end of lifting the dread of nuclear war from the peoples of the Earth, I invite the leaders of the world to join in a new beginning. We

need a fresh approach to reducing international tensions. History demonstrates beyond controversy that, just as the arms competition has its roots in political suspicions and anxieties, so it can be channelled in more stabilizing directions and eventually be eliminated, if those political suspicions and anxieties are addressed as well.

61. Towards this end I will suggest to the Soviet Union that we institutionalize regular ministerial or cabinet-level meetings between our two countries on the whole agenda of issues before us, including the problem of needless obstacles to understanding. To take but one idea for discussion, in such talks we could consider the exchange of outlines of five-year military plans for weapons development and our schedules of intended procurement. We would also welcome the exchange of observers at military exercises and locations. And I propose that we find a way for Soviet experts to come to the United States nuclear-test site, and for ours to go to theirs, to measure directly the yields of tests of nuclear weapons. We should work towards having such arrangements in place by next spring. I hope that the Soviet Union will co-operate in this undertaking and reciprocate in a manner that will enable the two countries to establish the basis for verification for effective limits on underground nuclear testing.

62. I believe such talks could work rapidly towards developing a new climate of policy understanding, one that is essential if crises are to be avoided and real arms control is to be negotiated. Of course, summit meetings have a useful role to play. But they need to be carefully prepared, and the benefit here is that meetings at the ministerial level would provide the kind of progress that is the best preparation for higher-level talks between ourselves and the Soviet leaders.

63. How much progress we will make, and at what pace, I cannot say, but we have a moral obligation to try and try again.

64. Some may dismiss such proposals and my own optimism as simplistic American idealism. And they will point to the burdens of the modern world and to history. Well, yes, if we sit down and catalogue year by year, generation by generation, the famines, the plagues, the wars, the invasions mankind has endured, the list will grow so long and the assault on humanity so terrifying that it seems too much for the human spirit to bear.

65. But is that not narrow and short-sighted and not at all how we think of history? Yes, the deeds of infamy or injustice are all recorded, but what shines out from the pages of history is the daring of the dreamers and the deeds of the builders and the doers. These things make up the stories we tell and pass on to our children. They comprise the most enduring and striking fact about human history: that through the heart-break and tragedy man has always dared to perceive the outline of human progress, the steady growth in not just the material well-being but the spiritual insight of mankind.

> "There have been tyrants and murderers, and for a time they can seem invincible. But in the end, they always fall. Think on it—always. All through history the way of truth and love has always won."

That was the belief and the vision of Mahatma Gandhi, and it remains today a vision that is good and true.

66. "All is gift" is said to have been the favourite expression of another great spiritualist, a Spanish soldier who gave up the ways of war for that of love and peace. And if we are to make realities of the two great goals of the Charter of the United Nations—the dreams of peace and human dignity—we must take to heart these words of Ignatius Loyola: "We must pause long enough to contemplate the gifts received from Him who made us—the gift of life, the gift of this world, the gift of each other."

67. And the gift of the present, for it is this present, this time, that now we must seize. I leave you with a reflection from Mahatma Gandhi spoken with those in mind who said that the disputes and conflicts of the modern world are too great to overcome. It was spoken shortly after Gandhi's quest for independence had taken him to Britain.

> "I am not conscious of a single experience throughout my three months' stay in England and Europe that made me feel that after all East is East and West is West. On the contrary, I have been convinced more than ever that human nature is much the same no matter under what clime it flourishes and that, if you approach people with trust and affection, you would have tenfold trust and thousandfold affection returned to you."

68. For the sake of a peaceful world, a world where human dignity and freedom are respected and enshrined, let us approach each other with tenfold trust and thousandfold affection. A new future awaits us. The time is here, the moment is now.

69. One of the founding fathers of our nation, Thomas Paine, spoke words that apply to all of us gathered here today. They apply directly to all sitting here in this Hall. He said: "We have it in our power to begin the world over again."

70. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly I wish to thank the President of the United States of America for the important statement he has just made.

71. Mr. GUERREIRO (Brazil):* On behalf of the Government of Brazil, it gives me great satisfaction to congratulate you, Sir, on your election to the presidency of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. I am certain that I express the confidence that all delegations present here in this Hall place in your experienced and balanced guidance for the success of our labours. I also take the occasion to greet you as a representative of Zambia and the African continent, with which my country has strong cultural, historical and political ties.

72. At this point, allow me also to pay a well-deserved tribute to Mr. Jorge Illueca for the competent and able manner in which he presided over the work of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly.

73. It is a privilege to congratulate the people and Government of Brunei Darussalam upon their new membership in the United Nations, and I hereby renew my best wishes for the peace and prosperity of that country, with which Brazil already has diplomatic relations.

74. It is our daily experience to live with international tension and crises. Clearly the crises overlap successively in a vicious and self-reinforcing process. More than ever, orderly change is required.

---

*Mr. Guerreiro spoke in Portuguese. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

75. To face this challenge, Brazil believes in the commitment to the fundamental principles of international life contained in the Charter of the United Nations. My country reaffirms that its foreign policy adheres to the high aim of seeking solutions consistent with the universal causes of peace and development. It maintains a balanced approach to current international issues.

76. We understand that only confidence can create a lasting basis for dialogue and co-operation among nations.

77. These values and this will to change guide my words in opening the general debate.

78. Epochs of crisis, such as the one we are going through, evidence themselves not only in facts but also in ideas and in the political culture. The United Nations cannot remain immune to the crises of our times.

79. From the generation that founded the United Nations we inherited a message that repudiates double standards in judgements. More than ever, it is necessary to recover the meaning of that message. The strong and the weak, the allied and the adversaries must understand and abide by the criteria that govern international life. Only thus can dialogue become truly possible. This is one of the fundamental reasons for the work performed at the United Nations.

80. Although authoritarianism may assume many guises, it does not seem right, in this year of 1984, to confuse the ideal of peace with the obsessive proclivity to war. Freedom, justice or progress should not be invoked to cloak a desire to dominate. There can be no quibbling about respect for the universal principles of the Charter. Equality means equality; sovereignty means sovereignty; non-intervention means non-intervention. Those who give in to expedient temptations to the detriment of the values essential to the credibility of the United Nations are only deluding themselves.

81. Brazil has taken clear, well-known positions on the great foci of political tension that continue to challenge the international community's capacity for action. After years of debate and negotiation on some of these questions, sizeable margins of consensus have been reached.

82. It will not be denied that the best road to self-determination and independence for Namibia is the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). As long as this directive is followed, the recent signs of flexibility on the part of South Africa are auspicious for dialogue and negotiation. In addition, the conscience of the international community has remained unequivocal in its repudiation of racial discrimination, and for that very reason the United Nations cannot compromise nor waiver in its absolute condemnation of *apartheid*.

83. Time has shown that a comprehensive, just and lasting solution in the Middle East cannot be foreseen outside the parameters originally established by the United Nations. A succession of crises resulting from the non-acceptance of those parameters has for more than a generation been preventing the building of peace in that disturbed area.

84. In the Middle East as in other regions, Brazil condemns the persistence of a policy of *faits accomplis* in defiance of the Charter of the United Nations. Among the many victims of the recent and persistent crisis in Lebanon, we must mourn the loss of many soldiers of the multinational forces operating there. This should make us all, even the most powerful, reflect on the role that the United Nations can and should play in the conduct of peace-keeping operations in fulfilling the mandates of the international community with the full backing of the Security Council.

85. In all areas of tension, such as Afghanistan and Kampuchea, the principle of non-intervention should admit no exceptions to its application. Wherever attempts are made to interfere in national political processes, whether by force or by infiltration under the cover of technical excuses, they will deserve the condemnation of the international community. It is no longer possible to believe that public opinion can still be deceived by façades of legitimacy for acts of real intervention which seek strategic advantages or mere prestige.

86. In Central America there will be no long-term solutions without whole-hearted observance of the basic principles of self-determination, mutual respect among all nations and democratic life. For that reason it is vital that the work of the Contadora Group should go forward and be carried to a successful conclusion, since that Group is best able to promote awareness of the problems of the region in all their historical, social, political and economic complexity. Good relations in the hemisphere today depend, in a very critical way, on stability in Central America.

87. The spirit of the Charter must prevail so that we may have dialogue and negotiation. In this regard, it behoves us to express our thanks to the Secretary-General, who, whenever called upon, has given his good offices and played the role of mediator, even under adverse circumstances, with a sense for the opportune and a discretion appropriate for each occasion.

88. The same applies to the question of the Malvinas. The contribution of the United Nations continues to be indispensable for reaching a positive solution and should include providing encouragement for diplomatic understanding between the parties. This is a question that directly affects the Latin American countries, which have a solid position on the merits of the case, recognizing the rights of Argentina and desirous of dispelling the risk of tensions in an area that has a vocation for peace and harmony. This is the time to demonstrate consistency and authenticity, to honour the principles of the Charter by implementing Security Council resolution 502 (1982) in its entirety.

89. For all the critical problems I have just mentioned, the United Nations has not failed to take stands and prescribe cures.

90. But the scarcity of effective solutions does not derive from flaws in assessment: the problems persist because of fragmentation in the political will of the international community. While the decision-making machinery and even the implementation of decisions of the United Nations remain stalled, painfully negotiated formulas for consensus are subject to a process of erosion. The practical result is, very often, a lamentable retreat from the bases of understanding officially endorsed by this forum. To use an eloquent example, I recall the Final Document [*resolution S-10/2*] of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly, which was devoted to disarmament.

91. Thirty-nine years ago, still under the impact of a conflict without precedent, the United Nations was born under the sign of universality and equality among nations. The Organization, in its very name, mirrors the ideal of solidarity and union and, in addition, the recognition that no longer can any nation afford to live in isolation. If there was a generous utopianism apparent in this vision, there was also a lucid grasp of the real needs for mankind's survival and well-being.

92. In our century, no nation, however powerful, can defy the international community as represented here, nor can it cut itself off from dialogue with other nations. No single State can enact laws for the whole world. In other words, to be effective, international leadership must be vested with real democratic meaning. It will be strong as long as it maintains this intrinsic value.

93. The international system should not be vertical and centralized. Whatever affects everyone must be decided upon by all. This argument applies specifically to two themes of global interest that cannot be dealt with separately: peace and development. But it is precisely in these themes of such vital importance for humanity that the political deadlock makes itself felt and equations of power override democratic dialogue.

94. Last August I had the opportunity to address the Conference on Disarmament, where I reiterated my country's growing apprehension at the acceleration of the arms race.[2] I then announced Brazil's endorsement of the Joint Declaration issued on 22 May 1984 by six Heads of State or Government to the nuclear Powers, and I quoted the following excerpt from it: "It is primarily the responsibility of the nuclear weapons States to prevent a nuclear catastrophe, but this problem is too important to be left to those States alone" [*see A/39, 277, annex*].

95. In order to discharge such a task, which is of first priority, international decision-making must effectively incorporate broad and representative participation by the community of nations. This will curtail the current monologue of intransigence which has replaced the negotiating process among those who through dialogue should have the primary responsibility for the security of us all. Under such a paralysing influence, discussions on "arms control" run the risk of completely missing the mandatory final objective: general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

96. The dynamics of confrontation, in its various doctrinary disguises, only lead to higher levels of terror, not of security. Political intelligence has already identified this tragic rationalization of the will to power.

97. Peace must not be turned into a mirage; it must not fade in the spiralling arms race. There is no substitute for peace, and peace emerges from a just and credible international order, not from a balance of mistrust. That is a fundamental lesson of the Charter of the United Nations.

98. It is on the economic plane that the contemporary crisis has its most sensitive dimension, but its dynamics are essentially political. The roads to peace and development cannot fail to be parallel. We are in an extreme situation which forces us to examine its roots without illusions or pretenses.

99. Brazil will not give up its development prospects; it cannot accept a reduction in the place it has gained for itself in international trade within legitimately agreed rules. For a long time my country has been fighting in the proper forums for correction of the defects in the world economic structure, of which we are today one of the chief victims.

100. Several times in the General Assembly I have voiced Brazil's concern at the course the international economy has been taking during the last few years. In many different ways I have reiterated a call for a determined international effort to overcome the effects of the grave world crisis. I have reaffirmed the need to reverse a growing tendency towards the erosion of a most valuable asset, something for which we all worked hard during the post-war period; namely, international co-operation in the service of development as an indispensable factor for the management of a trade and finance system that is undoubtedly precarious and unstable.

101. At a certain stage I stated that "when the world economy becomes highly diversified and the problems are universal in scope, the challenge is no longer that of how to obtain unilateral advantages but is that of how jointly to define viable ways to govern an increasingly unstable system."

102. Recent occurrences, such as the reduction of inflation and the resumption of growth in some developed countries, seem to demonstrate the validity of recourse to unilateral policies by one or other of the main developed countries. However positive the recovery now taking place in some developed economies may be, it cannot be denied that it is limited and that it is leading to an excessive escalation of the coefficient of instability in the international economic system.

103. Nor can it be denied that, because of recourse to unilateral policies, perverse mechanisms have come into existence whereby debtor countries are led to transfer resources that subsidize the prosperity of wealthy nations. Worse still, those debtor nations see their prospects for development stultified under the impact, often overwhelming, of actions taken by the great industrial Powers.

104. The solution of the pressing problems of the international economy cannot be found in individual actions or short-term approaches; nor can it be ensured as a by-product of the recovery of one or other developed country. This is all the more true when such recovery, which is subject to strong elements of uncertainty and risk, has a restrictive effect upon the possibilities of expansion of other countries, particularly those most deeply in debt.

105. The way to a sustained and healthy recovery of the international economy cannot, therefore, be through the precarious reactivation of a few economies and an attempt, inevitably doomed to failure, to maintain an economic policy with restrictive effects upon the prospects for development of the nations of the third world.

106. The social and political tensions to which those countries have been subjected cannot continue much longer, nor can their peoples continue to live indefinitely at the mercy of abrupt fluctuations in the already intolerably high interest rates, in the availability of financial flows and in the conditions of access to international markets.

107. Over the past few years there have been recurrent episodes of resistance to concerted international action on the part of the developed countries, as shown by the lack of results at the International

Meeting on Co-operation and Development, held at Cancún in 1981; the obstacles posed to the launching of global negotiations; the failure of the latest session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development; and the non-compliance with the principles and commitments of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. In view of the extremely adverse situation confronting us, the time has come to open new avenues in the direction of the objectives which President Figueiredo defined—when addressing the General Assembly at its thirty-seventh session [*5th meeting*]—as the need to restructure the international economic order.

108. The rejection of dialogue and concerted action among Governments has had particularly harmful consequences over the past two years, which were characterized by the emergence of the debt crisis, with devastating results for Latin America. Countries whose efforts to maintain adequate rates of growth in the 1970s, which were important at that time to sustain the level of economic activity in the developed world, today see themselves, because of events beyond their control, punished by severe recessive pressures. This is certainly not the reward they deserve for the important contribution they made to the prosperity of the world's economy.

109. The developing world has not failed to give clear indications of its willingness to enter into a realistic and constructive dialogue, as evidenced by several statements delivered in such varied forums as the Economic and Social Council, UNCTAD, GATT and the IMF. Their willingness to do so has been strengthened by a growing internal movement at the level of South-South co-operation and of interregional contacts.

110. As regards Latin America, three important steps in search of a dialogue with the developed world were taken this year with the holding of the Latin American Economic Conference at Quito in January and, more recently, the meetings held at Cartagena in June and Mar del Plata earlier this month by 11 countries particularly affected by the question of indebtedness.

111. At Quito, Cartagena and Mar del Plata, Latin American countries, acting in a moderate, objective and pragmatic manner, put forth a body of political principles which, in their view, should govern the relationship between debtors and creditors. They laid emphasis on the need for the creditors to recognize their share of responsibility in the solution to the debt problem, as well as the importance of symmetry and equity in sharing the burden of the adjustments required.

112. At Cartagena, especially, the participating countries took a significant step by clearly and strongly expressing their political will to act together in search of a dialogue with the Governments of the creditor nations on the general aspects of the debt issue. As indicated in the Cartagena Consensus [*see A/39/331*], the question of the debt requires adequate political consideration at the international level, as it has obvious political and social consequences. Only the will of the governments of creditor and debtor countries will make it possible to modify the conditions which hamper the attainment of lasting solutions to problems which cannot be dealt with exclusively through a dialogue with the banks, by isolated action on the part of international financial institutions or by the mere behaviour of the markets.

113. The Ministers for Foreign Affairs and Ministers of Finance of the 11 countries that had met at Cartagena gathered at Mar del Plata, on 13 and 14 September to call for a dialogue with the Governments of the creditor nations. In the Mar del Plata Communiqué [*see A/39/554*], they stressed the need for a meeting dedicated to the debt question and the means to alleviate the burden now faced by indebted nations. This dialogue, which will of course take into account the interests of all parties involved, is considered indispensable for the solution of problems that cannot remain subject to the vagaries of a highly unstable international economic environment. Let us hope that this time our appeal will not be in vain.

114. Like peace, development also threatens to become a mirage in the eyes of the weaker countries. If I insist on this correlation, it is to stress that in the political sphere, as well as in the economic, the difficulties we face arise from the very structure of the international system, resistant to change not mediated by power.

115. We can no longer avoid recognizing that if current distortions persist, the existing crisis will culminate in decisively hurting everyone, poor and rich, debtors and creditors alike. As we approach the end of the century, the economic world, like the political world, has become indivisible. Interdependence is not a rhetorical image: it is a historical necessity that demands political action in the sense of co-operation and not of regression or isolation.

116. To conclude, I should like to return to my initial remarks on the role of the United Nations in the present-day world.

117. Too frequently, the Organization has seen itself transformed into a "forum for sterile confrontation", as President Figueiredo stated when he addressed the General Assembly in 1982. In acknowledging the virtual paralysis of the machinery of multilateral diplomacy, Brazil seeks a higher objective: the preservation and perfection of the United Nations, to make it what it should be, the forum *par excellence* for settling controversies between States and promoting international co-operation.

118. Brazil does not subscribe to the allegation that the United Nations is condemned to becoming an anachronism. What would be more properly anachronistic would be the rejection of democratic dialogue within the community of nations; the rejection of genuine aspirations and formulas of consensus resulting from lengthy and wearing negotiating efforts; the prospect of the geometrically expanding gap in the distribution of wealth between the nations of the North and South.

119. There will be reason for comfort and optimism if we profit from the lessons of accumulated experience. As the United Nations approaches its fortieth anniversary, it has a more sorrowful, albeit clearer, perception of its limitations. This perception is courageously reflected in the reports on the work of the Organization submitted to the Assembly by the Secretary-General in the past three years. His suggestions for improving the potential of the United Nations are both timely and valuable. This notwithstanding, his warning that we are "perilously near to a new international anarchy"[3] remains frighteningly vivid.

120. Never has humanity been so indissolubly associated in destiny, and yet, to our peril, the

international community's capacity to act is weakening every day.

121. The United Nations is once again suffering acutely from the corrosive effects of the rivalry between the super-Powers. It would be unwise to ignore the realities of power in international life. None the less, it is also realistic to note that the justification of coercion is, in fact, the acknowledgement that political intelligence and creativity have failed. A greater threat is in the offing: that of a tragic doctrinal retrogression with regard to the rules governing relations among nations. Times of crisis always foster national egotisms.

122. Once again it must be stated that the Charter of the United Nations is a common heritage of political wisdom. The United Nations is not the monopoly of any country or bloc of countries, nor is it committed to immobility. Efforts to attain harmony must respect differences between individuals as well as between peoples. To reaffirm this philosophy, which is the responsibility of all, rich and poor, strong and weak, is also to preserve an arduously gained spiritual legacy, one to which Brazil remains faithful.

123. Mr. TALEB IBRAHIMI (Algeria) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Your assumption, Sir, of the presidency of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly gives the Algerian delegation much pleasure and many reasons for satisfaction. Your selection is fitting recognition of your well-known and highly regarded competence and experience, as well as evidence of the international community's gratitude to you as President of the United Nations Council for Namibia, which has made a much valued commitment to the liberation of that Territory and the recovery of the full rights of its people and has made praiseworthy efforts to bring them about.

124. Your selection, Sir, is also naturally a tribute to your country, Zambia, whose initiatives and actions have consistently demonstrated a profound commitment to the restoration of the rule of law wherever it is undermined and the restoration of justice wherever it is flouted. This commitment, which is part of your country's heritage and tradition, has found a powerful means of expression and implementation in the wisdom and enlightened vision of President Kenneth Kaunda.

125. The fact that you come from Africa, Sir, gives a further dimension to your selection—that of the African presence at this session, which brings even more forcefully to the attention of the international community, meeting here, all that remains to be done to bring about the triumph throughout our continent of the aspirations of its peoples freely to decide their own destiny and be assured of the means to improve their lot.

126. Your predecessor, Mr. Jorge Illueca, served the United Nations well. In a gravely troubled world environment, he strove to play his part, which was an important one, in our common endeavour to restore the dialogue and rebuild the confidence that are today so sorely lacking in the international community.

127. The Algerian delegation wishes to include in these congratulations and this tribute the Secretary-General. We cannot praise too highly his actions and initiatives in his efforts to bring to bear, in the easing of tensions and the peaceful settlement of conflicts, the contribution of the United Nations, the force of its principles and the justice of its objectives of universal peace and prosperity.

128. The Algerian delegation also takes pleasure in welcoming Brunei Darussalam to the United Nations.

129. At this time of taking stock, looking back and evaluating what has been accomplished, so that we may better appreciate what has still to be done, we find no grounds for encouragement. The concerns expressed, the growing uncertainty and self-centred attitudes are sure to continue in view of the worsening of the international environment.

130. The exacerbation of the East-West confrontation and the recrudescence of imperialist activities threaten world peace and hinder co-operation between nations. The few accomplishments of détente are still being questioned. The Movement of Non-Aligned Countries welcomed the beginning of détente, because it held the promise of universal application.

131. There are strong, pressing tendencies today to reduce the aspirations of our peoples and the interests of our nations to mere aspects of the East-West rift. The search for spheres of influence and States which may be used as staging posts or strategic points remains at the heart of confrontational power relationships. The natural right of peoples to freedom and the sovereign right of States freely to choose their own means of nation-building are still being hindered or actively thwarted. Relations of co-operation and exchange between States are still subject to restrictive approaches conceived and carried out in terms of political allegiance and obedience.

132. In its high degree of sophistication and destructive power, the escalation of the arms race combines the horrific and the absurd. Space itself is being opened up to rivalry and confrontation, the prospects of which boggle our imagination. Accordingly, the crisis in international relations has come closer to the brink than ever. It is accompanied by an unprecedented breakdown in dialogue and communication, which worsens the crisis, increases mistrust, adds to uncertainty and dangerously darkens the world horizon. In addition, it seriously disturbs the rare possibilities that still exist.

133. It is hardly necessary to add that a world economic crisis worsens the crisis that I have described and feeds on it. An analysis of all recent international financial events can lead only to the conclusion that there is a constant decline in international co-operation for development.

134. The clear threats to the international monetary and financial system have not sufficed to call attention to the crucial problem of development financing. The indescribably tragic economic situation in Africa has given rise to initiatives, recommendations and programmes of action, all of which have faced obstruction or, at best, indifference. The commodity market, international trade in general, monetary disarray, and access to technology and to capital markets are factors which are at the heart of today's fundamental imbalances in the world economy.

135. At a time when interdependence is a fact, there is no room for narrow views of the world order. In the face of the obvious interrelationship among these problems and the influence of one sector of human activity upon others, it is futile to reduce the solution to a search for initiatives regarding individual sectors or for fragmented action. It is equally futile to bank

on a fragile and precarious recovery in some countries without a guarantee of development for all the others.

136. The international community cannot possibly avoid these facts which relate, essentially, to the structures of the prevailing system of international relations. The changes under way—however diverse their origins and varied their manifestation or means of implementation—all point to the need for structural action. The world economy today cannot merely submit to the natural state of affairs. In a situation of critical inequality of resources and of opportunities for growth and development, the laws of nature consolidate existing pockets of opulence and expand areas of deprivation, wherever they persist.

137. The only conclusion to be drawn is that we seem to be determined—or at least resigned—not to see coexistence among our peoples and our nations except, on the one hand, through the primacy of force and claims to domination and, on the other, through exploitation aimed at keeping the largest possible number of people beyond the pale of prosperity and well-being.

138. Is there no reasonable alternative to all this, which is part of a fatal fascination with destruction? In mankind's progress towards the fulfilment of its destiny, is it only the inevitability of fear which can dissuade, and guaranteed mutual annihilation which can lead to peace on this earth? Cannot human intelligence and the world's vast resources make possible a destiny—for all and with the participation of all—other than that of wealth for a few and deprivation for the majority?

139. The improvement of international relations and the task of establishing a new universal order demand co-operation and participation by all. Everyone must make his contribution to the building of peace, justice and progress.

140. Algeria learned from its war of national liberation, and it is identified with the ideal of non-alignment. It has taken on the duty strictly to observe principles leading to the achievement of co-operation, understanding and free exchange among nations. Algeria has also taken on the duty to contribute to the spread throughout the world of the policy of good neighbourliness, the negotiated settlement of disputes and the realization of the legitimate aspirations of peoples, with respect for the identity, the options and the rights of all.

141. That same duty guides Algeria's behaviour in the region to which it belongs: the great Arab Maghreb. For my country, the building of the great Maghreb is part of a joint destiny and, hence, of historical determinism itself. We are convinced that what brings us together legitimizes our ambitions, the magnitude of our objectives and the credibility of our means of attaining them. We have faith in all our available means to overcome transitory hazards and passing problems, for we cannot believe that they can indefinitely thwart the task of unification which is so broadly shared and so greatly desired. There are imperatives to meet and demands to satisfy in the building of this structure. The first among them is to achieve the most favourable conditions, to define clear-cut principles and to establish a sound basis for bringing together the will of peoples and the pooling of their efforts.

142. It is obvious that, in its very essence, the building of the great Arab Maghreb is also in keeping with the requirements of our national development processes through the mobilization of our potentials and of our complementary elements, without which there can be nothing but unavoidable harm and damage, manifested in dislocation in our ranks, in wasted resources and in lost opportunities. There can be nothing but retreat, when the need is to advance and rise to the heights required so desperately by the needs of our peoples. There can be nothing but disunity, when collective effort and a determination to overcome circumstances can and must make the endeavour an authentically united one.

143. In making that endeavour, there are regional realities which must be taken into account, just as there are real opportunities which must be seized. It is essential that hidden realities do not degenerate into additional obstacles, just as it is essential that underestimating the opportunities available does not lead to resignation and a wait-and-see attitude.

144. In all this, no lucid, coherent unified endeavour can be credible to or supported by our peoples unless it faces realities rather than ignoring them for the sake of making things easier or of short-term considerations.

145. The very relevant lessons learned from past experience, the strength of our commitment to the ideal of unity and the respect rightly due to the aspirations of our peoples call, here too, for clear-sightedness in our approach and discipline in defining and reaching the various stages in the process.

146. One fact must be understood: any unified action which disregards or is thought to disregard these imperatives cannot be implemented. When it is a matter of the destiny of peoples and the future of countries, a belief in voluntarism—however worthy of respect it may be—cannot take the place of the needed clarity and method, just as spontaneity itself—however creative it may be—cannot prevail over the need for discipline and for building gradually on experience.

147. The treaty of fraternity and concord, which has been supported by Mauritania, Tunisia and Algeria, is steeped in these imperatives. It was created by actively taking these requirements into account, the cardinal objective remaining that of creating a healthier climate and the establishment of a framework more propitious for the unification of the Greater Maghreb.

148. This treaty has a philosophy, namely, that of unity, and all of its provisions stem from the will for action undertaken towards that end. Benefiting from our past experience, it has integrated those lessons in the plan for action adopted and the objectives laid down. The treaty is open to all those animated by a sincere belief in the unity of the Greater Maghreb and by a genuine will to bring about its complete success.

149. The plan for a Greater Maghreb can only be brought about by actions which, avoiding precipitate undertakings that might be harmful, are properly and thoughtfully organized. This plan is that of an endeavour which brings together that which is ready and does not divide any further that which is available to be pooled. The plan for a Greater Maghreb can only have as its grand design those elements which, free from temporary objectives, are aimed at meeting the true expectations of the peoples of the region.

150. In our region a body of understanding, peace and co-operation is being built. There are people ready to unite for the collective good; there are also the will and the determination—and in my country these are resolute—to work for active good neighbourliness in the enlightened interests of all the peoples of the region.

151. The building of a Greater Maghreb offers unique conditions for overcoming misunderstanding, tension and conflict in the region, in particular, in Western Sahara. If the building of the Greater Maghreb brings about the conditions for a just settlement of that conflict, it is equally clear that in this work of construction nothing should be allowed to infringe the national rights of the people of Western Sahara or to damage or prejudice them in any way.

152. It could not be otherwise for my country, for Africa and for the international community as a whole, which has determined that the question of Western Sahara is part of the ongoing process of decolonization. Particularly in this case, this is the view of the Organization of African Unity [*OAU*] expressed in resolution AHG/Res.104 (XIX), adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its nineteenth ordinary session, held at Addis Ababa in June 1983, and endorsed by the General Assembly in resolution 38/40. This view has been the subject of African consensus and of the international community as a whole. Through the OAU and the United Nations, whose actions and initiatives are complementary and mutually supportive in this matter, the means of bringing about a just settlement remain open. The OAU, in particular, provides the natural framework and the necessary means for such a just settlement. If that framework was not used and if those means failed, it is not because the current chairman of the OAU or the implementation committee established by the continental organization had not done everything possible to achieve peace; nor is it the fault of the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic, because it has abundantly demonstrated its commitment to reconciliation between the brotherly peoples of Morocco and Western Sahara. The current Chairman of the OAU and all of Africa have properly located the responsibility for the present impasse. The readiness shown by some who have attempted, albeit in vain, to thwart and to counter the intransigence of others can therefore be measured. Thus, on the eve of the twentieth session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, those who have assumed their duty are well known, just as those who have shirked their duty are known. Algeria ventures to hope that the work of peace has not exhausted its available resources or had its last word.

153. Since there is an awareness of the higher interests of our region which will prevail over the belief in the *fait accompli* and as long as the conviction prevails that there is no possible alternative to stability, security and progress of the Greater Maghreb without undertaking to guarantee the legitimate rights of all its peoples, this endeavour remains worthy of our continuing efforts and our constant determination to ensure that everything possible is done so that the logic of force will give way to the desire and need for peace, understanding and concord, which should prevail over conflict and disunity.

154. At this crucial stage when so much is at stake, the work of the OAU requires the contribution and support of the United Nations. It is vital for the international community here and now to have a clear understanding and appreciation of everything that is at stake in our region.

155. The same contribution and the same support of the United Nations must be given with respect to the OAU in its endeavour to achieve peace in Chad.

156. This is the place to take note of the beginning of the withdrawal of foreign troops from Chad, which the OAU made a primary condition for the cessation of the fratricidal confrontation in that country. This was made possible through the constant pressure exerted by Africa and the firmness of its determination to make the destiny of Chad the subject of a free decision by the people of Chad themselves. The opening of the process of the withdrawal of foreign troops from that territory therefore represents a step within the process of the national reconciliation of Chad and, through it, a milestone in the building of an African consensus. The same pressure remains to be exerted, the same efforts remain to be deployed, and the same determination remains to be maintained that the withdrawal, far from reflecting the concerns of foreign Powers alone, must be carried out with strict respect for the national unity of Chad and for its full territorial integrity.

157. Algeria, for its part, attentive as it is to all developments in this region, remains determined and ready to do everything possible to bring about the full implementation of African decisions and, through them, the restoration of understanding and concord among all the people of Chad.

158. In southern Africa, the challenge of *apartheid* remains. Thus, a crime against humanity, a colonial fact and a policy of expansion and aggression still go unpunished. Certain attempts have been made to tamper with the constitution—and we know what their fate has been—in order to confer legality or legitimacy on a system which, because of its very essence, we believe cannot possibly be reducible to rearrangements or reforms; the denial of humanity cannot be allowed to continue; aggression and expansion, which are at the very heart of *apartheid*, make it plain, if there were any further need of this, that the only possible improvement in that system would be its very disappearance. A crime against humanity cannot be absolved; it must be punished.

159. *Apartheid* is creating in southern Africa, with tacit acquiescence and complicity, a structure of hegemonistic ambitions throughout the region. South African national resistance demonstrates every day to the world the strength of its aspirations and its essential claim that its rights be satisfied. Furthermore, the attitude of unusual lucidity and courage adopted by the oppressed South African communities has dealt a very severe blow to *apartheid*, thus showing that in a situation of total oppression it is futile to bank on division in order the better to establish domination and exploitation.

160. In Namibia, another manifestation of *apartheid* persists: the colonial occupation of a Territory which the United Nations has undertaken to lead to independence. Links have been established and conditions set which are an obstacle to the proper working out of this process, which enjoys the unanimous support of the international community. We cannot accept any pre-conditions based on external

calculations which impede the independence of Namibia. The South West Africa People's Organization is the sole, authentic representative of the Namibian people. The unswerving application of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) is the framework and the instrument of the decolonization—which is at present being curbed or distorted—of this African Territory.

161. A challenge of the same nature and scope confronts the international community in the Middle East. In this region, the exercise of the national rights of the Palestinian people has been thwarted; the territories of Arab States have been occupied or annexed and their security is being threatened. The occupation of southern Lebanon is an obstacle to the national unity of Lebanon. The Israeli-American strategic alliance encourages Zionist expansionism and gives it the means to achieve its ends. Only one conclusion can be drawn from all the tragic experience of the vicissitudes in this area, namely, that there will be no just and lasting peace in the Middle East until the national rights of the Palestinian people, the denial of which remains at the heart of the crisis in the region, are recognized.

162. The martyrdom of the Palestinian people and its national resistance impose a duty upon the international community which it must discharge, first and foremost by ensuring the exercise of the right of the Palestinian people to establish an independent State on its ancestral territory under the authority of the Palestine Liberation Organization [*PLO*], its sole, authentic and legitimate representative. Within this context, action in support of the convening of an international conference on the Middle East in which the PLO would be assured full and effective participation is a major priority of the United Nations.

163. Another priority of particular importance for my country is action to ensure the cohesion, unity and strengthening of the capacity to act of the PLO. This is the way to establish a platform of political initiative and action which would enjoy the authentic support of all Palestinians, reinforce Arab potential and, beyond that, provide the international community with a framework for solidarity and support of the Palestinian cause.

164. Other conflicts and hotbeds of crisis in the world persist and are becoming exacerbated or intensifying. They give rise to legitimate concern on our part.

165. The persistence and tragic course of the war between Iraq and Iran concern us deeply. It is because we believe in the possibility of and the existence of the means for a just solution that Algeria has worked ceaselessly to bring about the necessary conditions for a political solution which cannot but serve the ultimate interests of our brothers in Iraq and Iran and thereby those of the unity of our ranks dictated by our common destiny.

166. The question of Cyprus also persists and reminds us of the need to do everything possible to bring about understanding and harmony between the two Cypriot communities. To this end, it is essential that there is full respect for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and non-aligned status of the Republic of Cyprus. We venture to hope that this essential requirement will prevail over the still controllable effects of recent regrettable developments. In this regard, we are particularly encouraged by the tireless efforts of the Secretary-General.

167. The growth of tension in Central America is also a subject of concern. The fundamental issue in this region remains the right of peoples freely to determine their own political and economic system and their path of development without interference, constraint or impediment. We cannot go on indefinitely denying this fact, which we have to thank the Contadora Group for highlighting by proposing a new approach to the settlement of the problems in Central America. It is the duty of the international community to give its support and assistance by constant action to bring about the restoration of peace and stability in the region.

168. The escalation of the arms race is a very damaging factor in contemporary international relations, particularly because its effects are combined with the breaking off of disarmament negotiations. It is imperative for all that these negotiations be resumed in a spirit of sincerity and responsibility, free of any attempt to claim or achieve supremacy.

169. If we realize that security through fear is not true security and that, if it is desired, there is the alternative of the peaceful coexistence of all peoples, it will be possible to establish a climate of peace and confidence among nations.

170. To attain this objective, concerted action must be taken within the framework of a process for tackling the essential problems involved in setting up a system of true collective security. As long as disarmament efforts continue to be separated from the crucial question of collective security, and as long as this continues to be seen exclusively in terms of the balance of power, our efforts will be futile or, at best, totally inadequate to meet the requirements of the day.

171. The interrelationship of the factors of security and disarmament dictate integrated action inasmuch as disarmament is not an end in itself, and its goals must serve to bring about universal peace and security based on justice and right. This is the fundamental stake and this is the major challenge we face.

172. The meeting on strengthening of security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region, held at Valetta on 10 and 11 September last by the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Mediterranean countries which are members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, is the expression of a determination to help meet this challenge and to perform this task, because the Mediterranean is, by its nature, a zone of peace and co-operation and cannot be dissociated from the security of Europe or separated from general international security.

173. In an international environment which is universally in a state of unrest and instability, the world economic crisis is deteriorating into a critical phase. International commercial, financial and monetary structures are constantly in a precarious state. Liquidity has no relationship with the actual needs for development financing. The increase in the rates of interest, apart from creating extra obstacles to access to international capital markets, is enclosing more and more countries within the endless spiral of indebtedness, which is not aimed at the financing of development activities but rather at the mere servicing of the debt itself. Primary commodity prices have remained bogged down, thus cutting off countries

which are often among the poorest from precious resources.

174. A factor which aggravates this situation is that international co-operation for development is regressing in spirit, in effectiveness and in its extension. All the evaluations of the various international conferences, in particular the most recent ones, agree in drawing this conclusion. Even more serious, the organs or institutions of multilateral co-operation are intervening in sectors that are very sensitive for the developing world, which is facing what really must be called a diminution of its resources; this is the case with the IDA, IFAD and UNDP. This is an urgent situation which the international community must reverse. There are also fields of critical interest for the developing world where international action is urgently necessary. In this context, Africa must be the centre of concern of the international community. On that continent, the economic situation of a large number of countries has been reduced to a simple matter of daily tragedy. This situation requires an urgent collective effort and the highest possible priority. In this regard, the initiatives of the Secretary-General should enjoy the commitment of all and their whole-hearted support.

175. The state of monetary and financial disorder represents a veritable axis of imbalance and instability in today's system of international economic relations. This has to do with structures that have to be remodeled and with an overall framework that has to be thought out again. To this end, the convening of an international conference on general financial and monetary problems is of the highest priority.

176. The fact of the actual interdependence of nations is something we must all understand; it has come to stay, just as has the fact of the interpenetration of problems facing us and their close and intimate interrelationship. Hence, if the plan for global negotiations is still meeting considerable obstacles as regards its implementation, nothing alters its validity and its capacity to bring about solutions.

177. In a precarious and uncertain environment, it is a matter of legitimate satisfaction to note that South-South co-operation is being embarked upon with resolution and with a sense of responsibility as regards the honouring of promises. The meeting of Ministers for Foreign Affairs and Ministers of Finance of 11 Latin American countries at Cartagena in June of this year was further evidence of this. This process, which has had such a good beginning, is worthy of our encouragement and of the strengthening of our commitment to it and of the consolidation of the conditions and means necessary for its accomplishment.

178. This appraisal sheds harsh light on what is at stake and on the magnitude of the challenges facing the United Nations. In the face of such a profound and total crisis, it is of the utmost harm for dialogue and communication to have been broken off so completely. It is of the utmost harm also for the framework of the United Nations, which is of course so necessary for such dialogue and communication, to have fallen so much out of favour.

179. If the fact of a divided humanity has made the United Nations powerless, united humanity can make its mission one of force and credibility.

180. If we are convinced that the United Nations is an act of hope, then it is we who harbour the genius and potential for rehabilitating the United Nations in its work of civilization.

181. Mr. HALLGRÍMSSON (Iceland): I take pleasure, Sir, in joining previous speakers who have warmly congratulated you on your election as President of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. I am confident that your wisdom and experience will be of great value.

182. Allow me also to take this opportunity to welcome Brunei Darussalam as the 159th Member of the United Nations and to extend to this newly independent State my country's sincere wishes for a peaceful future.

183. The General Assembly, at its sessions each year, could be the most important forum in the world. It is a unique gathering where representatives of a great variety of States express and exchange views on a great variety of issues.

184. But how successful are we in making use of this unique forum to advance our basic ideals of peace, prosperity and human rights enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations? How successful have we been in creating the kind of world our peoples have so long wished for but been denied in this twentieth century of two world wars and almost innumerable armed conflicts? Are we making progress towards our goals or are we drifting away from them?

185. At the end of last year, when the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly had pondered the world situation for three months, your predecessor, Sir, Mr. Illueca, of Panama, summed it up by saying that that session had been: "the mirror in which mankind has seen reflected the multifaceted aspects of the profound crisis of the modern world" [*104th meeting, para. 193*]. Nothing very positive seems to have occurred since then. Some might even be tempted to say that we have rather been moving still further in the wrong direction. On this first day of the Assembly's general debate, it seems appropriate to ask the following questions. Where are we heading? What is this session likely to accomplish? Is it going to accomplish anything truly important?

186. In a very noteworthy interview not long ago one of the veterans of this Organization, the former representative of Singapore, Mr. Koh, said: "Nothing is moving at the United Nations at the moment." Is this to be the case also in the months—or even years—to come? Are we going to deal with the great number of important issues on the agenda of this session of the General Assembly by wrapping them into fine words or drowning them in inconsistent or unrealistic resolutions, and then forget all about them until the opening of another equally unsatisfactory session?

187. Are we now, as in last year's session—and similarly before that—going to adopt 63 resolutions on disarmament without any real effort to reconcile our differences or to point a way out of the present impasse? Should that be the case, the prospects would really be bleak.

188. In his very interesting appraisal of the current world situation, the Secretary-General mentions the "tendency to side-step major problems in a way which is likely in the long run to increase frustration and bitterness" and also "an apparent reluctance to make the effort required to use international organizations effectively" [*see A/39/1*].

189. At the outset of the thirty-ninth session the situation in many parts of the world calls for new methods and fresh efforts in an attempt to attain genuine improvement. Action will have to replace words and active negotiations the passing of hollow resolutions. All States, without regard to their size but based on their ability to contribute honestly, should participate in this process. This session of the General Assembly—which will be attended by so many influential political leaders and officials—will offer us an opportunity to start moving again. Let us all try to the best of our abilities to contribute to such a serious new effort to eliminate some of the great problems besetting our nations and the world community as a whole.

190. The five Nordic countries—Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden—which were not always friendly in past centuries have now over a long period derived the benefits of close and effective co-operation in a great number of fields. Living conditions and daily life in this area of the world reflect an evolution which would be beneficial to all who adopt a similar course.

191. The gavel you use, Sir, in presiding over this world Assembly, which was created by an Icelandic sculptor, Asmundur Sveinsson, also reflects the changes that have occurred among the Nordic peoples through the centuries. The gavel's head shows a Viking praying for peace, a theme chosen by the artist.

192. The Nordic peoples, who in olden times raided and fought against other peoples, now wish to live in peace and to share with others a life-style which has its origins in the noble ideals that all of us, the signatories of the Charter of the United Nations, have declared as our goals.

193. The current situation in world affairs and some of the major issues on the agenda of this session were the subject of a traditional meeting of the five Nordic Ministers for Foreign Affairs in Reykjavik earlier this month. A communiqué giving the Ministers' views on these matters has been distributed to all delegations at the United Nations and to the Secretary-General. The Ministers reaffirmed the strong support of the Nordic countries for the United Nations. They underlined the essential role of the United Nations in the maintenance of peace and the need to strengthen the Organization's effectiveness in conflicts and crisis situations. They reiterated that respect for the fundamental principles of international law as laid down in the Charter of the United Nations must be the guideline for the conduct of all States. They also stressed the importance of preserving the universal character of the United Nations.

194. It is self-evident that all nations desire peace. In so far as peoples themselves are free to decide, it should thus be possible to preserve the peace. However, not all peoples are masters of their own fate. Under such circumstances our gravest concern is the relentless arms race and the paradox that military spending this year will reach a trillion dollars while a large part of mankind is starving. It is therefore a matter of the greatest urgency that the leading military Powers multiply their efforts to limit and reduce conventional and nuclear weapons.

195. It is to be hoped that the Soviet Union, having for almost a year been unwilling to continue negotiations on some of the most threatening types of weapons now in existence, will reconsider its attitude. It would indeed be fortunate if contacts during this session of the General Assembly could bring about such a basic change of atmosphere, mitigating the agony that the current state of affairs is causing mankind.

196. Our aim must be a comprehensive solution of the disarmament question, the attainment of which must be dealt with effectively as a matter of the greatest urgency and priority. Partial or regional arms limitation agreements which only lead to the transfer of arsenals to new locations are bound to have limited value and can even create new dangers.

197. As a spokesman for a country like Iceland, which derives its livelihood from the precarious living resources of the sea, I must voice our grave concern at the acceleration of the naval arms race. This aspect of the current military build-up worldwide may become the subject of further debate during next year's session of the General Assembly, when it is hoped that the study on the naval arms race, which was decided upon at the thirty-eighth session [*resolution 38/188G*], will be completed.

198. Any arms control agreement reached must contain adequate provisions for effective verification. Any State which accepts mutual treaty obligations in disarmament or other fields with the intention of fulfilling them does not have to hesitate about committing itself to reciprocal verification procedures.

199. I totally share the view of the Secretary-General that the main obstacle to disarmament and arms limitation is the insecurity of nations. Its origins may be found in the distrust between leading nations that took its current shape soon after the Second World War. All attempts to ameliorate this most unfortunate situation have until now been in vain. No durable confidence has been built between the leading Powers of the world. The building of confidence is therefore the single most important task now before the international community. Our attempts to move forward on this narrow and difficult road to a new and more peaceful world situation must be intensified. For that purpose, full use must be made of this unique forum where we are gathered now and its various organs and of the ongoing Conference on Confidence- and Security-building Measures and Disarmament in Europe, meeting at Stockholm. However, the possibility of success depends above all on the behaviour of States—not just on words spoken from this rostrum or elsewhere.

200. The building of genuine democracy among the world's nations—that is, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, respect for the sovereignty of States and the right of peoples to self-determination, the rule of law prevailing over the rule of force, and a more just distribution of economic resources—is the overriding pre-condition from which increased confidence will flow. All this and much more is pledged by all States when signing the Charter of the United Nations joining the Organization, but a different degree of implementation causes imbalance and insecurity.

201. First and foremost, each and all of us must put our own house in order. Since, through bilateral or multilateral treaties freely entered into, we have undertaken mutual obligations, we have no right to expect immunity from criticism if we fail to live up to our commitments. In this context, I must say that it has been most deplorable to see the peoples of

many countries suffer from flagrant breaches of human rights obligations. For instance, *apartheid* and the treatment in a number of countries of individuals who have been claiming basic human rights for themselves and their fellow citizens cause us the gravest concern. A case in point is the sad affair of Andrei Sakharov and his wife, Yelena Bonner.

202. The need to improve the lot of the least developed countries of the world and to strengthen the basis for their economic survival cannot be overemphasized. The developed countries must open up their markets for products from the third world. Development assistance from the industrialized countries will not alone solve the serious difficulties of the developing countries; they must also be granted, *inter alia*, the benefits of free trade. Similarly, the industrialized countries should, in their overall trade relations, eliminate barriers and other protectionist measures, such as government subsidies, which hamper the normal, efficient division of labour between countries.

203. On this first day of the Assembly's general debate there are on the list of speakers representatives of some of the biggest and some of the smallest States Members of the Organization. This truly reflects the variety of the membership, as well as the fact that all nations, large and small, have a stake in United Nations efforts to build a better world.

204. Through experience mankind has acquired knowledge of forms of democratic government which, however imperfect, guarantee as far as is humanly possible the well-being of the peoples. Nevertheless, totalitarian, undemocratic methods deny such well-being to large populations on many continents.

205. We still have a long way to go. Let us not, however, underestimate the progress we have made during the almost four decades since the United Nations came into being. Our inability in past years to reverse the arms race throws a shadow over our hopes for immediate improvements. Nevertheless, let us not lose faith in a still brighter and better future. Let that faith give us strength to renew our pledges and to seek the fullest possible implementation of the noble ideals which are the corner-stone of the United Nations.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.

NOTES

[1] See *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* (Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1982), vol. 18, No. 35, p. 1081.

[2] See CD/540/Appendix III/Vol. V, document CD/PV.283.

[3] See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 1.*

United Nations
GENERAL ASSEMBLY
THIRTY-NINTH SESSION
Official Records

5th PLENARY MEETING

Monday, 24 September 1984, at 3.55 p.m.

NEW YORK

President: Mr. Paul J. F. LUSAKA (Zambia)

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations Mr. Raúl Alfonsín, President of the Argentine Republic, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

2. Mr. ALFONSÍN (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, I wish first to express my personal congratulations to you on your unanimous election to your important position. We have two reasons to be pleased—that your well-known human and professional qualities represent an invaluable contribution to the success of the endeavours of the General Assembly, and that you represent Zambia and Africa, a brother continent of Latin America, whose hopes and demands we share.

3. I also wish to express our gratitude to Mr. Jorge Illueca, Head of State of Panama and an eminent Latin American diplomat, who so skilfully presided over the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly. We Argentines have special reasons to be grateful to him.

4. At the same time, we welcome Brunei Darussalam to the United Nations. Its admission emphasizes once again the universality of the Organization.

5. Ten months ago, when Argentina was regaining its democratic life, I told the Congress of my country that our foreign policy would be the natural extension of our domestic policy. Both must be based on the same aspirations and, above all, on an identical system of values. Since we do not have two different moral codes, we do not have two different policies.

6. All the reasons that drove us to political struggle, the heartfelt convictions that guided and supported us throughout the years, were based on a set of values that my country needed. Those values transcend a people and a territory. They can be applied to government actions that regulate domestic political life, to the way in which we approach our relations with other States and to the positions we adopt with regard to the problems of the international community.

7. However, defining an ethical system as the source of political action, which is, after all, the issue, is not simply an option that soothes the conscience of those who govern or a way of avoiding the practical, concrete problems of our time. This is not an abstract or idealistic position; rather, it is essential. It is to know why one governs, to know what type of society we seek for our countries, and what kind of world we want for mankind.

8. This thought stems from my conviction that the world order is dangerously distorted, the most obvious proof of which is that some countries seem not to wish for the rest of the world what they wish for themselves. In my opinion, this is the result of having replaced the moral view of the world order by a concept of power. It might be said that this is a naive thought. But let us examine where the so-called pragmatic ideas have led us.

9. Two types of problems affect our world as a whole: the crisis in the political order and the crisis in the international economic order.

10. We are witnessing today the extent to which strategic purposes tend almost exclusively to define relations between States. On the basis of these strategic ideas, a new phase in the nuclear arms race has begun, one that makes the boundary between peace and war very much more precarious and frail. I am speaking of the boundary between the life and the death of mankind. This is a tragic prospect, for which the strongest hold each other responsible, while the majority of the countries of the international community are made to stand idly by.

11. Bystanders and actors appear to follow two kinds of logic: the logic of peace, which is susceptible to ethical arguments, and the logic of the arms race, which is the result of a political concept of power based on threats. The worrying thing is that those who hold to one logic do not listen to or hear those who hold to the other.

12. What good are our arguments if they cannot penetrate the logic of others, in particular the logic of those who are truly capable of altering the situation?

13. What means are available to us to moderate, with our ethical reasoning, the reasoning of power and threat?

14. Sometimes, everything seems to indicate that our role is limited to making demands, or possibly to denouncing this state of affairs. None the less, we shall continue our anguished clamour, because we know that our voice must be raised unceasingly in defence of peace. That is why I ratified the 22 May 1984 Joint Declaration, together with the Heads of State or Government of Greece, India, Mexico, Sweden and the United Republic of Tanzania [*see A/39/277*]. In that Declaration we stated that we share the conviction that there must not be another world war and that the advance towards global suicide must be restrained and halted. The world cannot oscillate between a devastating nuclear war and peace. We must work together to influence present and future events.

15. That position with regard to peace has been held consistently by all the democratic Governments of my country. Thus, in accordance with the policy which had been developed previously by President Hipólito Yrigoyen, another of my predecessors, President Arturo Frondizi, said in 1961, at the sixteenth session of the General Assembly:

> "Invariably, with exemplary consistency, Argentina's international policy has been based on the three fundamental principles of international life—the legal equality of States, non-intervention in domestic affairs, and the self-determination of peoples . . .
>
> " . . . We have opposed foreign intervention and any kind of pressure, whether political, economic, legal or ideological, by one nation upon another." [*1018th meeting, paras. 8 and 9.*]

16. I further believe that the maintenance of peace involves a wider reality, in which we are not mere spectators. Indeed, in our world, it is not only arms that endanger peace. The international political order is not only increasingly a strategic military order, but is also increasingly dependent on the world economic order.

17. Over the decades we have related political questions to East-West tension, while, in connection with the economic order, we have referred to North-South relations. But I believe that even if we can identify two distinct kinds of tension—one among equals and the other among those who are not equal—these are not isolated from one another. Indeed, today we can assert that peace and security alike could be seriously affected by the enormous disparities between the rich countries and the developing countries of the world.

18. In a developing world characterized by instability and social tension, national conflicts have increasingly attracted the attention of those with strategic interests. The evolution of the social and economic conflict in the South has attracted the interest of the super-Powers. Our territories have thus become the victims of harassment by both Powers. This results, first of all, in the exacerbation of local conflicts; in this way, although the suffering continues to be national, the conflict becomes more and more a foreign one. Secondly, this interference intensifies the strategic conflict itself; in this way, the balance of the North—unstable and dangerous as it is—is reflected in clashes in the developing world.

19. We have seen and continue to see this phenomenon whereby a national conflict is intensified by strategic conflict to the point at which a nation is broken down. Hence, to our own problems is added the problem of a confrontation—covert or overt—between the big Powers on this third ground, in this third arena provided by the countries of the so-called South.

20. In sum, I believe that there are two things which threaten peace. On the one hand, there is the arms race and the direct strategic confrontation between the big Powers, and, on the other hand, there is the instability, injustice and poverty in the South. There is very little we can do about the first, but the second involves us directly.

21. It will suffice to note as an example of the second cause the extremely serious economic situation now obtaining in certain regions of Africa owing to a persistent drought and the lack of the material resources necessary to achieve self-sustaining growth and development. Africa must have the support and solidarity of the whole international community if it is to overcome this crisis, with all its unforeseeable consequences.

22. It is a question not only of putting forward arguments favourable to the developing countries, but also of showing that the destiny of those countries directly affects the industrialized world.

23. The ethical reasons that make us call for a more equitable international order unite with practical reasons, for an unjust world is today more than ever before an unstable and insecure world. Justice in the South is today more than ever before a necessary prerequisite for peace in the North.

24. The Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the Group of 77 have clearly pointed out the unjust and unstable situation which I have described. The international community as a whole, and the developed countries in particular, must show their willingness to listen to the economic and political proposals formulated by these groups of States, which represent two thirds of mankind.

25. I have stated that one of the characteristics of the present day is that international relations are increasingly relations among Powers rather than relations among societies. But I must say too that another disturbing fact of our day is that the economic order is increasingly becoming an exclusively financial order.

26. These are severe distortions that we must avoid, because a world in which politics is replaced by arsenals and economy by finance is simply a world in danger. We cannot accept that the future we seek for mankind should be based on and motivated by weapons and money. That is why I insist on the fact that ethical rebirth is a vital enterprise for our civilization.

27. It is painful to note the backward motion of our countries. Until some years ago, we were calling for the improvement of commercial and technological conditions in order to lessen the gap between our countries and the more advanced countries. Today, the objective of our claim is that of no longer being exporters of financial resources to the industrialized countries.

28. In Latin America, in 1983, the per capita gross national product was 10 per cent below the level of 1980. We have slipped backward six years, since we had already reached that level in 1977. This has greatly affected the welfare of our peoples, as has also the deterioration of our earnings brought about by the decline in the terms of foreign exchange.

29. The crisis of our foreign debt lies precisely in this deterioration of our economies, which are hindered from utilizing their productive potential, and in the reduction of employment and welfare. Last year, this debt meant, in terms of interest alone, the allocation of almost a third of the exports from the region.

30. Forgotten now are the international commitments agreed to during the first and second development decades—launched by the United Nations in 1961 and 1971—which obligated the most advanced countries to transfer 1 per cent of their national product to the developing countries.

31. Paradoxically, these commitments are reversed today. The developing countries are now the ones that must transfer part of their national product to

the developed countries; and it is not an annual 1 per cent, but an annual 3 per cent and sometimes more.

32. Owing to this overwhelming reality and to the attempt to restore rationality and good sense in the financial order, we in Latin America have proposed dialogue as a necessity—a dialogue between the richer countries and our countries, a practical dialogue about one of the questions that most upsets the financial order and stability of our countries: the question of foreign debt. We believe that this debt not only affects the debtor countries, but, because of its political impact, also directly involves the creditors.

33. We think that if everything depended on the manner in which the problem was being dealt with at present, we would not find a permanent and dependable solution. This is a subject that no longer has anything to do with the problem as it was in the early 1970s. Nevertheless, the solutions proposed are still the same. Only a joint political will can now give rise to new solutions for a problem that is no longer traditional.

34. Today, the question of debt is inextricably linked to the political and social destiny of our countries and, since it affects the whole region, it jeopardizes global stability in Latin America.

35. The meetings at Quito, Cartagena and Mar del Plata this year have been the best expression of the gravity of the situation. They also expressed our caution and moderation, which was translated into a call for a dialogue with the creditor countries. We hope that there will be a positive response to that call. Dialogue is not confrontation, as some people have alleged. Rather, confrontation arises when dialogue is precluded. I believe that both political logic and experience show this.

36. Perhaps on the basis of this concrete subject the aspiration for the North-South dialogue may materialize. It has been formulated many times, but up to now practical results could not be achieved.

37. This call for peace by the Argentine democracy is valid because we acted decisively for its preservation in the events in which we participated directly.

38. In one of those disputes—between us and the Republic of Chile—my country took resolute steps. In the framework of the mediation of His Holiness Pope John Paul II, whose assistance we highly value and appreciate, my Government showed its firm will to find an equitable solution that would put an end to a century-old controversy. What we can present before the international community are words of peace translated into peaceful actions through dialogue and negotiations.

39. In the other conflict, the one which continues between us and the United Kingdom over the Malvinas, South Sandwich and South Georgia Islands, our negotiating will and decision have encountered intransigence.

40. For almost 150 years, a portion of Argentine territory has been subjected to the colonial régime imposed by the United Kingdom. This unjust and illegal situation, which Argentina has never accepted, permanently affects our national life.

41. The mission of recovering the Malvinas, South Georgia and South Sandwich Islands for our heritage is a mandate that has been transmitted by successive generations of Argentines up to our day, and this process will continue until the attainment of that objective. There should be no doubt about this, as this is a cause with which my people identifies deeply. We have the law on our side. The failure to understand it in this way is tantamount to ignoring one of the most important facts of the problem that exists between my country and the occupying Power.

42. It is a national cause, but it is also a Latin American cause inasmuch as Latin America has come forth in solidarity to defend a national integrity that it considers its own. Latin America now also views with alarm the presence in the South Atlantic of a military force equipped with the most sophisticated armaments, threatening the interests and stability of the entire area and constituting a dangerous intrusion of the East-West conflict into the region.

43. Argentina is firmly committed to seeking the restitution of the Malvinas Islands only through peaceful means. This my Government has stated, and it will fulfil this aim. There should be no doubt in anyone's mind about this. Our concept of democracy, which my country has now fortunately recovered, has two facets: a domestic one and one that looks outward. The first one is related to the full exercise of the Constitution—with the concomitant limitations upon the exercise of State powers—and respect for human rights. The second one, as I have already mentioned, involves relations with other countries. This outward projection of the democratic way of life translates into a behaviour that is civilized and law-abiding and may be summed up as respect for the prevalence of legal rules in relations among States.

44. The Charter of the United Nations, a true constitution of the international community, imposes on Member States the obligation to solve their disputes by peaceful means. Consistent with this legal duty, my Government has taken steps towards attaining the maximum flexibility compatible with national rights and has sought to reinitiate negotiations with the United Kingdom to solve this conflict. Naturally, we also seek the normalization of the friendly relations which Argentina has traditionally had with that country. But that cannot be achieved if, from the very beginning of the attempts at normalization, we lack the certainty that a mechanism will be established to allow negotiation on the sovereignty dispute, which represents the main obstacle on the path leading to that normalization.

45. Unfortunately, judging by recent bilateral contacts that culminated in the meeting at Berne in July of this year under the auspices of Brazil and Switzerland, up to now we seem to be left with nothing but the intention, clearly stated by the United Kingdom, to postpone *sine die* the fulfilment of the urgent call by the General Assembly for the parties to sit down at the negotiating table. Together with my gratitude to Brazil and Switzerland and to the Secretary-General for their laudable efforts, I wish to express my ardent desire for that request of the General Assembly to be carried out as soon as possible for the sake of law and justice.

46. Next year the international community will commemorate the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations. There is no doubt that the Organization has fulfilled an essential role in the search for international peace and security, the economic development of peoples and the eradication of colonialism. Its work is not over. I am convinced that the overwhelming majority of Mem-

ber States will lend their assistance and best endeavours to achieve an international system based on justice and on the social, cultural and material progress of the peoples.

47. Mindful of these objectives, today we cannot fail to express our deep preoccupation with the situation in southern Africa, where the structures of colonial and racial discrimination still exist, in violation of international law and morality. Namibia must be made independent once and for all. The unjust system of *apartheid* must be eliminated for ever. Those who suffer under it can continue to count on the support of the civilized world.

48. There are areas of tension and armed conflict in the Middle East and the Gulf region; the United Nations must continue to give them special attention so that quick, just and peaceful solutions can be achieved.

49. My country also views with serious concern—as do, I am sure, all the other nations—the situation in Central America. In our opinion, the proposals and actions of the Contadora Group, expressly supported by the General Assembly, offer a suitable alternative to achieve the sought-after peaceful solution to this very painful conflict for all of Latin America.

50. I believe that if power relations replace relations among men, we shall have lost the ethical motivation that ensures progress and peace for mankind.

51. No one should doubt, in reviewing history, that civilizations live and thrive when they are based upon moral premises and that, by contrast, their extinction systematically stems from ethical confusion.

52. I believe that the fact that the world order is increasingly defined by the arms race and financial greed is an ethical confusion. Were these motivations to persist, there would be no well-being for the majority of our countries. It is also well to recall that what affects the South will sooner or later affect the welfare of the more advanced countries.

53. I have the firm conviction that, as recently stated by Pope John Paul II, today development is the new name for peace.

54. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly I wish to thank Mr. Raúl Alfonsín, President of the Argentine Republic, for the important statement he has just made.

55. I now have great pleasure in welcoming the Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Norway, Mr. Kåre Willoch, and inviting him to address the General Assembly.

56. Mr. WILLOCH (Norway): Allow me first of all to congratulate you, Sir, on your election to the high office of President of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. I am convinced that the Assembly's proceedings will greatly benefit from your experience, skill and wise guidance.

57. Allow me also to extend warm congratulations to the Government and people of Brunei Darussalam on their admission to membership in the United Nations.

58. The thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly is meeting at a time of international tension and widespread human suffering throughout the world: the situation in Afghanistan, the Middle East, the war between Iran and Iraq and military conflicts in other areas give reason for great concern; disarmament negotiations have been suspended, while the arms race continues; the contacts between East and West are far from adequate; the North-South dialogue is at a difficult juncture, while severe economic problems and climatic conditions have adversely affected millions of people; and a great many people are denied basic human rights.

59. However, important strides towards the solution of those and other problems facing mankind can be made. It all depends on the decisions and choices that we make. Political leaders must choose the direction in which they want the world to develop. We have the technological means, as well as the economic and human resources, to spread opportunity and prosperity to all parts of the world; but for this we must face our common challenges together. Events and developments in one country affect the lives and destinies of people in other countries more directly than ever before. The word "interdependency" designates a reality.

60. The United Nations continues to be the object of criticism. While pointing to the deficiencies of the United Nations, we should not overlook its achievements. At the same time, we should increase our efforts to enable the United Nations to play the role envisaged for it in the Charter.

61. Consequently, we should endeavour to strengthen the United Nations and thereby improve its ability to prevent conflicts and crises, and to settle such conflicts if they should nevertheless arise. In order to support the Secretary-General's efforts to this end, Norway, together with the other Nordic countries, has recommended, *inter alia*, improving the efficiency of the Security Council, strengthening the role of the Secretary-General, and enhancing the ability and capacity of the United Nations to launch peace-keeping operations.

62. The Security Council should feel a special obligation to bring about a strengthening of the United Nations. The necessary impetus should be given to ensure that the United Nations shall be able to meet the high aspiration of our peoples—that is, to enable every man and woman to enjoy freedom and peace in security.

63. Peace-keeping operations are important instruments in the hands of the Security Council. Such operations are a tangible extension of the authority of the Council to the area of conflict. By the same token, it is obvious that, in order to succeed, peace-keeping operations must have the full support of the Council, as well as the co-operation of the parties concerned.

64. Today, armament arsenals have reached such an extent that it is difficult to see that any additional increase would entail more security for those who possess them. Of course, every nation has the right to defend itself, but the continuing arms build-up becomes ever more dangerous and meaningless.

65. In our endeavours to create a safer world, efforts to achieve arms control and disarmament should be given the very highest priority. Agreements should be balanced and verifiable. Particularly with regard to nuclear weapons, it is important to improve the quality and consistency of the dialogue between the major Powers.

66. We can only hope that the Soviet Union will soon return to the negotiating table, without preconditions, and sit down with the United States in order to negotiate substantial reductions in nuclear weapons and accompanying measures which will

create an atmosphere of mutual trust and understanding.

67. This session of the General Assembly also has a grave responsibility to contribute to the resumption of such talks. In this connection, we should strive to create a basis for an agreed, balanced and verifiable freeze on nuclear weapons. In view of the present imbalances, such a freeze must be pursued in the context of negotiations on substantial reductions in nuclear weapons; that is to say, a freeze must be part of a settlement which at the same time establishes a balance between the nuclear arsenals.

68. As we prepare for the Third Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, we must also endeavour to strengthen the non-proliferation régime. Similarly, we attach great importance to the forthcoming Review Conference of the Parties to the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on Their Destruction, as proposed for 1986. We must also seek ways to reach agreement on a comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty.

69. While reductions in nuclear arms must have first priority, it is also of vital importance to seek balanced and substantial reductions in conventional weapons. At the Vienna Talks on Mutual Reduction of Forces, Armaments and Associated Measures in Central Europe, the necessary elements for an agreement have now been presented. It is equally important to stop the accelerated build-up of conventional arms in other parts of the world.

70. One area of particular concern is chemical weapons. It is with the greatest concern that we have learned that chemical weapons have recently been used. Such use must be denounced wherever and whenever it takes place. We must spare no effort in reaching an agreement on the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of all chemical weapons, as well as on the destruction of existing arsenals. The United States draft of a chemical weapons treaty represents an important contribution to the negotiations in this field.

71. Outer space has always attracted man's attention, and with modern technology we can now use space for various purposes. It is important that we should now also be aware of the potential dangers. In our vision of a safer and more stable world, there is no room for the militarization of outer space. This should be prevented through bilateral as well as multilateral efforts. We therefore urge that there be agreement on talks to find a basis for arms control and disarmament in outer space.

72. Questions relating to the building of confidence and security are important elements in all negotiations on arms control and disarmament. These questions also constitute a key element in the Conference on Confidence- and Security-building Measures and Disarmament in Europe, meeting at Stockholm. Thirty-five nations have agreed to work for concrete confidence- and security-building measures that in turn can reduce the risk of military conflict and surprise attack. We hope that the Warsaw Pact countries will now demonstrate a positive will to discuss the concrete proposals presented by the Western participants. For our part, we are ready to give the most careful consideration to all relevant proposals presented by the other participants.

73. Let me also address another serious problem which requires our fullest attention. I am referring to the alarming increase in international terrorism. Nobody can tell today who will be struck by terrorist acts tomorrow. The problem therefore affects us all. Unfortunately, the appalling fact is that on several occasions there have been serious indications that Governments have been involved in such terrorism. That is, of course, a clear violation of international law. The assumption that the ends could justify the means is particularly dangerous since it would inevitably lead to anarchy. The world community must make an effort to counter terrorism and to take concrete steps to stop this intolerable development. The senseless attack on the United States Embassy in Beirut is a strong reminder of the urgent need to take international action.

74. The safeguarding of human rights must continue to be a priority task for the United Nations. Governments should comply fully with the provisions of the international legal instruments in this field. A more efficient international machinery, including a United Nations high commissioner for human rights, should be established. In our reactions to violations of human rights, it is essential that we apply the same standards irrespective of where the violations occur. We cannot accept the proposition that the violation of human rights in any one country is of no concern to the international community. On the contrary, there is a strong interdependence between respect for human rights and the prospects for international détente.

75. The policy of *apartheid* represents a clear violation of human rights. The recent constitutional changes in South Africa do not fundamentally alter that policy. On the contrary, the reforms must be seen as an attempt to consolidate the present system. The international community should therefore continue to put pressure on South Africa to bring the policy of *apartheid* to an end.

76. On the other hand, it has been encouraging to observe that democratic reforms are now under way in several countries in Latin America. This development should be welcomed in the hope that it will continue and be strengthened. In this situation we should offer our assistance and advice. However, no one has the right to exploit a fragile political and social situation in another country to promote his own interests. At the same time, we expect that a promise of democratic elections really means free elections where everyone can truly express his own conviction.

77. The Norwegian Government supports the efforts of the Contadora Group in bringing about a framework for peace, stability and economic development in Central America. We also welcome the talks initiated this summer between the United States and Nicaragua.

78. All our efforts should be aimed at meeting the needs and aspirations of the individual. Our task should therefore be to create a world where every human being will have a better life. We have the means and the resources; let us also demonstrate that we have the necessary political will.

79. The need for such political will is emphasized in the latest annual report of the IMF.[1] Although the report opens with some rather positive observations on the economic situation, it makes it quite clear that these heartening developments are fragile and will

not continue unless the major industrial countries adjust their policies and acknowledge their broad responsibility for the world economy. Those countries have a particular responsibility to contribute towards bringing about better living conditions in the developing countries. Our development assistance programmes should therefore be continued and intensified. There is also an urgent need for further concerted action to mobilize additional resources so as to meet, and if possible reach beyond, the objective set by the United Nations. Norway is ready to play a full part in such a joint effort. As regards official development assistance, net disbursements from Norway in 1983 reached the level of 1.06 per cent of the gross national product, a figure that will be surpassed this year as well as in 1985.

80. We must also increase our efforts to improve market access for developing countries. This would enable them to acquire a larger share of international trade and to service their debts, as well as to mobilize resources for their development programmes. In this way, they will improve their prospects for achieving better economic growth, which will also benefit the industrialized world. These questions will be in the foreground at the World Bank/IMF meetings starting today.

81. There is certainly no easy way out of these and other economic problems. It is obvious that national decisions and domestic action will not suffice. The situation therefore calls for international co-operation. What we need is to unite our forces in a common approach on a global scale. If we succeed in our joint efforts and co-operation, the results will have a beneficial effect on the world economy as a whole.

82. Our joint efforts to improve the lot of the developing countries will be frustrated unless we are able to address the problem of the far-too-high population growth in some regions. Some progress in reducing the growth rate has been made over the past years, but the overall picture gives reason for deep concern. The International Conference on Population, held at Mexico City from 6 to 14 August 1984, reached agreement on the need for a more active population policy.[2] We fully share the view that family planning must be seen in the context of economic and social development. We cannot substitute the one for the other. We particularly welcome the agreement reached at the Mexico Conference that improvement of the status of women is a prerequisite for any successful population policy.

83. The International Conference on Population has provided us with the basis for dealing with the population problem. It is now up to us, the States Members of the United Nations, as well as the other international organizations, to implement the decisions taken at Mexico.

84. More than ever, the peoples of the world have a common destiny. The political leaders of the world therefore have a common responsibility. Joint efforts are needed. This is not the time to retreat from international co-operation. On the contrary, we must increase our international collaboration. The United Nations, as a global organization, has a particular role to play. Every member country must therefore contribute to the increased effectiveness of the Organization. The Norwegian Government, for its part, is dedicated to the continued strong support of the Organization and its important work.

85. I will conclude, Mr. President, by expressing the sincere hope that under your guidance the work of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly will bring us closer to our common objectives.

86. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Norway for the important statement he has just made.

87. Mr. SEPÚLVEDA AMOR (Mexico) (*interpretation from Spanish*): On behalf of the Government of Mexico and on my own behalf, Sir, I wish to extend our congratulations to you on your election as President of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. I am sure that your wide experience of the United Nations and your diplomatic gifts will enable you to guide our deliberations along the path of mutual understanding.

88. The election of the representative of Zambia bears witness to our recognition of the committed role in international affairs that is played by your country, with which Mexico maintains excellent relations of friendship and co-operation. In our view, your election also reflects the growing importance of the African continent in contemporary international relations. The peoples of Africa, freed from the yoke of colonialism, are a living symbol of the universal aspiration to build a more stable, pluralistic and democratic world.

89. I consider it my duty also to express our satisfaction with the prudent and persevering action of your predecessor, Mr. Jorge Illueca. Latin America has welcomed the dynamic and direct efforts of the President of Panama to promote dialogue and conciliation.

90. I should also like to express again to the Secretary-General the pleasure of the Government and people of Mexico at his official visit to our country last April and his visit to our capital on the occasion of the International Conference on Population last August. I offer him too our sincere congratulations on the effective work he has done in heading the Organization. His efforts to consolidate the United Nations system, to expand co-operation and, especially, to promote the cause of peace and security bring our nations new hope. His report to this session of the General Assembly on the work of the Organization [*A/39/1*] is clear proof of his clear-mindedness and political creativity.

91. My Government wishes to extend to Brunei Darussalam, the new Member of the United Nations, a warm welcome and best wishes for a peaceful and prosperous future in full exercise of its sovereign rights.

92. We are witnessing today a resurgence of old doctrines of power and new forms of intolerance that cast doubt on the usefulness of international organizations. In view of this, I should like to reaffirm the unwavering commitment of the people and Government of Mexico to the purposes and principles of the United Nations. We are certain that the world Organization is an irreplaceable instrument for the promotion of freedom, justice and peace. We accept also that it is a body susceptible of improvement.

93. In 1945, determined to live together in peace and to promote the progress of all peoples, we postulated as standards of conduct for all States full respect for the principles of law and a genuine will to co-operate with others. The United Nations was to be a forum for understanding and the pivot of a

collective effort towards further development and security.

94. Over the past years the Organization has played a decisive role in the promotion of the highest political ideals of the twentieth century. The liquidation of the most flagrant forms of colonialism has allowed almost 100 countries to attain political independence. The growing democratization of international society has contributed to the progressive development of a juridical order more in accordance with the demands of the peoples of the world. The international régime of human rights fosters respect for the basic freedoms of individuals and for the prerogatives of social groups, especially those of the least privileged.

Mr. Al-Khalifa (Bahrain), Vice-President, took the Chair.

95. The United Nations has been a determining factor in avoiding global confrontation and in encouraging the peaceful solution of a great many regional conflicts. Furthermore, as a result of its efforts, we have today a clearer view and understanding of the problems of the developing world. We in the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America have increased our ties of identity and solidarity, co-ordinating our stands and establishing platforms of common principles and strategies. We have encouraged the creation of numerous mechanisms which would enhance effective international co-operation if all States acted responsibly and with a view to the future.

96. Some isolated voices attempt to ignore the magnitude of the task performed and the potential of the United Nations system. The difficulties of an effective dialogue between the great Powers certainly have contributed to the antagonism between those with hegemonistic aspirations. In a climate of tension between East and West, it is only natural that the crises multiply, that regional conflicts are exacerbated and that confrontations between the power blocs are transferred to third-world settings, thereby affecting the security, sovereignty and political and economic development of many nations. At the same time, the grave world economic crisis is negating important and just expectations of the developing countries.

97. Such voices would seem to be unaware of the fact that, save for the presence of the United Nations, even more devastating conflagrations might have broken out. They tend to forget that we would have lacked institutional barriers to offset the arrogant use of force, that the juridical and moral principles of peaceful coexistence among States would have been weakened even further—in short, that we would all suffer by the absence of an enormous effort at co-operation that seeks to lighten the burdens and sacrifices of the weakest. Those voices seem to have forgotten the highly innovative and transforming task of the United Nations in today's world.

98. The cause of the crisis of world society does not lie in the shortcomings of the organic structure of the United Nations or in the modalities of multilateral diplomacy. There are many who would like to make such limitations a pretext or a cover-up for more deep-rooted political realities. Indeed, when dogmatic views prevail there is no room for contrary or differing opinions. Manichaeism, by definition, excludes a world of varying criteria and attitudes. For those who think that way, multilateralism should be replaced by a set of asymmetric, predominantly bilateral relations, which would necessarily benefit the most powerful.

99. This morning [*4th meeting*], the President of the United States, at the very outset of this General Assembly session, renewed hopes and expectations. By stating the willingness of his country to reinitiate constructive negotiations with the Soviet Union, mainly in the field of disarmament, in order to reduce the world arsenals, to institutionalize periodic consultations at a high political level and to establish better working relations between the United States and the Soviet Union in which understanding and co-operation prevail, President Reagan infused optimism into the community of nations on its difficult path towards peace and détente. Mexico expresses its recognition of and appreciation for this felicitous initiative and hopes that it may soon produce optimum results for all, without exception.

100. The international community must always act in accordance with the principles it has established, respecting the rights of all and giving each nation the unrestricted right to seek the economic and political system that is most in keeping with its interests. The United Nations, the supreme expression of the plural community of States, is thus the necessary setting for international democracy and an irreplaceable vehicle of co-operation. The values it represents are neither ephemeral nor circumstantial. They are, beyond any doubt, the only values that allow for civilized and orderly coexistence, beneficial to all.

101. Today, no country can live in isolation, separate from the rest. Any claim to autarky is illusory. Interdependence is an unavoidable fact of the life of States, even though that interrelationship has not been useful in distributing benefits justly and equitably to non-industrialized countries. The United Nations constitutes an organized framework that is capable of giving that interdependence a positive outlook and of transforming current international relations into respectful and peaceful coexistence, founded on equitable co-operation and mutual respect.

102. The fortieth anniversary of the United Nations seems a propitious moment not only for evaluating the functioning of the system and correcting deficiencies, but also for renewing our commitment to the principles and values that gave the Organization its life—principles and values whose validity must be reaffirmed not only with words but also with deeds. Let us recall that universality is part and parcel of the Organization's very essence. That is why the effectiveness of its decisions and the usefulness of its mechanisms of consultation must be based on the will of all States, and this must not entail a consolidation of privileges or the abusive use of different forms of the veto. The deficiencies of the Organization should be corrected democratically.

103. No one can seek to turn the United Nations into an arena of sterile confrontation, or an arena for unworthy attempts at subjugation or tyrannies of the minority. That would go against the democratic imperative of the Organization. Let us make our international institutions the setting for genuine dialogue, co-operation and constructive negotiation that are so greatly needed by our world today.

104. The strengthening of the international order also involves the renovation of regional forums, which must provide an increasingly faithful reflec-

tion of common interests and of the aspirations of developing countries. Latin America is currently seeking to consolidate its stands more effectively and to take joint steps to promote stability, development and full independence for the countries in the area as a real contribution to self-determination and world peace.

105. In the political sphere, the efforts of the Contadora Group express our unwavering determination to join together and find appropriate means of arriving at a peaceful solution of conflicts, avoiding any form of interference in the internal affairs of States. The nations of the area are, at the same time, combining their endeavours to achieve a rational and equitable economic order. The Latin American Economic Conference, held at Quito in January of this year, and the meetings at Cartagena and Mar del Plata of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs and the Ministers of Finance of 11 Latin American countries in June and in September, respectively, all have that aim.

106. A year ago the General Assembly adopted by consensus resolution 38/10, on the situation in Central America. The resolution reaffirmed the right of all the countries in the area to decide their own future freely, and it condemned the acts of aggression against the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the Central American States. Unanimously, the General Assembly gave its firm support to the efforts of the Contadora Group, urging it to persevere in its role as a mediator.

107. In 1984 the Contadora process has been aimed at reaching specific agreements for dealing with the problems of peace, the strengthening of political institutions, and the process of development, which are of concern to the countries of the area. For months we have been engaged in an intensive process of consultation and negotiation which is now reflected in the instrument entitled "Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America" [*see A/39/562*], whose purpose is to reconcile the legitimate interests of the Governments of Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua. This is a draft global agreement stipulating both general and specific obligatory commitments for the purposes of fostering understanding and co-operation among the countries of Central America.

108. We are convinced that the Contadora Act is faithfully designed to fulfil the requirements for stability in the area. The principles set forth in the Act encourage the establishment of a framework of reciprocal security and respect, mutual confidence and regional détente, which are essential for normalizing the political relations and all other relations among the countries of the isthmus.

109. For that reason, it is from here, the highest rostrum of the international community, that we call upon the Central American Governments to proceed with all due urgency to assume the legal commitments contained in the Act, and we express our appreciation to those States which have announced their intention to subscribe to the Act. The Contadora process and its arduous and difficult task of negotiation, which have now been in progress for 20 months, have been aimed at safeguarding the independence of States, preventing the further destruction of human and material resources that are essential to the well-being of their peoples, and opening instead channels for far-reaching and sustained economic, political and social development.

110. We reiterate today that negotiating implies harmonizing legitimate interests in order to reach common goals—a partial surrender of one's goals, in order to attain a final objective that is considered fundamental to all. Regional security, a basic prerequisite for peace and development, can be attained only through honourable, just and responsible agreements based on conciliation and not on imposition. This is the immediate option of the five Central American Governments: to express their firm decision to protect the sovereign rights and long-term plans of each nation for the benefit of present and future generations, or to sacrifice a stable future for the sake of circumstantial illusions. It is the responsibility of the Central American Governments to choose between peace and war, between development and destruction. The Contadora Group, for its part, will continue to do everything within its power to facilitate the process of mediation.

111. The Contadora Act decidedly contributes to the establishment of a regional order founded on respect for pluralism and the rights of peoples. It offers, without a doubt, a viable opportunity for normalizing relations among the Central American countries. Unfortunately, the political and diplomatic effort has been severely hampered by a plethora of actions that aggravate tensions and undermine confidence in the area. Biased information has also been circulated with a view to harming the Contadora process and initiatives, and obstacles have been placed in the way of a more open and fluent dialogue among the Central American countries. The increased foreign military presence and the overt or covert support supplied to exogenous forces and groups, whose purpose is the overthrow of the established Governments of the area, have been two of the major obstacles to détente and understanding.

112. The historical experience of the nations of Latin America and the Caribbean has shown, over the centuries, that interference and intervention ultimately revert against their instigators. In the final analysis, the use of force is no solution but only leads to more force, hatred and lack of confidence. Let us try, with the invaluable assistance and support of the international community, to save Central America from even more serious harm and crueller devastation.

113. We call once again on those Governments with ties and interests in that region to give their unequivocal and clear support to efforts to halt the arms race and traffic in arms and the naval, land and air manoeuvres and to end the presence of foreign military advisers and bases. When Central America accepts and abides by the agreements reached, other States must inevitably assume their corresponding responsibilities.

114. Regional peace demands not only collective commitments but also the determination to solve bilateral differences. We also have here a long road ahead of us. In May of this year we applauded the establishment of a special commission of the Governments of Costa Rica and Nicaragua to resolve border conflicts, reduce tensions and foster a climate of mutual confidence. We should also note that the initial steps in a dialogue between the Governments of the United States and Nicaragua have proved encouraging. Mexico has promoted these conversa-

tions, and five meetings have been held to date. My Government will continue to lend whatever support the interested parties request. We believe that the dialogue of Manzanillo is a key element in the process of bringing peace to Central America.

115. For the past year, Mexico has had the honour of presiding over the Group of 77. During this time, we have sought, through an informal exploratory process, to dispel misunderstanding, clarify intentions and establish bases for a better understanding of the problems we face. With the participation of the industrialized nations and the developing countries, we are making efforts to establish frank, pragmatic and flexible communication.

116. Although considerable conceptual progress has been achieved and areas of common interest identified, the launching of global negotiations has again been postponed because of a lack of political will on the part of some industrialized countries and their reluctance to grant the United Nations in practice the competence that the Charter establishes.

117. During this period, we developing countries have made innumerable efforts to seek immediate measures to ease the crisis and to allow the gradual fulfilment of the commitments that we all undertook when the General Assembly adopted the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade [*resolution 35/56, annex*]. Unfortunately, we have seen a virtual paralysis of the North-South dialogue and a systematic rejection of the use of the mechanisms of international co-operation for development.

118. The Group of 77 will decide, this very week at its ministerial meeting commemorating its twentieth anniversary, on the strategies that we should follow during the coming year in order to achieve our aims. We hope to receive a responsible reaction from the developed countries. The survival of the greater part of mankind and the supreme objective of peace and collective security are at stake.

Mr. Lusaka (Zambia) resumed the Chair.

119. For our part, we are determined to expand economic and technical co-operation among developing countries. Collective self-reliance is not only an ideological principle that brings us together but a practical method to facilitate economic recovery in our countries, strengthen their unity and independence, and promote reform of the prevailing international order. South-South co-operation is a fundamental step in the process of decolonization, and we are therefore determined to encourage it with imagination, efficiency and perseverance.

120. The problems of the world economy must be dealt with coherently and comprehensively. From a structural viewpoint, we must find viable long-term answers. Faced with the needs of the developing countries and the severity of the crisis, urgent and effective measures are required by the international community, together with the commitment of all States to promote the establishment of new and more equitable international economic relations. This will require responsible interlocutors endowed with a sense of solidarity and far-reaching vision.

121. The current crisis has sharply emphasized the negative aspects of economic interdependence. Measures adopted by some of the more influential members of the community of nations are having an adverse effect on the economic security of weaker countries. The gravity of the situation is even being reflected in political and social disorders that threaten the stability of the system as a whole. The deterioration of the quality of life heightens tensions and fosters instability. Practically all countries acknowledge the magnitude of the problems we are confronting. The need now is to translate declarations and speeches into concrete actions of co-operation, free of any subordination or conditions.

122. Every State has the responsibility of promoting its own development, but the international community must assume the correlative obligation of establishing the conditions that permit the attainment of national goals. At considerable sacrifice, we have made adjustments in our own internal economy in order to overcome our difficulties. At the same time, we demand the elimination of unilateral actions that worsen existing imbalances.

123. Foreign debt is now the most burdensome economic problem for developing countries, particularly those of Latin America. The solution to this problem, as postulated by the Cartegena Consensus, signed by the Ministers for Foreign Affairs and the Ministers of Finance of 11 Latin American countries on 22 June 1984 [*see A/39/331*], demands a joint commitment by creditor and debtor nations. The aim is to distribute the costs and benefits of capital flow according to a principle of justice. It is impossible to demand austerity from those who have less, when more favoured countries have shown no readiness to make similar economic adjustments.

124. The Latin American countries have in recent months begun a process of negotiations to reschedule payments on their foreign debt, lessen capital amortization and reduce the costs of financing. New progress in establishing more equitable conditions must follow the achievements attained thus far. These negotiations, however, require the political framework essential for a fruitful dialogue among debtor Governments, creditor countries, the international banking network and multilateral financing institutions.

125. The problem of debt must be attacked at its roots and in all its complexity. To begin with, the trend that has turned our countries into exporters of capital must be reversed. To this end, we call for the opening up of markets and the elimination of protectionist measures in the industrialized economies. It is also necessary to stabilize prices of raw materials and to reduce interest rates. Beyond reasonable percentages, income derived from exports cannot be committed to the servicing of debts.

126. It must be recognized that the debt crisis is linked to drastic changes in the conditions in which credit contracts were originally drawn up, particularly where liquidity and interest rates, the structure of the debt, and economic growth perspectives are concerned. These changes, which took place in the industrialized countries, demonstrate the joint responsibility of creditors and debtors.

127. At the beginning of President Miguel de la Madrid's administration, Mexico decided to adjust its economy in order to undertake a fundamental reordering. This choice has not been easy for the Mexican people. After periods of apparent prosperity, they have had to enter a time of discipline, restraint and sacrifice. Nevertheless, the country's production structure has been safely maintained and the work force, including its best-qualified elements,

has remained intact. Employment opportunities will no doubt increase in the future.

128. The reordering of the economy has been undertaken with a view to reducing inflation and the instability of currency exchange, recovering growth capacity, preserving productive plant and employment, and protecting basic consumption. At the same time, a policy of structural changes has been established in order to tackle the main problems in the field of production, distribution and social participation in the development process. The ultimate aim is to establish a solid, permanent basis for rapid and egalitarian social development.

129. These efforts at economic readjustment have begun to yield fruit. The difficult transition to a more solid economy would not in any case have been possible without the civic conscience and solidarity of the majority of Mexicans and without a political régime that has invariably shown its maturity and prudence in critical moments.

130. The exceptional resources of our people notwithstanding, consolidation of our effort at recuperation will not be possible without a favourable international atmosphere. Mexico, together with other developing countries, therefore firmly demands the urgent restructuring of world economic relations. The maintenance of unbalanced economic relations such as those that provoked the present crisis, causing a severe deterioration of developing societies, is contrary to all ideas of equity. The international community must make a determined effort to correct asymmetries. Without such an effort, we shall enter an era of growing confrontation and instability.

131. The difficulties in the dialogue between the great Powers and the paralysis of the multilateral disarmament forums oblige us to take political decisions to stave off the danger of a nuclear conflagration.

132. The so-called strategic balance inevitably feeds an arms race that appears to be unending. The experience of the last 40 years proves that an increase in the arsenals of one Power is followed by a similar or greater development of those of its counterpart. The magnitude of their destructive power today is sufficient for mutual annihilation and the destruction of the entire planet.

133. Each new stage of this escalation would seem to move mankind further away from agreements to eliminate for ever the threat of nuclear war. The technical and military struggle between the super-Powers is placing us on the threshold of a new phase that could irreversibly block verifiable disarmament commitments.

134. Nevertheless, Mexico is convinced that it is possible to halt this absurd armaments spiral. We have insisted in numerous forums on a freeze of nuclear arsenals as a prerequisite for initiating a gradual reduction in arms, until they are eventually eliminated. Against the logic of strength and armaments we must pit the reason of disarmament and peace.

135. Stability cannot be based on a balance of terror that requires a capacity for reciprocal extermination as a means of guaranteeing peace. It is essential to banish this erroneous doctrine of deterrence.

136. We propose, on the contrary, that security should come about as a result of a gradual reduction of nuclear arsenals. In this way, the spiral would be reversed without altering the balance of power, and progress would be made towards the goal of general and complete disarmament.

137. Furthermore, that could also be a means of severing the causal relationship between armaments and underdevelopment. Resources now allocated to the constant improvement of weapons should be used to improve the lives and economic condition of large sectors of the world's population.

138. Similarly, we reiterate our call for an end to the harmful trade in conventional weapons. In search of a security that is often illusory, many developing countries divert scarce capital to the acquisition of military equipment. Possession of new armaments further erodes trust, increases the risk of war and aggravates the economic weakness of those countries.

139. On 22 May of this year Mexico, together with Argentina, Greece, India, Sweden and the United Republic of Tanzania, called upon the nuclear Powers to assume their responsibilities in the task of disarmament. In their Joint Declaration, the signatory Heads of State or Government announced their determination to "take constructive action towards halting and reversing the nuclear arms race" [*see A/39/277*], echoing the pressing demand of an ever-increasing number of men and women of the five continents.

140. I should like to take this opportunity to reaffirm, on behalf of the President of Mexico, Miguel de la Madrid, our determination to continue fighting for disarmament. We urge the community of nations to make every possible effort to further that noble peace initiative.

141. There is an urgent need for the great Powers to subordinate considerations of expediency and internal policy to the supreme value of preserving mankind's existence. Their political will to maintain world peace must be in keeping with the responsibilities deriving from their power.

142. The principles of the juridical equality of States, the self-determination of peoples, non-intervention and the prohibition of the use of force allow of no exceptions. Their strict observance far outweighs casuistic interpretations or supposed threats to national or regional security.

143. A year has passed, and we repeat our appeal that Grenada return to the path of self-determination without limitations of any kind.

144. We note with concern the continued presence of foreign troops in Afghanistan. In spite of the intense mediation efforts of the Secretary-General, no significant progress has been made. Once again, we urge the parties involved to seek a prompt solution in accordance with those initiatives.

145. We reaffirm our support for Argentina's claim to sovereignty over the Malvinas Islands and again urge the parties involved to settle their differences through negotiation.

146. In the Middle East, unilateral efforts and expansionist policies for the solution of the regional conflict have been seen to fail. Lasting peace in the area can be attained only through the combined efforts of the parties involved and respect for the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. All the States of the area have the right to live in peace within recognized borders.

147. The efforts at national reconciliation currently under way in Lebanon with a view to ending the civil

war deserve the broadest international support. Lasting stability and peace, however, depend on absolute respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of that country.

148. The conflict between Iran and Iraq is taking on added dimensions that are reflected, according to reliable information, in the indiscriminate bombing of civilian populations, the use of chemical warfare and the violation of international humanitarian law. We hope that new initiatives will emerge from this session of the General Assembly that will help to put an end to a tragic war which is destroying two developing countries.

149. Another year has passed and the people of Namibia still cannot exercise their sovereignty, while the infamous policy of *apartheid* continues. Once again, we express our repudiation of a system that violates the most elementary norms of human dignity, and we demand an end to the increasingly open support being given by certain countries to the South African régime. Mexico demands the implementation of the decisions of the international community to enable Namibia to attain its independence.

150. Every year here in the General Assembly we review the situations that endanger peace and security. In the Assembly, the international community recommends formulas and means of arriving at peaceful solutions to controversies between States.

151. The close relationship between maintaining peace and attaining development is emphasized here each year. The dramatic needs of our peoples are described, and proposals are made to banish hunger, ignorance and disease from the planet.

152. In spite of the desire for peace of the majority of States, the practical results have been tenuous. The aggravation of conflicts, the growing gap between the developing world and the industrialized nations, the severity of the economic crisis, the breakdown in talks between the great Powers and the stagnation of co-operation and economic negotiations are, unfortunately, the dominant features in the international situation. Such problems must be a source of grave concern to all States.

153. Mexico maintains its unwavering confidence in the strength of law. The imperatives of its history lead it always to defend the principles on which the civilized coexistence of nations is founded. We are certain that diplomacy is today the only feasible means of overcoming the differences that separate States. In these times, the reconciliation of interests and a genuine willingness to understand the views of others should prevail over every form of imposition or domination.

154. Mexico supports the institutions of the community of States. Places in which to meet and communicate with others in a world that is undergoing rapid transformation are a necessary condition of an orderly process of change. I reaffirm the full support of the people and Government of Mexico for the United Nations, the highest expression of international democracy.

155. In its internal affairs, Mexico upholds the rule of law, based on respect for the freedoms of individuals and groups, on encouraging the democratic participation of citizens and on social solidarity. We seek forms of coexistence that will provide an equitable distribution of the benefits derived from the work of all Mexicans. For that same reason, we wish to contribute to the endeavour of ensuring that the society of nations will be governed by the same principles. That conviction is the coherent and solid basis of Mexico's commitment to the cause of peace and international co-operation.

156. Mr. AMEGA (Togo) (*interpretation from French*): This is the first time I have taken part in the general debate of the Assembly since my appointment as Minister for Foreign Affairs and Co-operation by General Gnassingbe Eyadéma, President and founder of the *Rassemblement du peuple togolaise* (Togolese People's Rally) and President of the Togolese Republic. I therefore feel all the more the weight of our common responsibility to rebuild our world, which is collapsing under the chaotic convulsions of the repeated crises brought about by our antagonisms, contradictions and dissatisfactions. We must reconstruct our world, not necessarily by applying new concepts, as is advocated by some, but by applying the existing concepts which comprise the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations to which we all subscribe.

157. You must be aware, Mr. President, that my delegation is full of admiration for your impressive opening statement [*1st meeting*], in which you analysed, one by one and in an objective manner, the root causes of these crises and their solutions. That statement alone would have been enough to justify your election to guide the debate at this thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. It bears witness to the philosophy that has always served as the basis for your efforts as a representative of your country, Zambia, which shares my own country's faith in the United Nations.

158. Situated at the heart of the African continent, in a region which is tormented as a result of the culpable arrogance and unjustifiable intransigence of a racist State, the country which it is your honour to represent in this great forum of discussion and dialogue is well known for its dedication to the freedom of peoples, the independence of States and international peace and security. In addition, Zambia is among those African countries which most firmly support the liberation struggle in southern Africa.

159. I am sure that these assets, combined with your unquestionable intellectual qualities, predispose you, Sir, to discharge with competence, skill and zest the weighty and noble responsibilities with which you are entrusted as President of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. Having warmly congratulated you on your impressive election, I offer you my best wishes for success in your delicate but exalted task.

160. Imbued with the ideals of peace, justice and freedom—nourished by and nourishing the principles of the Charter—you have acquired a proven competence which, allied with a most engaging personality, commands both respect and esteem. For many years, you have placed that competence at the service of the United Nations, particularly in your role as President of the United Nations Council for Namibia, where your tireless efforts have helped to blaze a trail towards the independence of Namibia.

161. I followed with great attention the skill, lucidity and rectitude with which your predecessor, Mr. Jorge Illueca, conducted the work of the thirty-eighth session, and I wish to convey to him my great appreciation and sincere congratulations.

162. It is my pleasant duty also to pay a well-deserved tribute to the courage, perspicacity and

pragmatism which have characterized the work of the Secretary-General since the thirty-eighth session. He has spared no effort, and has sometimes risked his life, going to crisis zones in order to experience in the field the problems which the United Nations must resolve, whether they be political or economic.

163. Since I come from a country that knows how to appreciate a real friend, I wish particularly to reiterate the sincere thanks of the Government of Togo for the special attention the Secretary-General devoted to our problems during the visit to New York of General Gnassingbe Eyadéma, President of the Togolese Republic, and during his own journey to Togo last January.

164. Welcoming a new Member to the United Nations has always been a time of emotion, emotion which I can hardly restrain as I welcome the brother state of Brunei Darussalam, which, we are certain, will fan the flame of the Organization's grand design for universality.

165. For the thirty-ninth time—above and beyond the political and ideological differences which divide States, notwithstanding the tensions which are rending asunder a perpetually changing world, and despite the imperfections, failures and disappointments which have characterized certain actions taken in conformity with the purposes of the United Nations—the General Assembly is taking up the challenge facing the Organization.

166. For the thirty-ninth time we are assembled in this forum of discussion and dialogue to seek solutions in keeping with the many problems of our age. That search will be meaningful and effective only if our approach to the burning questions of our time leaves aside all complacency and demagogy, as well as all self-seeking partisan doctrines, in order to result in courageous, realistic conclusions reflecting a spirit of synthesis and compromise.

167. Because of their urgency and persistence and the variety of their repercussions, the challenges now facing mankind cry out to the universal conscience. Friendship among peoples and co-operation among nations no longer seem to derive from the indisputable interdependence which governs relations among States. Solidarity—the corollary of complementarity—has been cast adrift. The boldest and most generous declarations of intent no longer suffice to mask a steadily worsening ill.

168. The international economic crisis is the major challenge of our time, because it is a challenge to the progress and well-being of mankind, and it is heightening the selfishness of the wealthy countries and thereby complicating and multiplying the financial difficulties of the developing countries.

169. As a challenge to world stability and equilibrium, the pursuit of the unrestrained arms race is becoming a substitute for the dialogue of the deaf which persists between the super-Powers.

170. As a challenge to the flourishing of the noble ideals of the United Nations and particularly to human rights, the abject policy of *apartheid* is now further refining its devious manoeuvres by conferring upon itself a bogus democratic aura.

171. By both their duration and their state of deadlock, the many local conflicts which are a threat to international peace and security are tending to become established as necessary evils, whereas in fact they are the gangrenous parts of the international community.

172. One might be inclined to regard all this as a new alarmist refrain. This recital of risks, dangers and challenges may be written off by some as an example of anachronistic fatalism, of excessive pessimism.

173. Consistently guided by its profound faith in the virtues of peace and solidarity among peoples, Togo, my country, could not fail to draw the attention of this Assembly to the upheavals which now contribute to the weakening of the international community and the stifling of its conscience.

174. The tensions which are shaking the African continent continue to give rise to serious concern in the international community. In southern Africa, the white racist régime of Pretoria continues stubbornly to press the imposition of its alleged prerogatives: the policy of *apartheid* and the blocking of the process of genuine decolonization in Namibia.

175. The South African leaders, seeking to adapt themselves to the upsurge of the heroic struggle of the Coloured people against racial discrimination, have seen fit to confer a democratic veneer on the *apartheid* régime by electing a three-chamber Parliament, associating whites, Coloureds and Indians but excluding the blacks, who make up 73 per cent of the population.

176. The impressive success of the boycott by the Coloured and Indian communities of this parody of an election and the recent riots organized by the blacks have set in motion a mechanism of savage repression which reveals the failure and panic of white power.

177. This admission of failure and this panic is clearly indicated by the promise made by the South African Head of State concerning the subsequent improvement of the fate of the blacks and of their future representation in Parliament, accompanied by reservations as to the difference to be established between this type of representation and representation of the Coloureds and Indians.

178. Togo, for its part, regards these expedient modifications as new manoeuvres by South Africa to mislead international public opinion about the development of *apartheid*. In fact, the system has not been fundamentally modified at all by these bogus reforms, which, ironically, are rejected by the great majority of those for whom they were devised.

179. The internal policies of South Africa are thus characteristic of the will of the *apartheid* régime to maintain the pre-eminence of white power. This will manifest itself externally by continued nuclear co-operation with Israel, co-operation which the Togolese Government vigorously condemns in the light of the grave threat which it poses to peace and security in Africa.

180. In regard to Namibia, by demanding as a precondition of self-determination for the Territory the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola, South Africa is trying desperately to delay the inevitable and avoid decolonization, which would not have the blessing of the *apartheid* régime.

181. However, the implacable struggle of the South West Africa People's Organization [*SWAPO*], the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people, is an essential parameter which makes the accession of Namibia to true independence quite inevitable.

182. In this regard, the position of the Togolese Government has always been clear. SWAPO enjoys the unswerving support of Togo, and the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) cannot be linked to the withdrawal of Cuban troops, whose presence is legally justified by the existence of an agreement entered into by Angola and Cuba as sovereign nations.

183. Moreover, the Togolese Government appreciates the underlying motives which led Angola and Mozambique to conclude the Lusaka and Nkomati agreements. While not calling into question the continuance and the successful conclusion of the liberation struggle of SWAPO and the African National Congress of South Africa, those agreements have the advantage of keeping the peace in the region.

184. The crisis in Chad, another Gordian knot in the African continent, could move towards a settlement if the decision arrived at recently between France and Libya were to be effectively implemented and if all troops were to be simultaneously withdrawn from Chadian territory after 27 September.

185. With regard to Western Sahara, the hope generated by the resolution adopted by a broad consensus at the nineteenth ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, held at Addis Ababa from 6 to 12 June 1983,[3] seems to have been dashed as a result of the refusal of one of the parties to the conflict to sit down at the negotiating table with representatives of the Frente POLISARIO[4] to make possible the exercise of the right of self-determination by the Saharan people.

186. My country, which respects the principles which govern inter-State relations and particularly the right of self-determination of peoples, was one of the first States to recognize the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic. However, when it became necessary, in the interest of moderation and conciliation, the Togolese Government did not hesitate to attempt, with other African countries, to persuade the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic to freeze temporarily its participation in the work of the pan-African organization in order to avoid the paralysis of that organization.

187. Togo, which is faithful to its commitments, continues to be open to any new initiatives designed to secure common understanding among the parties to the conflict and self-determination for the Saharan people.

188. The Middle East, which has been a turbulent region for more than 30 years, this year again witnessed dramatic upheavals. The intransigence of the expansionist policy of Israel is the prime obstacle to peace and security in that region. In the view of the Togolese Government, the right of Israel to its identity as a State within secure and internationally recognized borders does not exclude the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination within the framework of an independent and sovereign State. As long as Israel persists in its determination to destroy the Palestine Liberation Organization [*PLO*], the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, peace in the Middle East will continue to be an absolute myth.

189. The voice of reason and wisdom therefore recommends that all the parties involved in the Middle East conflict as well as all the parties interested and concerned work for a peaceful, comprehensive settlement of the crisis within the framework of an international conference on Palestine.

190. The latest developments in Israeli politics seem to suggest that Israeli forces will be withdrawn from Lebanon. Togo therefore appeals to the new Government of national unity to put into effect its planned withdrawal as soon as possible. Such a venture would greatly contribute to a lessening of tensions in the region and the restoration of political stability to Lebanon.

191. In Asia, foreign interference continues to sabotage the search for solutions to the grave crises in the region, while a most devastating armed conflict continues.

192. Because it was clearly seen to be a new form of interventionism, the occupation of Afghanistan by foreign troops was condemned almost unanimously by the members of the international community. Persistence in the occupation of Afghanistan constitutes defiance of international law and of General Assembly decisions. It is therefore necessary that political and strategic calculations yield to the complete withdrawal of foreign troops in order to enable the Afghan people freely to determine their own destiny without any foreign interference.

193. By turning a deaf ear to the appeals made to them by the international community for the implementation of the resolution adopted by the General Assembly at its thirty-fifth session [*resolution 35/6*], as well as the decisions of the International Conference on Kampuchea, held in New York in July 1981,[5] the States involved in the occupation of that country have rendered themselves guilty of a permanent violation of an essential provision of the Charter of the United Nations.

194. Faithful to its traditional position, Togo cannot be stinting in its support for the heroic liberation efforts of Kampuchea to rid itself of the foreign yoke and to maintain its seat in the United Nations.

195. The Togolese Government also appeals to the Government of Viet Nam to recognize the legitimacy of the tripartite coalition directed by Prince Norodom Sihanouk.

196. The persistence of the division of Korea into two States continues to be a source of frustration for the Korean people, who rightly call for the independent and peaceful reunification of their country. In this regard, the Togolese Government views the eradication of harmful foreign influences and the determination to overcome political and ideological divergencies as prerequisites of direct negotiations between the two Governments on the basis of the proposals made by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

197. It is essential that the international community, which has always viewed the consequences of the continuing armed conflict between Iran and Iraq as one of its crucial concerns, bring the two parties to the conflict to consider as binding the decisions and resolutions adopted by the Security Council and the General Assembly.

198. Because of our powerlessness or our indifference, we are now witnessing as spectators but also as accomplices an intolerable tragedy: that of two countries which have poured their human resources, their national wealth, their creative genius and patriotism, their human, economic, military, intellectual and psychological potential, into a ruthless war,

a war which continues to cause a distressing haemorrhage in terms of violations of humanitarian law and which sometimes reminds us of the worst moments of the Second World War.

199. As the Head of the Togolese State has said about the horrors of war: "One always knows when and where it will start, but one never knows when and where it will finish."

200. To the thousands of men, women and children who have already fallen on the battlefields of Iran and Iraq—the victims of the intransigencies of their countries—there will unfailingly be added many others. Hundreds of thousands of people will fall unless the international community reacts vigorously—in other words, if the international community does not take an immediate, concrete and realistic initiative to bring the two parties to respect a truce capable of leading to peaceful negotiations.

201. As the safety of navigation of oil tankers is seriously threatened in the Persian Gulf because of this situation, there is a grave danger that in due course this armed conflict will come to our very doors and even lead to a cataclysm of frightful scope and intensity.

202. My delegation is therefore determined to lend its support to any effort to stop the human and material blood-letting caused by the Iran-Iraq war.

203. My delegation continues also to be concerned about the question of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas). It is high time this question found a peaceful solution. Togo reiterates its appeal to the Governments of the United Kingdom and Argentina to resolve by negotiation this question, which has caused immense material damage and loss of life.

204. The international crisis which is disorganizing and threatening to shake the economic and social structures of the nations is now joined for the developing countries, particularly some countries of Africa, by another scourge, the scourge of drought, which afflicts more and more widespread regions and is causing an apocalyptic prospect for the future.

205. No one can remain insensitive to this unspeakable misery that is afflicting these underprivileged areas. It is for the international community to mobilize itself and show active solidarity to provide urgent solutions for the acute problem of drought.

206. This is certainly the proper place to pay a well-deserved tribute to the Secretary-General, who made a personal visit to the drought-stricken countries in order to see for himself the real state of affairs and in order to be better equipped to seek, with the countries concerned and the international community, ways and means of putting an end to this calamity, which is intimately connected with the problem of hunger.

207. It is also fitting to pay a tribute to the developed countries which have generously and of their own accord responded to the Secretary-General's appeal by taking concrete, effective action to relieve the hunger and the sufferings of the victims of this disaster.

208. Just as the problem of drought is intimately linked with the painful problem of hunger, this latter problem in turn brings to mind another notion, that of solidarity—in other words, that of international economic co-operation. No one now can seriously question the necessary complementarity between States and peoples. "Necessary" is a word I use advisedly in its prime sense, meaning that it is required of us all. Because we cannot deny the complementary nature of the problem, which is evident from the facts, it is essential for us to become aware of this reality and to move from the phase of pious wishes to a rational reorganization of the world economy. Of course, this requires courage—the courage to rid oneself of national self-seeking. It means that the Governments must persuade their peoples of this truth, namely, that no nation, however powerful, could develop and defend its own interests indefinitely and in an isolated manner without consideration for the interests of other nations, and in a manner detrimental to them.

209. How, in this context, when the world is stricken with hunger and drought, can one understand the political blindness of the Powers that are investing fabulous amounts of money in the arms race—an arms race which is a constant danger to the human species, hanging over it, like the sword of Damocles, with its spectre of death and destruction; an arms race which is diverting from the sphere of development vast amounts of money which it is unnecessarily absorbing?

210. As a corollary to the quest for peace, security and economic co-operation, one must therefore raise the struggle to the level of men's minds in order to bring about full-scale disarmament. Togo reiterates its appeal to the super-Powers to continue the negotiations which will gradually lead to that final phase.

211. It is well known that dedication to international peace and security is one of the sacred values underlying Togo's foreign policy. That is why, in order to help promote an increased awareness of the problems of disarmament, my country at the beginning of August this year organized at Lomé a National Seminar on Peace and Disarmament with the effective participation of the Secretary-General.

212. The Lomé Peace Message, which was the final document of that important Seminar [*see A/39/529*], recommends, as a way of promoting research on peace and of intensifying the information campaign on disarmament throughout Africa, the establishment at Lomé of a regional institute for research on peace and disarmament. It also recommends the organization in Togo early in 1985—the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations—of a regional seminar on peace and disarmament involving the States members of the Economic Community of West African States and the Economic Community of Central African States, with the assistance of the United Nations. Lastly, the message appeals urgently to the super-Powers to ensure that their ideological differences do not prevail over the real problems—those of peace and security and of economic and social development.

213. It is distressing to see the number and magnitude of the conflicts which are shaking our planet and the ills that man has brought upon himself. It is distressing to see that the world has learned no lesson from the horrors and desolation which it has suffered and which led, indeed, to the establishment of the United Nations.

214. However naïve our efforts might seem to cynics, Togo, my country, considers it its duty to refer to the threat of total destruction that hangs over mankind and to the noble ideals of international peace and security which the United Nations has

sworn to uphold as the most precious possession of all. That threat still hovers over us. Togo also feels it to be its duty to appeal for a rapid awakening of consciences, for the establishment of active solidarity and international co-operation. Moreover, that is what the Secretary-General called for in his report on the work of the Organization submitted to the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly.[6] May the conscience of mankind awake before it is too late.

215. Mr. DA GAMA (Portugal):* I should like to congratulate you, Mr. President, on your election to an office in which you will represent the Group of African States. Portugal has worked closely with your country, and I want to express here my appreciation of the efforts undertaken by Zambia with a view to finding a constructive solution for the problems of southern Africa. I am convinced that your well-known qualities and wide-ranging knowledge of the United Nations will enable you to make a decisive contribution to the success of the work of this session of the General Assembly.

216. I also wish to pay a tribute to your eminent predecessor, Mr. Jorge Illueca, of Panama, the representative of a country and a group with which we are linked by traditional ties of friendship.

217. I also wish to express my satisfaction at the admission of a new Member State, Brunei Darussalam.

218. I address the General Assembly completely aware that I represent a small country devoid of hegemonic ambitions and of any wish to exercise any kind of dominance over other nations. However, I am also fully aware that I represent a nation with more than eight centuries of history; a nation which is the cradle of a language spoken by more than 150 million people and therefore one of the main means of communication in our time; a nation which consequently does not regard itself as a lesser participant or as less responsible in the great questions with which humanity is concerned as we approach the end of this century. Small countries have the right and the duty to make their voices heard. By virtue of their size, with all that that implies, their experience and vision differ from those of the great Powers and they can make a valuable contribution in helping to find just and balanced solutions for many of the problems that beset the international community.

219. As in the case of other countries represented here, the struggle for independence, the preservation of our national identity and the maintenance of a foreign policy not subject to alien interests has been a constant in our history.

220. In our opinion, the main world problems burdening our generation are not insoluble. On the contrary, they are amenable to constructive solutions based on recognition of the fact that others have the right to exist and to be different, for only with an understanding attitude and goodwill can peaceful coexistence among States be preserved.

221. The great majority of the conflicts and tensions that disrupt the international scene in our day gravitate around two main axes: that between the northern and the southern hemispheres, and East-West relations.

222. The ever-widening gap that separates the rich countries of the North from the less developed countries of the South is undoubtedly one of the main challenges facing the international community today and must be addressed with courage and determination, but also in an intelligent and efficient way.

223. In an epoch such as ours, characterized as it is by prodigious progress in science and technology, the struggle against underdevelopment and the train of miseries and human suffering which it carries with it is, in our opinion, first and foremost a moral imperative which no State belonging to the international community can ignore. Our participation in and commitment to the North-South dialogue should be seen in that context. The convening at Lisbon last April of a conference under the auspices of the Council of Europe on the theme "North-South: Europe's Role", the conclusions of which can be found in the Lisbon Declaration [*A/C.2/39/12*], is evidence of that commitment.

224. My Government has been receiving positive reactions to that Declaration from countries on several continents. Its recommendations are being followed up within that European organization, where on this very day a round-table on this theme is beginning with the participation of decision-makers from several European and third-world countries.

225. We reiterate that we continue to consider indispensable the launching of global negotiations within the United Nations—without prejudice to ongoing sectoral negotiations in competent forums—on the main problems relating to international co-operation, with the aim of supporting the efforts of the poorest and least developed countries, which are faced with difficult problems resulting from the protectionist trends in international trade, the increase in interest rates, the appreciation of the dollar and the burden of their external debts.

226. The United Nations should not abandon the high mission which has been entrusted to it of bringing about an authentic North-South dialogue based not on the logic of egoism but on the spirit of solidarity.

227. Next year we shall celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the adoption at the fifteenth session of the General Assembly of a series of resolutions and declarations—among them resolution 1514 (XV), which is of particular importance—that have contributed decisively to the implementation of the right of peoples to self-determination, a right enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. That has led to the appearance in the international community of many new States, particularly from the great African continent, to which my country is linked by historical and cultural ties and a spirit of understanding and friendship, and which holds a very special place in Portuguese feelings.

228. Indeed, in a little over two decades the colonial empires became part of history and, with greater or smaller vicissitudes that need not be recalled, were slowly replaced by newly independent States with varying resources and specific problems. However, all of them strive to achieve a common goal: to play a constructive role in the international community and to struggle for the progress of Africa and the improvement of the life of their peoples, while respecting their traditional values and their own identity.

229. This task, the magnitude of which makes it necessary to take the maximum advantage of available human and material resources, the stability of their societies and economic growth, has unfortu-

---

*Mr. Da Gama spoke in Portuguese. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

nately been made even more difficult by the persistence of grave international tensions which, we regret to say, have not yet been eliminated. Similarly, the recession in the world economy since the beginning of the 1970s, which is largely responsible for the fall in commodity prices, has sharpened structural disequilibrium, which, in turn, has had an unfortunate impact on the stability of institutions taking their first tentative steps.

230. In spite of the worthy efforts of the FAO, food shortages in the African continent have been increasing dramatically. This is an extremely serious phenomenon not only from the humanitarian point of view but also socially and politically. None of the countries represented in the General Assembly can neglect it, especially in view of the surplus in world food production. FAO and IFAD can make a valuable contribution in addressing this problem. However, this will be possible only if the countries with the necessary means increase their financial support for those institutions.

231. It was recognition of the fact that there was a link between the drought in Africa and the slump in grain production in that continent that led the Secretary-General to make his appeal in December 1983. That appeal retains all its urgency and validity.

232. The drought continues at a tragic level and nothing points to its end; rather, the threat of desertification now arises.

233. Forced to try to meet within a few years challenges that other nations overcame in the course of centuries, Africa has been trying to find solutions for its problems of economic development that would give real substance to the notion of non-alignment. With that in mind, Africa has spared no effort to safeguard the identity of its peoples and the independence of the continent.

234. Portugal has sought to support initiatives aimed at alleviating suffering, intensifying international co-operation, promoting the development of the areas of the world where deprivation is greatest and helping the victims of natural disasters, regional conflicts or cyclical famines. It was with this goal in mind that my Government, in spite of its limited financial resources, sought to participate actively in the Second International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa, held at Geneva from 9 to 11 July 1984; my Government considers that Conference to be an extremely positive example of the possibility and desirability of international co-operation. We believe that international co-operation should be strengthened to prevent new flows of refugees. Every effort should be made by the various countries to address the causes of these movements of population which originate in food shortages.

235. In this context, I would also mention that my country is among the 30 main contributors to the financing of the programme of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. My country also intends shortly to sign a general co-operation agreement with the Intergovernmental Committee for Migration.

236. The recent adherence of Portugal to the constitutive agreement of the African Development Bank and the furtherance of relations it implies form part of the same policy.

237. I should also like to express our satisfaction at some initiatives in matters of North-South co-operation recently undertaken by the consulting groups of the World Bank and UNDP. I think it is appropriate to mention in this context the recent co-operation agreement between Portugal and UNDP concerning the recruitment and participation of Portuguese technicians in the programmes to be carried out by United Nations volunteers in the African countries with which we have special relations of co-operation.

238. Similarly, we have endeavoured to participate actively in regional development schemes, as in the case of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference [*SADCC*], which is a living example of what can be attained when a group of countries decide to pull together to take advantage of the specific potential of each for the benefit of all. The hoped-for success of this SADCC experience, in several of whose projects we have participated, and its contribution to the balanced development of its member States will certainly have an important impact on their stability and allow us to envisage with greater confidence the future of the area.

239. I would now like to make a brief reference to the situation in southern Africa and the sense of anticipation with which we have been following the developments in that region in the last few months. These developments have allowed some hope that a sincere dialogue may have begun in the region, a process that has been eased by the creation of a climate of mutual confidence and that may lead to a just and lasting solution to the problems of the region.

240. For the past few years, the question of Namibia has been one of the most serious concerns of the international community and of the United Nations, which has spared no effort to solve it.

241. The position of Portugal in this matter is well known. We support the independence of Namibia and firmly oppose all actions liable to delay the exercise by the people of Namibia of their right to self-determination in order to choose freely their own future. Whether at the United Nations or in contacts with other countries or representatives of the Namibian people, we have expressed unambiguously the concern we feel at the delay in implementing the relevant United Nations resolutions, in particular Security Council resolution 435 (1978). We have also stressed the dangers that may arise for southern Africa if this matter continues to drag on, believing as we do that the necessary conditions for a negotiated, peaceful and internationally acceptable solution now exist.

242. We therefore hope that, in this matter also, realism and a spirit of dialogue will prevail so that the political obstacles that have so far delayed the independence of Namibia may finally be removed.

243. It is only fair to mention the efforts that the front-line States have made in this respect. They are amply demonstrated by recent international meetings promoted in that region of the continent, which lead us to believe that their possibilities of intervening in that process are by no means exhausted.

244. The Republic of South Africa will have to respond in a constructive manner to the appeals of the international community regarding Namibia and abandon in favour of negotiation a position of confrontation which has led to deplorable acts of direct aggression against neighbouring States—a course of action which cannot and should not be allowed.

245. If these negotiating efforts are to have a lasting, beneficial effect, it is not enough that they be pursued in a spirit of openness and flexibility and within the context of scrupulous respect for the obligations freely assumed by the parties. It is necessary to move without timidity or artifice towards the complete abolition of the system of *apartheid* and bantustanization, which lies at the source of and exacerbates the serious internal tensions. Portugal, whose direct opposition to any form of racism and racial discrimination is well known, cannot but condemn these practices in the clearest terms.

246. The solution, therefore, to the grave problems afflicting southern Africa, as recent facts show, lies fundamentally in intensifying the dialogue in a constructive spirit, progressively permitting the creation of the conditions for a better understanding that will allow all those living in the region to exercise, without undesirable external interference, in peace, justice and freedom, their legitimate rights as free men and full citizens of their countries.

247. Thus, Portugal, as the European country geographically and historically closest to Africa, cannot but support the efforts of the African leaders and of the Organization of African Unity to preserve the identity and genuine independence of the States of the continent. For that reason, we believe that we are particularly able to understand the just aspirations of Africa, its desire for progress and its wish to preserve its roots in a rapidly changing world. The cultural vitality of the African civilizations enabled them to survive the colonial period. With self-determination, political freedom was attained in recent decades. It is now the task of all of us, in particular within the framework of the United Nations, to help Africa meet its great and possibly most important challenge: the acquisition of economic independence. For our part, we will do everything within our means to respond positively to requests for assistance in achieving that goal, one that must be reached as soon as possible for the good of Africa and, I would add, for our own good as well.

248. The question of the Middle East—we say this with concern—continues to be a serious source of international instability, and efforts to solve it satisfactorily have yet to prove successful.

249. As I had occasion to say here at the thirty-eighth session [*6th meeting*], the Palestinian question is at the core of the situation in the Middle East. Until it is satisfactorily resolved we cannot hope for decisive, or even important, progress along the road to peace in that region.

250. No efforts should therefore be spared to find a solution that takes into due account not only the right to existence and security of all the States of the area but also the recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to self-determination and the right to a homeland. Portugal has supported, and will continue to support, all initiatives based on those principles, which will open the way for understanding among the parties and take into consideration their legitimate expectations.

251. The situation prevailing in Lebanon also causes us the greatest concern, for we see that a country which just a few years ago was one of the most stable in the region is now on the road to fragmentation, its territory serving as a battlefield for factions and foreign Powers, carrying with it the risk of an escalation that may create a conflict of even greater proportions.

252. The war between Iraq and Iran is also spreading, slowly but surely, to the Gulf region, threatening the stability of the countries of the region and the freedom of navigation. The consequences of this aggravation are too serious for us to remain indifferent. We expect, therefore, that no efforts will be spared to try to find a solution acceptable to the conflicting parties, bringing to an end a war which has lasted for four years with extremely heavy costs in terms of human life and material resources and which seriously endangers world stability.

253. My country, for historical reasons of consanguinity, language and civilization, is connected to Latin America by profound ties that help us to understand in a more direct manner the problems afflicting the region. Such problems are ancient, deriving from great economic backwardness and social injustice and, in many cases, from a blatant lack of political democracy.

254. As a point of departure, it is therefore necessary to understand the legitimate aspirations of the peoples of the region who, we are certain, will be able to find their path to economic development, social well-being and pluralism.

255. We are also well aware that in the past few years the tensions between the super-Powers have superimposed themselves on those endogenous vectors. My country has condemned interference, from wherever it may come, because it believes it essential that the peoples of the region, free from external pressures or subversion, find solutions to their own problems. In our opinion, such solutions can only be the result of a peaceful dialogue between the contending factions. The Governments in power should also realize that the elimination of the opposition will not bring peace and that the conflicts among the different countries cannot be resolved by force but only through a global political and diplomatic solution.

256. In line with our support for General Assembly resolution 38/10, we will follow with the greatest interest the efforts of the countries like those of the Contadora Group which are familiar with the diversity and complexity of the problems and the specific circumstances and characteristics of the conflicts.

257. In effect, Central America has now reached a crucial moment when the risk that the conflict may become generalized has never been greater and when the attainment of serious solutions establishing a just balance between the various contending interests is imperative, so that tensions may decrease, respect for the inviolability of borders be maintained, levels of armament reduced and free societies built.

258. Within this context, my Government will participate in a few days' time in a meeting in Costa Rica with the Central American Governments, those of the countries of the Contadora Group, of the European Economic Community and of Spain, where an attempt will be made to find new orientations in the fields of political and economic co-operation that may point to solutions to the problems of the region. The peoples of the region, having suffered so much in past decades, have the right to redoubled attention and support from the international community. We sincerely hope, therefore, that this meeting will be fruitful and will signal the beginning of a process of regional appeasement.

259. I will now speak about human rights, a theme to which my Government assigns the highest priority. In effect, we believe that political and social institutions, both national and international, ought to serve the dignity of mankind. Thus, we do not believe there is any justification for discriminatory attitudes and diverse criteria in judging the instances of human rights violations that continue to occur systematically, not only in countries of Latin America or Asia or in South Africa but also in other areas, namely, the Soviet Union.

260. In the long list of acts perpetrated against human rights, one which my country considers most degrading is that of torture, still so prevalent in certain countries. My Government therefore hopes that the draft convention against torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment[7] which will be presented to the Assembly at this session will be approved without difficulty.

261. It is necessary to overcome once and for all the false concept that the sovereignty of the State can be legitimately invoked to deny the international protection of human rights. Moreover, we must provide the United Nations with means allowing the international community to verify *in loco* respect for these rights in the various States.

262. In addressing the matter of human rights I shall mention the question of East Timor. I should like to call attention to the progress report of the Secretary-General [*A/39/361*], which informs the Assembly of the consultations which have taken place and the contacts between Portugal and Indonesia through their permanent representatives in New York. The report also describes the activities of the humanitarian international organizations in East Timor, which we would like to see work more.

263. Those consultations and contacts were very useful, and we therefore cannot but praise the actions of the Secretary-General. His efforts deserve our firm support. It was in this spirit that we agreed to postpone the debate on the question of East Timor until the fortieth session of the General Assembly. Without dialogue there can be no solution to international conflicts. We are entirely sincere when we say that we want to see a solution found to the problem of East Timor and that we are confident a global solution, one that respects international principles and human rights principles, can be found if this dialogue continues.

264. The state of East-West relations has been deteriorating in the past few years as a result of a series of events, among which we might stress the invasion and occupation of Afghanistan by military forces of a foreign Power; but other unilateral actions, in clear violation of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, have also contributed to this deterioration.

265. As is the case with international relations in general, it will not be possible for East-West relations to evolve to more stable and constructive patterns if the countries responsible for them do not show moderation in their conduct and do not respect the independence and legitimate interests of others—if, in short, they do not respect the principles enshrined in the Charter, particularly the principle of the non-use of force or threat of force.

266. We are convinced that if they do show such respect, a constructive East-West dialogue will resume, one that will reduce the arms race, that will make more remote the danger of an armed conflict and that will contribute to the greater economic and social development of all concerned. In this context, particular relevance must be attributed to arms control negotiations, to the Conference on Confidence- and Security-building Measures and Disarmament in Europe, now in progress at Stockholm, and also to the Vienna Talks on Mutual Reduction of Forces, Armaments and Associated Measures in Central Europe, both those that are already taking place on the reduction and control of conventional forces and those that—it is still hoped—may begin shortly with the goal of preventing an arms race in outer space, particularly in the nuclear field.

267. The stockpiled military arsenals already constitute a threat to the survival of humanity and of our civilization, and they absorb resources which, if used in another way, would contribute to boosting the social, economic and cultural progress of peoples. However, just as weapons do not cause wars, so arms control and disarmament, by themselves, cannot guarantee the keeping of the peace. Peace must also be assured by the creation of a climate of confidence in international relations and by the adoption of measures that promote openness in the field of military activities, thereby reducing the possibility of surprise attacks; hence the importance we attribute to the success of the Stockholm Conference.

268. Equally, chemical weapons, because of their particularly inhumane effects, have long since aroused mankind's revulsion. Portugal considers that the total prohibition of these weapons would be a significant step towards achieving the goals of disarmament.

269. If arms control is not a sufficient condition for keeping the peace, we must also guard against the perverse effect—that it might become a factor for disturbing the peace. Arms control makes the eruption of armed conflict more remote only to the extent that it contributes to a stable balance of forces at the lowest possible level. We therefore believe that the beneficial potential of such agreements can be maximized only if they lead to balanced and verifiable results. We hereby renew our plea for the resumption of a dialogue between the super-Powers on all the relevant aspects of this vital question, while at the same time we urge them to avoid the temptation to use such important endeavours for propaganda effects or for obtaining unilateral advantages.

270. Moved by these beliefs in the need to create a more peaceful and secure world, where a collective security system may become an effective fact, my Government wishes, finally, to express its confidence in the role that the United Nations may come to play. I am thinking mainly of strengthening the role of the Organization in the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, of situations that lead to international friction or threats to the peace. We think that in such cases the Security Council and the Secretary-General ought to play a more active role, so as to overcome the current situation where disputes get to the United Nations only when they reach the point of insolubility.

271. We therefore regard as being of the greatest interest the suggestions by the Secretary-General, in his report on the work of the Organization [*A/39/1*], for making the actions of the main organs of the Organization in defence of peace more effective.

272. Indeed, never more than today has the use of multilateral forms of negotiation, dialogue and co-operation been so necessary. And, paradoxically, never has the use of formulas of multilateral co-operation been so forgotten or passed over in favour of other forms of intercourse between States which, under the pretext that they are more efficient or expeditious, have sometimes led to situations of greater political tension.

273. For small countries like ours, with a humanist, open, tolerant and peaceful vocation, this retreat from international solidarity is disquieting. Let us then, we ourselves and all the rulers of the world, devote our keenest attention to this matter, so that confidence in international institutions may be renewed.

274. Next year we shall celebrate the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations. There could be no more appropriate occasion for serious reflection, which our political and ethical duties and the imperatives of universal consciousness make ever more necessary. The United Nations can and should see the scope of its action in modern international life widened.

275. Mr. **HAMEED** (Sri Lanka): It is with great pleasure that I extend to you, Sir, the warm congratulations and good wishes of Sri Lanka on your unanimous election as President of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. Zambia and Sri Lanka, founder members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and fellow members of the Commonwealth, have enjoyed the most cordial of relations. We have admired your negotiating skill and witnessed your gentle but firm use of the gavel at many United Nations and non-aligned forums. Sri Lanka is therefore pleased that you, a distinguished son of Zambia, will guide us through this session.

276. My delegation wishes to place on record its appreciation of the admirable manner in which the outgoing President of the General Assembly, Mr. Jorge Illueca, conducted the business of the thirty-eighth session.

277. Sri Lanka welcomes the entry of a fellow Asian State—the State of Brunei Darussalam—to the United Nations and wishes it well. Brunei Darussalam, with its long history and traditions, its resources and its location, could play a considerable role in the life of the international community.

278. In a survey of the international landscape, both political and economic, an overall impression of bleakness is unavoidable, making the imperative of international co-operation all the more compelling.

279. In the economic sphere, the prospects of a global, co-operative approach to restructuring international economic relations are dim, and economic disparities between nations have heightened. A climate of economic recovery among the developed countries will, of course, provide grounds for some optimism as regards restructuring. But there is every reason to believe that the recovery of the last year may not prove to be durable.

280. As a recent study of a Commonwealth expert group on the international debt problem has indicated, the recovery owes virtually everything to the build-up in the last two years of unsustainable budget deficits through expansionary policies in a single powerful economy. It is therefore inherently fragile in not being sufficiently broad-based. At the same time, the thrust of economic policy elsewhere has been profoundly recessionary. In a word, over-expansion on one side and over-restriction on the other is the combination of macro-economic policies that needs to be corrected if the current recovery is not to turn down once again into a deep depression.

281. It is our responsibility to prepare our countries for ways of coping with the eventuality of another depression. Everyone in this forum is aware of the fact of global economic interdependence; and any recession originating with the developed countries cannot fail to have damaging consequences for developing countries as well.

282. The long-term strategy surely is to strengthen economic linkage within the third world so that we become less vulnerable to disturbances emanating from economic policy failures in the developed world. A third-world bank, or bank of the South, is one solution that has been advanced, and this is currently under negotiation within the Group of 77.

283. It would be idle, however, to pretend that such initiatives would yield fruit in time to insulate the developing countries against the impact of any collapse of the current bout of recovery. What is required to moderate the resulting chain reaction of collapse within the third world is adequate and flexible methods of balance-of-payments financing. This can come about today only from long overdue reforms in the Bretton Woods institutions—namely, the IMF and the World Bank. There must, at a minimum, be put in place a facility that would provide unconditional and substantial-enough finance when countries experience an external shock such as a collapse of commodity prices. The facilities available today are notoriously inadequate.

284. Otherwise, the budgets of developing countries would in turn collapse—for example, from the failure of export revenues. Countries would then be faced with an impossible choice between curtailing their development programmes, on the one hand, and, on the other, risking inflation by printing the money needed to finance their budget deficits. A second emergency requirement would be an IMF facility to meet the international debt problem. Finally, there is the need for IMF to create special drawing rights in the required measure. An irrefutable case has been made for this by numerous organizations and authorities. This gains special weight during a period when recovery in the developed countries is as delicate as it is and when inflation has declined. A genuine and enduring recovery of the international economy requires, in brief, a global effort.

285. Only a truly international effort within the framework of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea can ensure that the full bounty of the oceans is developed for the benefit of all mankind. The developing countries need to acquire capabilities in marine affairs, particularly in science and technology, which can be best advanced through the establishment of a well-planned and co-ordinated programme under the United Nations to operate at the global and regional levels. The Indian Ocean, which is bounded by Africa and Asia, requires special emphasis in this context. A co-operative United Nations inter-agency effort would be timely and invaluable for realizing the benefits of the new ocean régime.

286. The Antarctic continent must remain free of militarization and international confrontation. The resources of that vast continent should be developed

equitably, rationally and safely. Sri Lanka supports a comprehensive study of the entire Antarctic system and the establishment of an *ad hoc* committee for that purpose.

287. In political terms, international tension has risen and in some areas has led to situations of confrontation and conflict. Relations between the two major defence alliances have been deteriorating, and a dizzy acceleration of the arms race has been one alarming fall-out. The nuclear dimension of the armaments race bodes ill for all mankind. The nuclear deterrent theory, which is advanced as a means of securing peace, is being perilously maintained at constantly rising levels of armaments, increasing, rather than reducing, the threat of a global confrontation. Sri Lanka will always welcome, therefore, any initiative to promote dialogue and negotiation on the priority questions of disarmament in order to break down dangerous barriers of doubt and suspicion, particularly between the super-Powers.

288. The oceans and the land mass of this planet have long been fouled by the contaminants of militarization. Now even man's last frontier, outer space itself, faces the ultimate pollution of the arms race. Sri Lanka hopes to continue at this thirty-ninth session an initiative pursued at the last two sessions for the prevention of an arms race in outer space.

289. An initiative in disarmament of special significance for Sri Lanka is the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace. The States of the Indian Ocean, the great Powers and the major maritime users of the ocean are engaged in an exercise of co-operative endeavour to convene the Conference on the Indian Ocean at Colombo next year. The Conference itself will not establish a zone of peace overnight but will chalk out the essential principles and the appropriate modalities, mechanisms and machinery for the establishment of the zone of peace.

290. One of the natural extensions of the Indian Ocean is the Gulf, where two non-aligned Islamic States with which Sri Lanka has the closest of relations, Iran and Iraq, are in conflict. We hope that this tragic dispute will come to a speedy end, bringing peace once more to the peoples of Iraq and Iran and security to the region.

291. The Middle East as a whole continues to be an area of tension. Numerous international gatherings held under the sponsorship of the United Nations, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, the League of Arab States and the Organization of the Islamic Conference have identified the key elements of a Middle East settlement, and international consensus has been established on these elements. It is clear that the question of Palestine is the core of the Middle East question and that no just or viable settlement is possible without the withdrawal of Israel from all occupied Arab and Palestinian territory and the restoration of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people. These rights include the right of the Palestinian people to return to their homeland, the right of self-determination and the right to establish an independent State in Palestine. In the settlement of this question, the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, must participate in full measure and on an equal footing with other parties. Sri Lanka has been happy to host at Colombo a resident mission of the PLO with the full diplomatic status of an embassy.

292. Sri Lanka is greatly concerned about developments in Lebanon and calls for full respect for the sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity of Lebanon within its internationally recognized boundaries.

293. It is our firm view that, like the PLO in Palestine, SWAPO in Namibia constitutes the vanguard of the struggle by a majority people against the tyranny of a racist minority. For Namibia, a comprehensive peace plan already exists in the form of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) but, because of the intransigence of *apartheid* South Africa, this remains unfulfilled. Sri Lanka rejects the linkage of extraneous issues, such as the presence of Cuban troops in Angola, with Namibian independence.

294. In South Africa itself, the *apartheid* régime has sought to foster so-called constitutional reforms to tighten its grip on the majority people of South Africa. Sri Lanka expresses its solidarity with the majority people of South Africa in their legitimate struggle for a non-racial democratic society in a united, non-fragmented South Africa.

295. Although the respective situations in Afghanistan and Kampuchea have each a separate and distinct complex of circumstances at root, Sri Lanka believes that a just and lasting peace is not possible in either country unless it is founded on a comprehensive political solution in which the indispensable elements would be the withdrawal of foreign forces and guarantees to ensure the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of the respective States. The Secretary-General's efforts to find solutions to these questions require the full support of the international community, particularly the parties directly concerned.

296. The instability and insecurity sensed by the States of Central America cause us concern. It is hoped that the Contadora process will help ensure the preservation of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of those States and bring stability and security to that region.

297. Sri Lanka supports the desire of the Korean people to reunify their homeland peacefully through direct dialogue, without foreign interference and in conformity with the principles of the South-North Joint Communiqué of 4 July 1972.[8]

298. In regard to Cyprus, we support the endeavours of the Secretary-General to encourage meaningful intercommunal talks in order to effect a viable settlement which will bring peace to the Republic of Cyprus. No settlement is possible without the unconditional withdrawal of foreign forces from the northern section of Cyprus. Sri Lanka has consistently supported the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-aligned status of Cyprus. I should like to emphasize that no State should use its armed forces to interfere or intervene in the internal affairs of another State on any grounds. Interference and intervention on the grounds of ethnic interests and affinities with people in other States should be severely checked, in the interest of international stability. Aggression remains aggression even when wreathed in expressions of concern for the welfare of kindred racial or religious groups elsewhere.

299. In the aftermath of the Second World War, individual States, depending on differing perceptions of their defence needs, followed different strategies. Some joined mutually exclusive military alliances; some opted for neutrality; and many committed

themselves to a policy of non-alignment. In post-war times, many States have had to endure threats to their independence and freedom. It is important to note that those affected have been mainly small States: Cyprus, Kampuchea, Afghanistan.

300. It is therefore relevant in this connection to recall the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations [*resolution 2625 (XXV)*] and to reiterate that the territory of no State should be permitted to be used for the preparation or commission of hostile acts against the territory of another State. There can be no contextual application of these principles, no limiting qualifications, no extenuating arguments to justify threat, pressure or subversion. These principles apply universally, be it in Sri Lanka's own area of South Asia or in the distant region of Central America.

301. Sri Lanka is a democratic, multiracial, multilingual, multireligious country. We are committed to the rule of law. We respect the rights of the individual. The Constitution prohibits discrimination on the grounds of race, religion or language. Historically, we have been a model of communal harmony for centuries. The communal disturbances of July of last year were therefore a tragic development in the life of our nation. Attempts have been made by certain ill-motivated parties outside Sri Lanka to pillory us and to place us permanently in the dock. It is a sad commentary on international relations that the aberrations of small States are sensationalized and blown up to massive proportions.

302. The President and the Government of Sri Lanka have been working, despite set-backs, to find a political solution to the problems we face. An all-party conference, in which the majority groups as well as the minority groups are represented, is meeting under the leadership of the President and is striving to find solutions that will meet with the acceptance of all concerned.

303. Meanwhile, motley groups of terrorists who seek to impose, through violence and terror, a separate State based on racist grounds have made the application of the democratic process much more difficult. These terrorists, who constitute only a small minority within the Tamil community, direct their violent campaign not only against the majority community and security forces but also against innocent civilian members of the Tamil community who are committed to a united multiracial Sri Lanka.

304. The terrorist group finds refuge, training, sympathy and even encouragement on foreign territory, posing a rising threat of destabilization of the country.

305. Terrorism has its sordid international ramifications. International co-operation is therefore vital in dealing with and eliminating international terrorism. Last year the General Assembly adopted by consensus a resolution which called on all States to fulfil their obligations under international law to refrain from organizing, instigating, assisting or participating in acts of civil strife or terrorist acts in another State [*resolution 38/130*].

306. The President of Sri Lanka has proposed concerted action by the international community through the United Nations to eradicate international terrorism. The United Nations, in keeping with agreed international instruments, should once more urge and, indeed, ensure that all States co-operate more closely with one another, especially through the exchange of relevant information concerning the prevention and combating of international terrorism and the conclusion of special treaties, in particular to ensure the extradition or prosecution of terrorists. We believe that the United Nations should take effective steps to establish machinery to implement agreed measures against international terrorism.

307. It has been my privilege to represent Sri Lanka at several General Assembly sessions. The perspective that presents itself at this session, on the eve of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, is neither worse nor better than that of the last few years. We must therefore guard against a sense of resignation, which would lead either to despair and apathy, on the one hand, or to an aggressive and callous pursuit of narrow interests, on the other. Both extremes are dangerous.

308. Recently, the Secretary-General described the option before us as between unilateralism and multilateralism. The United Nations is composed of 159 independent nations, each with definite commitments to its people. In exploiting the full potential of this great Assembly for building greater global harmony and understanding, we should ensure that all States, irrespective of differences in size, economic strength and military muscle, command equal acceptance, respect and dignity in the demonstration of the Organization's will.

The meeting rose at 7.15 p.m.

NOTES

[1] International Monetary Fund, *Annual Report of the Executive Board for the Financial Year ended April 30, 1984* (Washington, D.C.).

[2] See *Report of the International Conference on Population, 1984* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.84.XIII.8 and corrigenda).

[3] For the text, see resolution 38/40, para. 1.

[4] Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y de Rio de Oro.

[5] See *Report of the International Conference on Kampuchea* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.81.I.20).

[6] *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 1.*

[7] E/CN.4/1984/72.

[8] *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 27*, annex I.

United Nations

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

THIRTY-NINTH SESSION

Official Records

6th

PLENARY MEETING

Tuesday, 25 September 1984,
at 10.45 a.m.

NEW YORK

President: Mr. Paul J. F. LUSAKA (Zambia).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations Mr. Jaime Lusinchi, President of the Republic of Venezuela, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

2. Mr. LUSINCHI (Venezuela) (*interpretation from Spanish*): It is my pleasure to extend to you, Sir, in the name of the people and the Government of Venezuela, my sincere congratulations upon your election as President of the General Assembly at its thirty-ninth session. Your personal qualifications and your broad experience in the United Nations serve as a firm guarantee that important and fruitful results will be achieved during the deliberations of this Assembly.

3. We have intimate knowledge of your vigorous efforts as President of the United Nations Council for Namibia and of your tireless labours on behalf of the freedom and independence of peoples. Zambia and Venezuela have worked together in the struggle against colonialism and racial discrimination, and this has certainly helped strengthen relations between our two countries.

4. I should also like to pay a tribute to that distinguished Latin American who preceded you, Sir, in this important office and who represented his country in the United Nations for many years. I refer, of course, to the President of the sister Republic of Panama, Mr. Jorge Illueca.

5. It is also a special pleasure for me to greet most respectfully the Secretary-General, my old friend and the former Ambassador of Peru to Venezuela, and to congratulate him for the efficient and outstanding way in which he has shouldered his responsibilities in the promotion of peace and understanding among all peoples.

6. I come from a Latin American country whose people enjoy fully the inalienable rights of an open, pluralistic and democratic society which, in the daily exercise of freedom, seeks unceasingly to perfect its institutions. We have chosen such a system because of its great potential and because we are convinced that no other system can guarantee with so much integrity the aspirations and development of the human person.

7. I have come here today to voice the views and feelings of Venezuela before this great world forum that is the United Nations and to set forth and share with the General Assembly some thoughts that we deem essential on the international situation. I shall also outline broadly the fundamental elements of my Government's foreign policy, which is that of the Venezuelan people.

8. My presence here in the General Assembly is unequivocal testimony to Venezuela's firm commitment to the United Nations and of our appreciation of its vital achievements in international affairs. Moreover, I have come here with the conviction that dialogue and an exchange of ideas are truly indispensable elements when we have our common interests at heart. I have made it a point to follow this approach in my own country, as it is without doubt the most useful means of nurturing understanding and promoting a convergence of views.

9. We Venezuelans are a people with democracy in our blood, possessed of broad vision and a deep-rooted vocation for peace, who believe that understanding among States and international co-operation are possible. We are, in sum, a small nation convinced that only in this manner will form and content be given to human solidarity and encouragement and meaning to the concerted efforts of all peoples.

10. Thus, I echo the unanimous opinion of Venezuelans when I state squarely that Venezuela has faith in the United Nations, in the reasons for its establishment and in the relevance of its principles, which are more valid and necessary today than ever before. That is why we stand firmly with those who support its strengthening, to prevent it from becoming a purely symbolic institution of frustrated hopes and dreams crushed by selfishness, in many ways an impotent institution, incapable of properly facing up to the challenges and demands of today's reality.

11. We cannot conceive of a world without the United Nations. However, serious obstacles weaken its effectiveness and credibility. If we interpret current events correctly, those obstacles serve to highlight the risks facing the international community when an organization such as this is undermined, neutralized and, as a result, immobilized. This situation tests the will of the States Members and their capacity for the settlement of conflicts in a civilized manner. A change in course is therefore necessary because it is easy to see that while the problems are getting worse, the mechanisms for resolving them are weakening. States should not relinquish their prerogatives nor should countries give up their vital interests, but in the final analysis the overriding goals of the international community as a whole should prevail.

12. The objectives enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, adopted at San Francisco, have tended to fade away as the military Powers have

increased their antagonistic policies, with the result that we now live in a system of political supremacy and nuclear intimidation, and of economic privileges in the hands of a limited number of States.

13. Smaller countries like mine, Venezuela, have legitimate reasons to express our disappointment, to call for proper compliance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations, and to demand the correction of a process which, in our view, has been the object of a historic distortion by those Powers which played a major role in the creation of the Organization, steering it away from its original course and promoting, paradoxically, an international pattern of unilateral advantages and *faits accomplis.*

14. Since 1945, history has been warning us persistently of the risks confronting the world community. The nuclear arms race, which makes us all increasingly vulnerable, seems uncontrollable, while consuming huge resources and absorbing a great deal of sophisticated scientific research. The world is evolving towards a *modus vivendi* which curtails the possibilities for international peace, security and confidence, condemning the relations between States to a simplification of the East-West dialectic, in the search for mutual expediency between the interested parties which, naturally, resist change.

15. At the same time, the lack of understanding and the resistance of the industrialized countries conspire against any effective progress towards global economic relations grounded in equity and mutual benefit. More serious yet, attempts are often made to accentuate the already existing disparities between the North and the South through renewed pressure mechanisms, all in a climate of intransigence and unilateralism.

16. We are, thus, in the midst of a rarefied international environment, of constraints and established positions resistant to change because they are kept in place by strong interests and by dogmas of one stripe or another.

17. In times of crisis and tension one must speak unambiguously, in a dispassionate and objective manner. An inescapable conclusion then stands out: things cannot continue the way they are. Bold and constructive attitudes are required of the community of nations to chart a new course for international affairs, giving rise to political evolution, social and economic development, and equality of opportunity. We demand such a change of course in international life and in relations between States, which would resolve the great paradox of the world in which we live—an era of contradictions and ambivalence, of amazing scientific and technological advances, and yet a time of lack of imagination and of declining resolve to use those resources for the good of mankind in a way consistent with the most elementary aspirations for peace and justice and worthy of the essential yearnings of the human condition.

18. We are aware of our possibilities and our limitations, of what we can and cannot do. We know what our aspirations are, and in order to attain our goals countries like Venezuela are accepting challenges unprecedented in history. We are also aware of our faults and of our mistakes.

19. We have the moral strength to recognize our weaknesses as well as the honesty to assign clear and basic responsibilities to those whose duty it is to assume them. The General Assembly reflects in its resolutions and decisions a ground swell of opinion that cannot be ignored, for that would be to ignore the real concerns of our peoples.

20. In the general context of international relations, Venezuela has spared no effort to contribute to a rapprochement and reconciliation of positions and to the search for solutions to various regional problems in the geographic area of our direct interest. This we shall continue to do, conscious that indifference is incompatible with our ideas and convictions.

21. We shall increase our participation in international affairs because we are convinced that interdependence is an irreversible phenomenon and that decisions are made on a global scale which affect the internal affairs of our countries, particularly the smaller ones, which are more vulnerable to external factors. In this context, we believe that a multilateral approach which takes into account the interests of all is the right course to follow.

22. We can only hope that the economic co-operation taking place between developing countries will be complemented by increasing co-operation between them and the developed countries with a view to promoting the new international economic order. The collective self-confidence of developing countries, while promoting a more efficient use of our own resources, may also help to counteract our vulnerability and ensure a more harmonious development process.

23. After 25 years of vigorous democracy, we Venezuelans know what our priorities are in the international sphere. Our foreign policy is therefore a reflection and an expression of the values and aspirations which drive us to uphold and defend our democratic way of life as set forth in our Constitution—namely, respect for human rights and repudiation of colonialism and racial discrimination, both of which run counter to Venezuelan convictions and our historical legacy. The aim of my Government is to intensify our involvement in all these matters. To this end we shall sponsor at Caracas in 1985 an international forum on human rights in recognition of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations. This will serve as an opportunity to take stock of all that has been achieved to date and to shed light wherever darkness still persists as an impediment to human progress and the rights of mankind everywhere.

24. Everything related to the fundamental rights of the individual takes on greater importance day by day and arouses the strongest interest. In the broadest sense we are referring not only to the rights of the individual as such but also to the rights of the individual in society, to the rights of peoples to a more just and equitable distribution of wealth. In our opinion, it is not possible to lose sight of these implications when discussing such issues.

25. We attach special importance to democratic processes throughout the world and in particular to those in our own region. I wish to emphasize the special gratification of Venezuelans as they observe the strengthening of democratic processes in Latin America. Let there be no doubt about it: the process of democratization enables nations to reach firm understandings, to agree upon common struggles and to achieve consensus in the search for a common voice.

26. Venezuela is above all a country whose vocation is essentially Latin American. Simón Bolívar's writ-

ings are very revealing of this attitude. We feel that we are linked fraternally with the peoples and countries of the region, a region whose boundaries bind rather than divide. Unquestionably, we have sometimes stumbled on the road to integration; some of the obstacles were of our own making, others were foreign. It would seem that the time has now come for us to conduct a self-examination, to explore with greater determination our own possibilities for mutual exchange and balanced well-being. The great challenge of Latin America continues to be that of shaping a community of nations capable of resolving our ancient and complex problems without intervention by outside elements that seek to involve us in strategic confrontations.

27. In fact, however, our part of the world—Latin America and the Caribbean, the Utopian Arcadia of modern times—has not been able to avoid confrontation, and we look with dismay at what is happening in Central America. It is no longer a matter of minor differences between our countries but rather an obvious attempt by one Power or another to use those differences to further its own position in the world.

28. Latin Americans cannot accept the fact that their misfortunes should be multiplied to benefit schemes for foreign domination. We must ensure that this danger is averted, but in so doing we must not allow Latin America to become an area of confrontation in this difficult period of history.

29. We have shown what we can and must do in our region. The experience of the Contadora Group has been useful, and it has been accepted generally both within and outside the region as a suitable mechanism for assisting in the settlement of these complex Central American conflicts on the basis of the consolidation of peace, freedom, democratic pluralism and economic and social development of a region which has suffered unceasingly from within and without throughout history. Four Latin American countries have worked together with the countries involved in an unprecedented effort to help solve a potentially dangerous situation. Those efforts came to fruition with the formulation of the revised Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America [*see A/39/562*], and the outcome is now in the hands of the Governments of the countries of the region.

30. To be frank, I believe that there are those who are interested in peace and those who are interested in war. Time will tell soon enough who these are. In any event, the Venezuelan Government is convinced that only through a process of political development based on democracy can lasting peace and just economic and social development for Central America be assured.

31. I am concerned lest we may be on the verge of exceeding the limits of political and social tolerance among the developing countries, which are suffering from the high unemployment rates and foreign imbalances that affect all of us to one degree or another. At the same time, there is a deterioration of international economic relations. We, the Members of the United Nations, have been unable to meet on common ground and, incredible as it may seem, we have forgotten the lessons of a not-too-distant past. I refer, of course, to the great depression of the 1930s.

32. The seriousness of the crisis we are experiencing makes it necessary for us to rethink the role the United Nations system plays in the area of international economic co-operation and, more specifically, the negotiation strategies which have been followed to resolve world economic problems. In addition to the economic crisis, we are witnessing a breakdown in communications, intransigence and an uncompromising defence of anachronistic attitudes.

33. We are witnessing a process wherein certain powerful countries are continually postponing dialogue, which is tantamount to refusing to negotiate. This situation, in the global dimension as well as in a problem-by-problem approach, can result in something we all wish to avoid: confrontation. It is clear that at this critical time the responsibility falls upon all of us, and we wish to share it in order to lay the foundations for a better future for all. We have no choice but to live up to the challenges of the hour.

34. The peoples of the third world demand just changes, without delay. They demand efforts and results, of benefit to all.

35. As an additional factor in the historical problems of injustice in international economic relations, we are faced today with an extremely serious situation, perhaps the most serious in recent history. The amount of foreign debt of the developing nations is so overwhelming that its consequences affect their very political and social stability; the dimensions of the debt problems alone require the most far-reaching understanding. We are dealing here with issues which, because of their intimate links to the price collapses in the export market for raw materials, the increasing protectionism of the industrialized countries, the irrational rise in interest rates—whose slight variations, a result of manipulations by the world financial market, undermine our social programmes—all contribute to the weakening of recovery efforts, denying work to millions of Latin Americans and condemning them to a marginal existence. And that is only one example.

36. It is inexcusable that the economies of Latin America, which, to a greater or lesser degree, have been under tremendous pressure, in the lean year of 1983 alone transferred $30 billion to the industrialized countries. Plainly and simply, this is a disaster for our economies. We therefore must consider new and unprecedented approaches. The responsibility for this situation is not that of the debtor countries alone, but also of the international banking system, the lender countries and the international financial organizations. No one should nor can escape this responsibility. No one can feign indifference and stand aside when it comes to seeking solutions to a problem of such magnitude.

37. These concepts and opinions form the basis for the action agreed to recently by Latin American countries in the Cartagena Consensus of 22 June 1984 [*see A/39/331*], which refers to the problem of the foreign debt.

38. To sum up, the foreign debt of the developing countries is a reflection of specific shortcomings in the area of global financial and monetary relations, and generally in the economic system prevailing since the Second World War.

39. That is how we Venezuelans see the foreign debt problem. It is part of a gradual breakdown in the world economic system over more than a decade, a process of decay whose most vivid expression is the debt situation in Latin America today. The problem has ramifications which extend beyond the countries

of Latin America and other developing regions. If, therefore, we do not address ourselves to this issue in a timely manner, with political sensitivity to the problems of the affected countries, the whole world economy could founder in a crisis of incalculable proportions. Let us not forget the dangers which could be triggered by these phenomena, among which interdependence is also an undeniable fact.

40. I have stated that the problem of our inappropriately incurred debt cannot be divorced from the process of our development, because our development must continue. Otherwise, it will run down and stagnate, creating conditions that are in contradiction with our vision of society and the role of democratic government. Development is a vital necessity for our peoples. Without it there is no justice, no security, no peace, no prospects for a well-integrated nation.

41. In order to attain these goals, Venezuela has embarked upon a process of readjustment, and this has meant enacting stern measures. Nevertheless, we have taken special pains to ensure that the burden of this readjustment is carried equally by all, so that the poor do not shoulder the greatest portion of that burden for the nation's economic recovery programme. These decisions have been made within the context of national dialogue and consultation, a process which has ensured that all Venezuelans understand the nature of the problems at hand and work to overcome them. This we shall all pursue with conviction and determination.

42. I find it appropriate to state here in this international forum that the sacrifices required to overcome this pervasive crisis must be assumed both by the developing countries, as we have seen, and by the industrialized countries. In one way or another, the developing countries are financing the deficits of the industrialized countries, or a good part of them, while, as a consequence, our peoples continue to go through crisis after crisis. It is obvious that there is a paradox here, which is irrational and without explanation or justification.

43. The reordering of the world economy must be governed by the principle of fairness. The industrialized countries cannot escape the need to correct their own external imbalances and budgetary deficits. It is obvious that the industrialized countries, in a crisis that they themselves have created, are in a better position than the developing countries to carry out a process of readjustment. The capacities of the developing nations are so limited that whatever measures they take in this respect could unleash political and social traumas that could seriously undermine their stability.

44. That is why there is an urgent need to ensure understanding and to substantially alleviate the situation of the third world's foreign debt. Otherwise, the economic recovery of the economically most powerful countries, which to a large extent takes place at the expense of the economically weaker countries, would be seriously compromised and might have a much higher future cost for those countries, because, inevitably, even more serious measures would be required, with world-wide implications that could affect collective security and stability.

45. Venezuela has been renegotiating its external debt within the framework of its intention to fulfil its national contractual obligations. We intend to develop an economic programme that is truly Venezuelan, a programme that will permit us to fulfil our commitments abroad without impairing our capacity for economic and social development and our sovereign decision-making ability. I have made clear on various occasions that in no circumstances, nor as a result of any sort of pressure, will we accept conditions that could jeopardize the potential for development and well-being to which my countrymen are entitled. That is my commitment to the Venezuelan people, and especially to the poor and least fortunate among them.

46. Having established the bases for refinancing our external debt, we deem it appropriate to make the following comments.

47. The instability of interest rates creates an extremely risky situation for the developing countries. Whenever the rates are high, it is virtually impossible for a country to make payments servicing its external public debt without imposing on the general population unacceptable sacrifices with regard to their standard of living.

48. Today the principal creditors of the developing countries are large, private, multinational banks. This has had enormous implications for their respective domestic financial markets. Therefore, today, more than ever before, it is necessary for the monetary authorities of the industrialized countries to involve themselves actively in the problem.

49. It is important to avoid the long-term incapacitation of debtor countries that are trying to live up to their commitments. Such incapacitation would endanger the continuity of financial loans, which are fundamental to world banking.

50. For a solution to be viable and successful, the individual viewpoints and needs of everyone involved must be taken into consideration. For that reason, the solution should be the result of a concerted effort.

51. The various mechanisms proposed have a common denominator: they all require the indispensable participation of Governments and international monetary organizations. It is impossible to imagine the achievement of a solution with only the debtor countries and creditor banks negotiating.

52. Along with many Latin Americans, we Venezuelans are deeply concerned about the problems of drug trafficking and the illegal use of drugs, which have reached alarming proportions in many countries during recent years. The increasing scope of this problem has turned drug trafficking into a social calamity which must be fought with determination and courage at all levels and with every tool available to us—public and private, national and international.

53. Drug trafficking goes so far as to attempt to destabilize Governments through corruption, making use of all kinds of criminal elements, tying them into an intricate network of operations, conspiracies and complicities which involve all levels of society, from subversives of the left and right to the most affluent and most impoverished of our citizenry, striking at the very heart of public life. Its penetration is limitless and has reached such a magnitude that, as we stated recently at Quito, drug trafficking not only represents a threat to the national security and sovereignty of several countries but is also turning into a dangerous agent of international conflicts.

54. It is our firm belief that in order effectively to combat the scourge of drug trafficking and the illegal use of drugs, it is necessary to go directly to the

source, to the places where the raw materials are cultivated and where they are transformed into narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances, and thus to strengthen even more decisive action at the main consumer centres.

55. Governments can no longer consider this as simply a political issue or a public-health problem limited to each State. It is time that we recognize it for what it is—an international problem, with wide-ranging social, economic and political implications.

56. Since becoming President of Venezuela, I have devoted particular attention to this issue, because in my capacities as a physician and a political leader I understand its devastating implications, its social consequences and its effects on youth, our most valuable resource. I recently promulgated in my country the Organic Law of Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances, which fully reflects the firm intentions of my Government and all sectors of the country to combat this dangerous phenomenon.

57. The domestic measures that we are adopting will, of course, be insufficient if we cannot count on suitable international mechanisms to facilitate the co-operation necessary to combat efficiently and globally this tremendous problem which repudiates the most fundamental rights of man. That is why Venezuela, at both national and international levels, is committing its resources so forcefully in this direction. In this respect, we have proposed for consideration by the United Nations and other appropriate international organizations the creation of a special fund to provide assistance in an efficient and flexible way to developing countries affected by drug trafficking. This proposal is embodied in the Quito Declaration against Traffic in Narcotic Drugs, of 11 August 1984 [*see A/39/407*]. That Declaration reflects the decision of the international community to classify as an international crime against humanity all activities related to the illegal trafficking in drugs.

58. I cherish the hope that this session of the General Assembly will provide the appropriate opportunity to look deeply into this serious problem. It is a problem that requires a decisive response, and it is one that can be eradicated only through an unequivocal commitment to multilateral action. Venezuela is prepared to make its contribution in all fields of necessary action. Day after day, drug traffickers cross borders. There is no nation in this world that working alone can eliminate the serious political and social problem that drug trafficking constitutes.

59. We Venezuelans are not immune to the effects of the crisis currently afflicting our world—and I am not referring solely to the economic upheavals and political conflicts; they are only some of the consequences of the breakdown of moral values in the world today.

60. There is no doubt in my mind—and others have said this before me—that during these last few decades when man has triumphed technologically and scientifically he has experienced a concomitant weakening of the metaphysical roots which anchor him and give meaning to both his joy and sorrow, his life and death.

61. While this feeling of helplessness has engendered among those in the developed world a sense of bewilderment and alienation from life's most basic pleasures, it has brought about even more dramatic results in our countries. Material remuneration, with which others compensate for the relative emptiness of their lives, serves but to highlight the glaring social differences which persist in our societies and the lack of understanding that already exists between the emerging nations, which are persistently trying to be understood, and those countries which still have a preponderant influence in world affairs. How do we integrate, without causing suffering, the countries of the third world into the mainstream of contemporary life or at least minimize the spiritual anguish that accompanies such change? That is the great problem which faces the leaders of the nations that form the majority in today's world. We can and must contribute to the building of a civilization that is more human and more positive.

62. Progress in all fields of human endeavour has always fallen short of the great Utopias which, from time immemorial, have fed humanity's hopes and dreams. If it were possible to probe the opinions of men and women all over the world, we would undoubtedly find that the great majority would condemn the confrontation dividing the world community today. The two poles of power which are attempting to divide up the world for themselves are but a manifestation of the moral bankruptcy of our times. Once again, the lust for power—the oldest and strongest passion of mankind—clothed as always in doctrine, returns with its eternal message of misery and uncertainty.

63. A nineteenth-century philosopher once postulated that the happiest periods for mankind have been blank pages in the book of life—in other words, periods in which neither creative activity nor intense searching occurred. But we are not living in such a happy period today and, consequently, our passage on earth cannot be another blank page. The great questions of the future are beckoning us with their immense risks, their possibilities and their promises. We have but to choose those paths that open up the imagination and lead us to bold decision-making and the search for the right answers for this time, a time which is in no way one of mankind's happier periods of history.

64. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the President of the Republic of Venezuela for the important statement he has just made.

65. Mr. VÄYRYNEN (Finland): May I begin by congratulating you, Sir, on your election to the presidency of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. Finland has good relations and has developed close co-operation with your country. Your wide experience in international affairs, and of the United Nations in particular, makes you especially qualified to guide this Assembly in its deliberations. You have my best wishes in the difficult task which lies ahead of you.

66. May I also express my thanks to the outgoing President, Mr. Jorge Illueca, who so ably fulfilled his role on behalf of the Assembly.

67. It gives me particular pleasure to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General, to whom we already owe a great deal for his authority and leadership.

68. I should also like to extend a warm welcome to Brunei Darussalam, the 159th Member of the United Nations.

69. The world situation has not taken a turn for the better. Its characteristics are many: increased uncertainty, and even hostility, in international relations; a

spiralling arms race; unresolved political, as well as social and economic crises. In brief, ours is a world of conflict and confrontation instead of a world of dialogue and co-operation.

70. The United Nations must remain the principal instrument for the maintenance of international peace. It must provide for collective security under its Charter; it must assist in resolving international conflicts and disputes; it must foster economic and social progress and promote human rights. It is an organization of sovereign nations, each having legitimate needs for security and well-being. It is also an organization of interdependence and common responsibility. As the President of the Republic of Finland, Mr. Mauno Koivisto, stated last year, at the Assembly's thirty-eighth session [*11th meeting*], Finland is unequivocally committed to assuming its share of that responsibility.

71. On issues of security, States have increasingly sought to provide for their own security unilaterally by increasing armaments. Security is seen in terms of potentially antagonistic relationships. The result is perceived threats, heightened tensions and a continuous arms race. The arms race, particularly in the nuclear field, has become a source of insecurity for all. The nuclear threat concerns everyone. The world must explore other avenues for promoting security by developing its co-operative element, gaining security through arms control and disarmament, building relations through confidence and mutual understanding.

72. The record of disarmament efforts over the past few years is disappointing—indeed, it is alarming. The lack of progress is dictated by political realities. Yet, in a climate of confrontation, determined efforts to negotiate are particularly important. They may not change the turn of events overnight, but they attest to the need for conciliation and co-operation.

73. All Member States have responsibilities in the disarmament domain, but the world has the right to expect that the nuclear-weapon States, which have the primary responsibility for disarmament, act decisively to halt and reverse the course of the arms buildup. The prevention of nuclear war, the curbing of nuclear arms proliferation, the limitation and reduction of nuclear arsenals, the banning of chemical weapons and the prevention of an arms race in outer space remain priorities on the international agenda.

74. There must also be efforts towards arms control and disarmament at the regional level. Such efforts should aim at improved stability and security and should contribute to the ultimate goal of general and complete disarmament. The Finnish Government is particularly interested in the promotion of nuclear-weapon-free zones and has put forward proposals for such a zone in the Nordic region.

75. There are ways to strengthen the co-operative element of security, the security of common responsibility. The fundamental premise is that in no circumstances nuclear weapons be used. There is interest by all in improved relationships and stability in the field of security; there is interest by all in preventing accidental wars and promoting crisis management. There should be a determined effort to transform this interest into commitments.

76. During the coming year the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*] is to be reviewed. This Treaty remains one of the most important single achievements in the field of disarmament. The Third Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty should make progress in strengthening the non-proliferation régime and in facilitating international co-operation in the field of the peaceful use of nuclear energy. By displaying their commitment to nuclear disarmament and making tangible progress towards a comprehensive nuclear-test ban, the nuclear-weapon Powers would, for their part, contribute to a successful conference.

77. In Europe, where East-West tension is particularly visible, where the concentration of armaments is heaviest and where the arms buildup continues unabated, co-operative efforts are urgently needed. A key element is to build confidence among States responsible for security in Europe. This year an endeavour to build that confidence has been launched at the Conference on Confidence- and Security-building Measures and Disarmament in Europe, at Stockholm. That Conference should, as soon as possible, proceed towards substantive negotiations on confidence- and security-building measures. Finland hopes that this and other endeavours within the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe process will lead to better implementation of the Helsinki Final Act[1] and to tangible progress for the benefit of the peoples in Europe and in the whole world.

78. There are other areas and issues affecting the well-being and lives of millions where common responsibility must be displayed. The deepening economic and social crisis in Africa has come to the attention of the international community. Starvation, famine and deprivation have taken command over a great number of African nations. Sub-Saharan countries in particular have been seriously affected by persistent droughts. Internal social upheavals, coupled with the international economic recession, have further drained the already weak economies of those societies. The refugee problem brought about by political conflicts and turmoils still adds to this agony. At the moment, more than 150 million people on that continent face hunger and malnutrition. It is clear that the present African plight exceeds previous experiences on that continent. As the Secretary-General has said, "the basic fact is that Africa is engaged in a struggle for economic survival."

79. The situation is grave, but not desperate. There are ways and means by which the underlying reasons for the present calamity can be addressed. The responsibility for bringing to an end the present economic and social crisis in Africa rests primarily with the African Governments themselves. We appreciate the efforts already undertaken by the African Governments and urge them actively to pursue measures to reverse these negative trends. But at the same time the international community cannot escape its own responsibility for supporting the intensified national efforts of the developing countries, particularly in the agricultural sector. Increased and improved aid and other supportive measures are called for. In this respect we welcome and support the initiatives taken by the Secretary-General and the organizations within the United Nations system to intensify their programmes in Africa. For its part, the Government of Finland channels over 50 per cent of its bilateral aid to Africa.

80. In recent years we have witnessed with increasing concern the way in which efforts to make full use of the United Nations as a forum for negotiations on

global economic problems have failed time and again. It is not enough to point to the factors that have contributed to the erosion of the credibility of the Organization. We have a common responsibility to make the Organization work by attacking its deficiencies together. A case in point is provided by the Economic and Social Council, which is one of the six principal organs of the United Nations. According to the Charter, the Council should give policy impetus to economic negotiations throughout the United Nations system. It should also co-ordinate the activities within the United Nations system in increasingly interdependent sectors. We all know that the Economic and Social Council does not at the moment fulfil this task.

81. Another example in this field is the failure of the international community to launch global negotiations on international economic co-operation for development under the auspices of the United Nations. Today we seem to be further away from this goal than we were five years ago. We should not blame the institution for this situation. The responsibility lies with us, the Members of the Organization. More forthcoming attitudes towards the task of launching global negotiations are called for, in the North as well as in the South, if we are to make progress in this undertaking.

82. Despite these shortcomings and disappointments, we should not forget the fact that within the United Nations system common responsibility in the economic and social sectors is manifested in the field of operational activities for development. United Nations development funds are making a visible contribution to the improvement of the living conditions of people throughout the developing world. The United Nations operational programmes enjoy the support of the international community, although the planned growth rates of those programmes have not been met and the volatility of exchange rates has affected them negatively.

83. As part of its efforts to reach the 0.7 per cent official development assistance target by the end of the decade, Finland will continue to increase its support to multilateral development activities and international humanitarian relief programmes. We will place particular emphasis on the special needs of the least developed countries.

84. In this context, I should like to mention that my Government welcomes the recent establishment of the World Institute for Development Economics Research at Helsinki. We hope that the first affiliated research institute of the United Nations University will fulfil the expectations of the international community by providing new impetus and fresh ideas in this very vital field of research.

85. The Members of the United Nations bear a common responsibility, one which extends beyond the immediate urgencies of today. What we are doing now—and what we are not doing now—will have an effect on our future and on that of our children.

86. Awareness of the dictates of ecology is spreading. The younger generations especially know that there is an exigent interrelationship between the needs of economic development, the resources of the earth and the environment of the human being—that our ecosystem is an integrated whole. Those problems cannot be successfully solved by any nation acting alone. They must be addressed by the international community as a whole.

87. Human rights are closely related to peace, security and prosperity in the world. An area of vital concern to the United Nations and to all its Member States is the need to protect and promote human rights and fundamental freedoms. It should be recognized that the United Nations and its Members have made great progress in this field, whether defined in terms of political rights, economic, social and cultural rights, action against racism or the general development of the international bill of human rights. The process of developing new international rules in the human rights area continues. I wish to refer in particular to the draft convention against torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment,[2] which my Government hopes will be adopted by the General Assembly as soon as possible. On the other hand, human rights continue to be widely disregarded and fundamental freedoms are still denied in many parts of the world. We continue to witness unjustified arrests, torture, arbitrary executions, religious intolerance and political persecution.

Mr. Wasiuddin (Bangladesh), Vice-President, took the Chair.

88. Surveying the implementation of internationally adopted human rights is a major task for the United Nations. It is important that the role of the United Nations be strengthened and further developed in this respect. I would in this context appeal to all Governments to lend their full and constructive co-operation to the relevant United Nations bodies in order to ensure the full enjoyment by all individuals of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

89. War against famine, ignorance, poverty and underdevelopment and the promotion of welfare and a secure future for mankind are the common responsibility of the Members of the United Nations. Let us hope that recognition of this common task will help us to find the way back to co-operation and conciliation even in the political field, where so much at present should be done.

90. The Nordic countries, confirming their strong support for the United Nations and for measures aimed at settling international disputes by peaceful means in accordance with the principles of the Charter, have in recent years examined ways and means of strengthening the United Nations. Nordic endeavours in this field have close connections with the reports of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization. The problems facing us and facing the United Nations can be tackled effectively only through close international co-operation and with the necessary determination and patience.

91. The Nordic countries have given particular emphasis to United Nations peace-keeping operations as one of the practical instruments which the United Nations has successfully evolved. Finland attaches great importance to these functions and today has troops and observers in all United Nations peace-keeping operations. We see these operations as an important way in which Member States, including the smaller ones, can contribute effectively to the collective task of peace-keeping and peace-making.

92. This year the Organization, in particular the Security Council, has discussed situations which, in various parts of the world, are endangering regional and international peace and security. The Council has in most cases been able to reach a decision on the matter. What is lacking is the will to carry out those

decisions. We share the view of the Secretary-General, expressed in his report on the work of the Organization, that the international community cannot condone the disregard of almost all of these decisions by the parties involved in the disputes.

93. In our view, the basic principles of a peaceful settlement of the problem of the Middle East remain immutable.

94. The key to the situation is the Arab-Israeli conflict. Together with other developments in the region, it poses the most persistent threat to peace and security, not only in the region itself but also in the world as a whole. The political, strategic and economic importance of the region transcends the regional confines of the conflict.

95. A comprehensive settlement of the conflict must be based on Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973). Israel must therefore withdraw from Arab territories occupied since 1967. Acquisition of territories by force is inadmissible. The right of Israel and other States in the area to exist within secure and recognized boundaries must be guaranteed. Furthermore, provision must be made for the legitimate rights of the Palestinians, including their right to national self-determination. This presupposes the right of the Palestinians and the Palestine Liberation Organization [*PLO*], as the most significant representative of their national aspirations, to participate in negotiations on their own future within a comprehensive solution of the conflict.

96. From the internal point of view, the situation in Lebanon seems to be improved even if many of the major problems still remain unsolved. We hope that the national reconciliation will not fail. The territorial integrity, sovereignty and political independence of Lebanon within its internationally recognized boundaries must be strictly respected.

97. The war between Iran and Iraq has entered its fifth year. The loss of human life and waste of resources have reached staggering proportions. My Government welcomes and supports all mediation efforts that may contribute to a peaceful settlement of the war.

98. For nearly 20 years the United Nations has made strenuous efforts to achieve independence for Namibia. Today the prospects of a solution again seem to be improving. The front-line States, together with the South West Africa People's Organization, have shown a constructive spirit to find new ways for dialogue between the parties. Security Council resolution 435 (1978) still remains the basis for a solution of the Namibian question. The Government of Finland does not see any reasons why its implementation is delayed. Any political solution must be based on the holding of free and fair elections. The wishes of the people of Namibia must be fully taken into account in the independence process. The United Nations, with its special responsibility for Namibia, must sustain the pressure on South Africa so as to ensure that the independence of Namibia is achieved without delay.

99. In South Africa the *apartheid* system remains fundamentally unchanged. This was noted by the Security Council, which recently strongly rejected and declared null and void some of the superficial modifications to the system [*resolution 554* (*1984*)]. Finland unequivocally condemns the *apartheid* system as an abhorrent violation of human rights and human dignity. The need for concerted international pressure on South Africa to change its policies remains. There cannot be any compromise on the principle of the equality of every human being or on the need to have that principle observed in practice. That is why the Security Council must continue its consideration of measures to intensify the pressure on South Africa for change.

100. The situation in Central America remains critical. Finland believes that the solutions to the problems of this region lie in the maintenance of the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States. The States of the region themselves should be given an opportunity to solve their problems free from any outside intervention. To this end, Finland supports the efforts of the Contadora Group for a peaceful, comprehensive solution.

101. The United Nations is the forum for all States to make their contribution to fostering peace, security and well-being in the world. Each State, big and small, should participate in this effort. But in pursuing these ends, not only do nations have their role as Members of the world Organization, the United Nations; they also bear responsibility for peace and security in their own regions.

102. Finland has stable, harmonious relations and fruitful co-operation with all its neighbours. She stays outside the conflicts of interest between the great Powers, she maintains and develops friendly relations with all nations: Finland pursues a policy of neutrality. Finland seeks to promote efforts towards peace and stability in the Nordic region, towards security and co-operation in Europe and in the whole world.

103. The days when a State could pursue a policy independent of all others are long past. We live in a different world, a world of wider, more complex, more challenging responsibilities. They are common responsibilities that must be shared in order to secure peace and prosperity for all peoples of the world.

104. Mr. BARRY (Ireland): I have the honour of addressing the General Assembly on behalf of the European Community and its 10 member States.

105. In this capacity, it will give me particular pleasure if you, Sir, will convey to the President my very sincere congratulations on his election to the presidency of this session of the General Assembly. I am sure that with his considerable experience of the United Nations and his personal skills he will carry out successfully the important and difficult tasks which lie ahead.

106. I should also like to convey the Community's appreciation to the outgoing President for his efficient and skilful conduct of the proceedings of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly.

107. The 10 member States of the European Community also wish to pay tribute to the Secretary-General for his dedicated efforts over the past year in the service of the United Nations and in the cause of peace.

108. Finally, I wish to extend our warmest congratulations to the newest Member of the Organization, Brunei Darussalam.

109. The United Nations is now almost 40 years old. The European Community is younger than that by 10 years. Both organizations were born out of the same experience—the agony and destruction of the Second World War—and both have one essential

aim in common—to prevent the recurrence of war. Surveying the international situation over the past 40 years we can take satisfaction from the fact that the continent of Europe has escaped another large-scale war and that the world has avoided global conflict, which in a nuclear age would have disastrous consequences for the future of mankind. But our satisfaction must be tempered by the realization that, even though global war has been averted, millions have perished in regional conflicts and civil strife, millions more continue to suffer under tyrannical and repressive régimes and, in a wealthy, scientifically advanced and resourceful world, millions of our fellow men are subjected to poverty, malnutrition and disease. Beyond these conflicts are the growth in nuclear and conventional armaments, the lack of success in arms control, and the state of the political relations between the super-Powers. None the less, there are hopeful signs, notably the forthcoming meeting between the President of the United States and the Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union. In this connection also the Ten were encouraged by the tone and the content of the address to the Assembly yesterday by President Reagan [*4th meeting*].

110. Despite these encouraging signs, the international community and the Ten must remain concerned at the persistence of negative trends in international life, and for this reason they will persevere in their efforts to halt and reverse them.

111. The principles underlying the Ten's approach to international issues are clear. Indeed, they may be simply stated.

112. First, we are committed to promoting the purposes and upholding the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. In recent years the international community has been subjected to a series of crises which has tested the will and capacity of the Organization to keep the peace and deter aggression. Moreover, there has been a deadlock on a number of international and regional issues of fundamental importance. The United Nations has not responded to these challenges as well as it might; and Member States have not sought to use the Organization as they should. For their part, the Ten will continue to promote the United Nations, which, because of its universal character, is a unique forum for the resolution of conflict. We will continue to support also the endeavours of the Secretary-General to increase the relevance of the Organization and to improve its functioning.

113. A second set of principles, linked to the first, derives from our commitment to the rule of law and to dialogue in international relations. The European Community is itself constructed on these principles, and the Ten wish to see them applied more thoroughly and effectively in all areas of international life. In this connection, we believe that a renewal and deepening of political dialogue between East and West is an urgent necessity—urgent and necessary because of the awesome level of military forces; urgent and necessary also to prevent miscalculation or misunderstanding in sensitive areas of the world escalating into an international crisis. We are ready to extend our dialogue and co-operation with all States and regional groups.

114. Thirdly, the Ten recognize and respect the right of all States to security, independence and the determination of their own destiny. These principles, which have informed the work of the United Nations since its foundation, are central to the Ten's approach to international issues. We believe that all States should be permitted to develop their human and natural resources free from external threat, in accordance with their own history and traditions, and without interference in their internal affairs.

115. Fourthly, the Ten believe in the fundamental importance of human rights and in the need for States to respect, in deed as well as in word, internationally agreed human rights standards. I shall have more to say about human rights later in my statement, but at this point I wish to emphasize that the principle of non-interference in internal affairs should not—indeed, cannot—be invoked by States to ignore or reject international concern at human rights abuses on their territory.

116. Fifthly, the European Community and its 10 member States are committed to promoting the economic and social advancement of all peoples, to working for the elimination of poverty, hunger and disease throughout the world, and to alleviating the plight of displaced persons. We believe that dialogue, co-operation and partnership hold the key to the promotion of more equitable and more even development, which would also contribute significantly to economic progress for all.

117. The principles I have just outlined underpin and give coherence to the work of the Ten on the major issues facing the world today.

118. Nowhere is the need for dialogue and co-operation more evident than in the area of East-West relations. These relations have continued to undergo considerable strain in the past year. The Ten regret this. Earlier this year they declared their determination to maintain and intensify their contribution to the improvement of relations between East and West. They appealed to the Soviet Union to co-operate in progress towards genuine détente on the basis of a balance of forces, of respect for the interests of all States and of the faithful implementation of the Helsinki Final Act[1] in all its aspects, including effective abstention from the threat or use of force. They recall, in this connection, their position on the continued military buildup by the Soviet Union and on the question of Afghanistan.

119. The Ten have sought to keep open all possible channels of dialogue with a view to contributing to an improvement in East-West relations. Despite the difficulties, the Ten will persist in their efforts to return these relations to a more stable and predictable basis. They will continue to work for a lessening of mistrust and to seek constructive and comprehensive political dialogue with the Soviet Union and its allies in central and eastern Europe. They will seek wherever possible to build on existing co-operation with each of those countries. But, to bear fruit, the efforts of the Ten to improve East-West relations will need to be reciprocated in the same spirit.

120. As European countries, the Ten attach great weight to the process of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe as a forum for contacts and negotiation which gives all participating States, large and small, possibilities for contributing to a dialogue on matters of vital importance to them. That process this year has acquired a new dimension at Stockholm in the Conference on Confidence- and Security-building Measures and Disarmament in Europe. Full implementation of the Helsinki and

Madrid provisions by all States participating in the process of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe would significantly assist the restoration of confidence in East-West relations. It is disturbing to note, one year after the conclusion of the Madrid meeting of representatives of the participating States of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, and with a Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe experts' meeting on respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms due to take place in the first part of next year, an increase in the disregard by some participating States for the provisions agreed to at Helsinki and Madrid in these areas, including freedom of religion.

121. It has been a consistent wish of the Ten to return to a more normal relationship with Poland as actual developments there permit. In this regard, the Ten welcomed the Polish Government's amnesty decision of last July. The Ten hope that the Polish authorities, in a spirit of national reconciliation and tolerance, will follow that decision with further measures designed to meet the aspirations of the Polish people for dialogue and reform and that all the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act and the Madrid Concluding Document,[3] including those on trade-union freedom, will be implemented by Poland.

122. For the 10 member States of the European Community the achievement of balanced and verifiable arms control and disarmament agreements, as well as the full implementation of such agreements, is a matter of the highest importance. We shall continue to work for such results and to lend support to the efforts of others to achieve them.

123. The problems of achieving effective agreements on arms control and disarmament are difficult at any time. The pursuit of such agreements is made all the more difficult in a climate of mistrust and strain in political relations. Nevertheless, there is no alternative to determined and painstaking pursuit, at the negotiating table, of concrete results in the form of substantial, balanced and verifiable arms control and disarmament agreements. In the field of disarmament, statements of good intentions are not enough, and declaratory undertakings are a poor substitute for specific, concrete and verifiable measures. When one takes account of the continuing growth in armaments, certain potentially destabilizing technological advances in weaponry and the grave social and economic consequences of the arms race, it is evident that all countries, including the nuclear Powers, should have a strong common interest in the negotiation of effective measures of arms control and disarmament resulting in stability at lower levels of forces. The Ten profoundly regret the suspension of the negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union on intercontinental strategic nuclear weapons and intermediate nuclear forces. We consider that these vitally important negotiations should resume and be pursued actively with a view to reducing nuclear weapons to the lowest possible level.

124. Measures to curb and reverse the nuclear arms race should be complemented by efforts to maintain and improve the effectiveness of the non-proliferation régime, which has served the international community well since it was instituted in the 1960s. In this context, those members of the Ten which are parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373* (*XXII*), *annex*] will work actively for the successful outcome of the Third Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty in 1985.

125. The danger of an arms race in outer space is a matter of deep concern to the membership of the United Nations. Given the pressing need for agreement on steps to avert this danger, the Ten can only regret that bilateral talks between the leading space Powers, the Soviet Union and the United States, have not yet taken place. They hope that such talks will commence without delay. In parallel, multilateral consideration by the Conference on Disarmament of questions relating to the prevention of an arms race in outer space is also desirable.

126. At the same time, we must take full account of other aspects of the disarmament equation; conventional disarmament and arms control are also necessary if the common desire for peace and stability is to be satisfied. The continent in which we Europeans live contains the highest concentration of conventional weaponry and forces in the world. This is one of the main reasons why the Ten, in conformity with the agreed mandate for the Conference on Confidence- and Security-building Measures and Disarmament in Europe, which began work at Stockholm last January, are seeking negotiated agreement, in the first stage, on a set of militarily significant and verifiable confidence- and security-building measures. These measures would be designed to diminish the risk of a military confrontation in Europe and would thereby pave the way to a second stage of the Conference, at which the participating States would continue their efforts for security and disarmament in Europe, in particular by controlled reductions of armaments.

127. Those members of the Ten participating in the Vienna Talks on Mutual Reduction of Forces, Armaments and Associated Measures in Central Europe consider that the submission last April of a new proposal which seeks to resolve some of the more basic issues of those negotiations should permit real progress to be made towards agreement on conventional force reductions.

128. The Ten will continue to support realistic and concrete disarmament efforts in the sole multilateral negotiating body, the Conference on Disarmament, meeting at Geneva. We attach particular importance to the successful conclusion of negotiations taking place at the Conference on a convention to prohibit chemical weapons. Member States of the European Community have contributed actively to this work. In this connection, we welcome positive developments which have taken place this year: the United States has submitted a draft convention to outlaw these weapons and the Soviet Union has accepted the principle of on-site inspection of the destruction of stocks of chemical weapons. Although important differences remain to be resolved, the Ten hope that it will be possible to move towards the conclusion at an early date of a convention on the elimination of chemical weapons.

129. The importance of the relationship between disarmament and development has been underlined in the deliberations of the Disarmament Commission this year. The Commission agreed that the world economy—and particularly the economies of developing countries—would benefit from appropriate international action that takes into account the close relationship of disarmament and development. The Ten hope that it will prove possible to reach a broad

measure of agreement at this session of the General Assembly on how the important question of giving concrete expression to this relationship should be pursued.

130. The Ten have a historic concern for and interest in peace and stability in the Middle East. We have spoken out consistently on the problems of the area and how they might be resolved in a fair and durable way. Individually and collectively, we have contributed to attempts to make and to keep peace in the Middle East.

131. It is appropriate here at the Headquarters of the United Nations to note the Organization's involvement in the area over the years and the experience and expertise that it has developed. The United Nations has a vital role to play in establishing and maintaining peace in the Middle East, and the Ten will continue to encourage and assist in the activities of the United Nations to this end.

132. Conflict and tension continue in three areas in particular: between Israel and the Arab States, in Lebanon, and in the Gulf. Each dispute has brought its own toll of human suffering and destruction. Each also poses wider threats in the region and to international peace and harmony. The international community, notably through the Security Council, has at various times set down guidelines for the solution of these problems in part or in whole. What is needed now is movement by the parties concerned in each case, with the support and assistance of the international community, towards negotiation of peaceful solutions in accordance with the guidelines.

133. With regard to the Arab-Israeli conflict, Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) set out fundamental principles for a settlement of that conflict. The Ten believe that, in essence, such a settlement must further take account of both the right to existence and security of all States in the Middle East, including Israel, and the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, with all that implies.

134. A negotiated settlement requires the continuing and independent expression of the will of the Palestinian people, and the Ten have repeatedly said that the PLO should be associated with the negotiations. The resolution of the problems between Israel and its neighbours should be based on the principles, widely accepted in the international community, of non-recourse to the use of force and the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force. For the Ten, this means that, in accordance with Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), Israel must put an end to the territorial occupation which it has maintained since the conflict of 1967.

135. For some time now, because of events on both sides and developments elsewhere, there has been a hiatus in attempts to find a settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict. The Ten regret this. Each year that passes without a solution makes its achievement more difficult. Attitudes of hostility become more entrenched and the problems arising from the long occupation become more serious. Outside parties, including the Ten, can play a part in facilitating negotiations and can assist and support constructive steps by the sides. A number of proposals have been set forth, and remain on the table, which could be helpful for a comprehensive settlement. But it cannot be escaped that the parties themselves—Israel, the Arab States and the Palestinians—must sooner or later grasp the nettle and come to terms with each other's existence and legitimate rights. The Ten urge those involved to take steps in this direction. We believe that a start could be made with the renunciation by all parties of the threat or use of force and with the abandonment by Israel of the policy of establishing settlements in the occupied territories contrary to international law.

136. The Ten regard the progress which has been made towards reconciliation in Lebanon under the Government of Prime Minister Karamé as encouraging and worthy of support. But violence nevertheless continues to flare up, and fundamental problems remain to be addressed if the goal of an independent, sovereign country enjoying territorial integrity affirmed so many times by the United Nations, and endorsed by the Ten, is to be achieved.

137. Israel remains in occupation of a considerable part of the country, which is a cause of a great deal of human suffering and economic disruption in Lebanon. In the view of the Ten, Israel should withdraw its troops in accordance with the call of the Security Council. In this connection, we note that in his address to the Knesset the new Prime Minister of Israel said that one of the main objectives of the new Government is an early return of Israeli forces from Lebanon. The Ten believe that other foreign forces on Lebanese soil whose presence is not authorized by the Government should also be withdrawn. The Ten, some of which contribute to observer and peace-keeping operations in Lebanon, reaffirm their willingness to assist that country towards peace and normality. They take this opportunity to express their appreciation of the work of UNIFIL aimed at carrying out its mandate and its efforts to maintain stable conditions and protect the population in its area of operations. They support the renewal in October of UNIFIL's mandate and hope that conditions will be created which will allow the Force fully to carry out its tasks.

138. The Ten are concerned at the continuation of the conflict between Iran and Iraq and the resultant increased tension in the Gulf area. There has been great loss of life on both sides among combatants and the civilian populations. Enormous material damage has been done. Shipping in the Gulf, including traffic to and from States not parties to the conflict, has been subjected to attacks. Of particular concern was the report in March of this year by an expert team dispatched by the Secretary-General,[4] which ascertained that chemical weapons had been used in areas inspected in Iran. The Ten condemn without qualification any use of chemical weapons and earnestly hope that they will not be used again in this or any other conflict. We call on both sides to comply with the principles and provisions of humanitarian international law in armed conflicts. We have underlined to Iran and Iraq the importance we attach to freedom of navigation and commerce in international waters, and we recall that the Security Council has more than once addressed this question.

139. More positively, it is noted with satisfaction that the undertaking by Iran and Iraq not to attack purely civilian targets is holding up well. We compliment the Secretary-General on bringing this about and on his work and that of the observer teams in maintaining it. A certain willingness to compromise and thus spare the civilian population further suffering is an encouraging sign. One of the possibilities offered by the United Nations has been utilized. The Ten urge both sides to extend this process, leading to

a general cessation of military activities in accordance with the relevant Security Council resolutions and numerous appeals of the international community. Negotiation could then begin aimed at finding a peaceful solution, honourable for both sides. Many intermediaries have offered their good offices in this area. The Ten hope that these efforts and those of the Secretary-General will be continued and intensified, and they are ready to support them.

140. The situation in Cyprus remains an important matter of international concern. The Ten once again express their unconditional support for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and unity of Cyprus in accordance with relevant United Nations resolutions. In particular, they reiterate their rejection of the declaration of 15 November 1983 purporting to establish an independent State within Cyprus. They deplore the fact that neither this declaration nor the subsequent purported exchange of ambassadors between Turkey and the Turkish Cypriot leadership has been withdrawn, in disregard of Security Council resolutions 541 (1983) and 550 (1984).

141. The Ten attach particular importance to the mission of good offices of the Secretary-General, and they call on all concerned to co-operate fully with the Secretary-General in his current efforts to bring about constructive dialogue aimed at a just and lasting solution to the problems of Cyprus.

142. It is now almost five years since the Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan. It remains a source of great concern to the whole world and continues seriously to affect the stability of the region. The Ten remain deeply concerned at the continuing occupation of that traditionally neutral and non-aligned country and at the violation of its independence. Despite repeated calls from the international community to respect the Charter and resolutions of the United Nations, the Soviet Union refuses to heed the appeals to withdraw its troops, which is the key requirement for any satisfactory political solution. The Ten regret that the Soviet Union has shown no willingness to make a positive contribution to a settlement based on successive United Nations resolutions but has instead intensified its military efforts against the resistance forces, which have resulted in many civilian casualties and further suffering and destruction in a country already ravaged by war. The Ten are also deeply concerned that Pakistani civilians and Afghan refugees have been killed in attacks on Pakistani territory from within Afghanistan, and they deplore those violations of Pakistan's border.

143. There can be no military victory in Afghanistan. There can only be a political solution which will ensure the immediate withdrawal of Soviet troops, and the restoration of Afghanistan's independence and non-aligned status and the right of the Afghan people to self-determination. In this regard, the plight of the refugees must not be forgotten. The exodus of more than a fifth of the Afghan population, driven from their homeland and forced to seek shelter in neighbouring countries, is a tragedy of immense proportions. Any solution must enable the refugees to return home in safety and honour.

144. The Ten are committed to supporting any initiative which aims at a lasting and principled solution, based on successive United Nations resolutions, to the problem of Afghanistan and recall their proposal of June 1981 in this regard.[5] We continue to follow with interest the efforts of the Secretary-General's representative in his search for a political settlement within the United Nations framework, and we regret that to date those efforts have not met with significant success.

145. The Vietnamese occupation of Kampuchea continues to threaten the peace and stability of the South-East Asian region. The reason for the failure over the last five years to make any progress towards a comprehensive political settlement which would bring an end to the suffering of the Kampuchean people lies in Viet Nam's refusal to comply with the relevant United Nations resolutions. The Ten consider that the basis for a just and lasting solution is contained in the Declaration on Kampuchea, adopted by the International Conference on Kampuchea, held in New York from 13 to 17 July 1981.[6] That Declaration calls for the total withdrawal of Vietnamese troops, recognition of the right of the Kampuchean people to choose freely their own destiny, respect for the independence, neutrality and non-alignment of Kampuchea, and a commitment by all States not to interfere in its internal affairs.

146. The Ten are prepared to support any constructive efforts to bring about a peaceful settlement of the problem of Kampuchea. This cannot be achieved without the participation and co-operation of all those concerned with the conflict. We believe that a solution can be reached which accommodates the legitimate security concerns of all the States of the region.

147. The unresolved Korean question still constitutes a potential danger for the peace and stability of the region. The Ten reiterate their belief that a peaceful reunification of Korea should be pursued by means of dialogue and negotiations based on the South-North Joint Communiqué of 4 July 1972.[7] The Ten believe that the Korean people should have their place among the countries represented at the United Nations.

148. The Ten hope that democracy and full respect for human rights will be established throughout Latin America. They welcome the movement towards democracy in South America, which has been especially noteworthy over the past year. This progress has been achieved at a time of great economic difficulties. The Ten particularly welcome the restoration of democracy in Argentina following the elections of October 1983 and the achievements of the Government of President Alfonsín in consolidating democracy in that country. Elections have also taken place elsewhere in South America and these have served to strengthen the democratic process. Our hope is that those remaining countries in South America where democracy has not yet been restored will in the near future follow a similar evolution.

149. The Ten welcome the recent steps towards national reconciliation in Colombia and are following with interest the process of democratization in Uruguay, where elections are scheduled to take place in November of this year. I regret that, on the other hand, the repeated appeals of the international community to the Chilean authorities to take meaningful steps to restore democracy to their country continue to fall on deaf ears. Violent incidents continue. These have their origin in the denial of democratic freedoms to a people which has a long experience of democratic Government.

150. The Ten continue to be deeply concerned at the situation in Central America, especially in certain countries where murder and other atrocities are perpetrated, particularly on the civilian population, by the armed forces and by irregular armed bands, and where social and economic injustice continues to undermine the political consensus which is a condition of peaceful stability. The Ten have on many occasions expressed their full support for the efforts of the Contadora Group to achieve a peaceful solution to the problems of the region. I wish today to reiterate our support for those efforts, which are based on respect for the independence of sovereign States, the right of States to freedom from outside interference, the inviolability of frontiers, the establishment of democratic conditions, and the strict observance of human rights.

151. The Ten are convinced that the problems of Central America cannot be solved by armed force but only through a political settlement springing from the region itself. The Contadora initiative offers a clear opportunity for such a settlement, and the Ten urge all those in positions of political responsibility in Central America to work towards a final settlement on the basis of the Contadora proposals. In this connection the Ten consider that the elaboration of the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America [*see A/39/562*] is a significant and hopeful development.

152. The Ten note recent developments which have brought some degree of hope to the Central American region, such as the statements made after his election by President Duarte of his intention to promote respect for human rights in El Salvador, and the forthcoming elections in Nicaragua, which it is hoped will lead to the establishment and consolidation of a genuine democracy in that country.

153. The Ten look forward to the meeting at San José later this week of the Foreign Ministers of the Ten, Portugal and Spain and of the States of Central America and of the Contadora Group. This meeting will mark the commencement of an intensified political and economic dialogue between the Ten and Central America.

154. The Ten are deeply concerned at the many problems confronting the African continent.

155. In South Africa, the black majority continues to suffer the injustices and indignity of *apartheid*, with no real prospect of change in its political status. South Africa's new Constitution fails to meet the aspirations of black South Africans for equal treatment and the demands of the international community for justice. The black majority is completely excluded from the political process, and only a small number of Coloureds and Indians were prepared to participate in the recent elections. The sense of alienation and frustration of the black population was demonstrated by the violence which surrounded those elections. There is an urgent need for an early move towards the full and equal involvement of all citizens in the political process if further conflict and violence are to be averted. The Ten will continue to press for constitutional arrangements founded on the principle of equality and acceptable to all the citizens of South Africa.

156. During the past year, the South African Government has continued to implement its homelands policy. Families and entire communities have been forcibly removed from the homes which they have owned and developed over many generations. In the process, many South Africans, through their removal to the bantustans, have been rendered exiles in their own land and deprived of the livelihood they once possessed.

157. The Ten have, individually and collectively, expressed their abhorrence of and opposition to South Africa's actions. We reject the homelands policy, as we do all other aspects of *apartheid*, and we shall continue to put pressure on South Africa to abandon the *apartheid* system.

158. The Ten have noted with satisfaction the agreement between Angola and South Africa reached at Lusaka on 16 February 1984 on the strengthening and monitoring of the military disengagement in southern Angola. They have also noted the Agreement on Non-Aggression and Good-Neighbourliness between Mozambique and South Africa, signed at Nkomati on 16 March 1984 [*A/39/159, annex I*]. They have commended the efforts of all parties concerned to bring about increased security and stability in the region. They stand ready to welcome other positive moves. However, genuine and lasting peace must be founded on justice and guaranteed by the removal of the fundamental causes of conflict. The recent agreements can have only limited impact if they are not accompanied by early and substantial progress in the elimination of racial discrimination and by independence for Namibia.

159. The Ten hope that the southern African agreements will contribute to a climate of mutual confidence which would facilitate the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). We regret deeply that our hopes for an early settlement remain unfulfilled and that South Africa continues its illegal occupation of Namibia. The Ten do not accept that the United Nations plan should be delayed or set aside for extraneous reasons or for arrangements inconsistent with resolution 435 (1978). We shall continue to work for the immediate implementation of that resolution because it alone embodies a universally accepted framework for a peaceful transition to independence in a manner which is guaranteed by the United Nations to be free and fair.

160. The European Community and its member States will also continue their aid to the Namibian people, particularly through their support for the United Nations Institute for Namibia. They reaffirm their readiness to assist in the development of a free and independent Namibia.

161. The Ten hope that peaceful solutions can be found to the situation in the Horn of Africa. They believe that such solutions should be based on the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of the Organization of African Unity [OAU].

162. Throughout Africa, the Ten continue to co-operate with Governments, regional organizations and the OAU in their efforts to promote stability and economic and social advancement. The OAU plays an important role in the promotion of peace on the continent, and the Ten support in particular its efforts to find peaceful solutions to the problems of Chad and Western Sahara.

163. The problems caused by the severe drought which has struck large parts of Africa, together with the connected problem of desertification and other factors, have contributed to the deterioration of the continent's economy and its ability to produce food. The European Community and its members are

conscious of the necessity to assist the victims of this calamity, and they will continue to provide substantial emergency and development assistance to alleviate its effects.

164. The Ten endorse the efforts of the international community to alleviate the situation of the 4 million refugees in Africa. Their sufferings evoke our concern, as do the many problems which confront those States which give them shelter. The Ten and the Commission of the European Communities have already stated at the Second International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa, held at Geneva from 9 to 11 July 1984, that they will continue to provide assistance to African economies to help their economic and social structures to cater effectively for refugees and returnees. They will also continue to support and encourage international co-operation to prevent the political conflicts and economic distress which are among the primary causes of refugee flows. The problem of refugees is, of course, a world-wide phenomenon. The Ten expect fruitful results from the work of the Group of Governmental Experts on International Co-operation to Avert New Flows of Refugees.

165. I referred at the outset to the Ten's commitment to human dignity and to the defence of human rights as a principle underlying the Ten's approach to international issues. Many of the political problems I have just described derive from a failure to recognize the dignity and worth of the human person and to uphold the rights and freedoms set out in the Charter of the United Nations, in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, in the International Covenants on Human Rights and in other international human rights agreements. Our task as the Ten and the task of the United Nations is to ensure that States adhere to their obligations to promote and protect all categories of human rights—civil and political as well as economic, social and cultural. The Ten believe that all these rights form an integral part of a global system for the protection of the individual. They are indivisible and interrelated and must all be defended. The promotion and protection of one category of rights can never excuse a State from promoting and protecting other rights or exempt it from its obligations in this regard.

166. Unfortunately, the obligations entered into by States are too often broken. Numerous reports and surveys testify to the continuation of torture, political imprisonment, disappearances, arbitrary arrests, summary executions and racial and religious discrimination as instruments of State policy. The failure to match our aspirations with achievement weakens the human rights system so carefully and painstakingly developed over the past 40 years and calls into question the seriousness of our commitment. It is difficult to imagine the impact on those who suffer injustice and repression of the feeling that the world is indifferent to their plight and has abandoned them to their fate. For their part, the Ten will continue to speak out against violations of human rights whenever they occur, to work for the protection of the victims, and to promote international agreement on standards and procedures.

167. In this connection, the Ten welcome the progress which has been made on the draft convention against torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.[2] We look forward to the adoption of the draft convention at this session of the General Assembly. Effective measures to enforce the prohibition on torture are necessary. Torture and other forms of ill-treatment affront the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and undermine the primary aim of international co-operation on human rights—the achievement by each human being of a life of freedom and dignity.

168. While the Ten are convinced that international co-operation contains the greatest potential to eradicate abuses of human rights, they are also conscious of the important role played by individuals and groups. It is a matter of grave concern that the most serious abuses are often inflicted on those who actively work to expose violations and remedy injustice. The Ten believe that the international community has a special duty to protect those who risk their life, health and liberty in defence of the rights and freedoms agreed by all.

169. I turn now to the international economic situation.

170. The beginning of this decade saw the worst recession since the 1930s. Recently there has been a recovery which has been strongest in some of the larger industrialized countries and, of course, particularly here in the United States. The effects of this recovery are now beginning to be spread more widely. Last year there was a resumption of growth in world trade, and it has apparently been accelerating further in 1984. However, uncertainty remains concerning the likely evolution of the international economic situation.

171. Nevertheless, considerable progress has been made in reducing rates of inflation in almost all the industrialized countries. Despite the uncertainty I have mentioned, the prospects seem generally favourable. In addition, significant progress has been made recently in adjusting fiscal and external imbalances in many countries, both developed and developing. Many non-oil-producing developing countries have achieved a remarkable adjustment in their balance-of-payments positions.

172. As was noted in the London Economic Declaration, issued at the London Economic Summit held from 7 to 9 June 1984 [*see A/39/304*], a continuation of the recovery requires unremitting efforts. We need to spread the benefits of the recovery widely, in the industrialized countries as well as to the developing countries, especially the poorer countries, which stand to gain considerably from a sustained growth in the world economy. Progress has been made in laying foundations for sustained growth, but in the future we shall need to work for greater financial stability, notably in interest rates and exchange rates, and to make further efforts to liberalize trade and to combat protectionism.

173. The very high level of real interest rates is a matter of particular concern. This directly affects economic activity, distorting exchange rates and capital flows and exacerbating problems of indebtedness. To ensure the continuation of a strong and sustained recovery, it is essential that interest rates internationally come down to more acceptable levels. At the same time, it will be essential to ensure adequate transfer of resources to developing countries.

174. In assessing the economic outlook, no one can afford to be complacent. There are sizeable disparities in fiscal policy and growth performance among industrialized countries. There is growing imbalance

in the current account positions of some major countries. There is the weakness of growth in many developing countries and the associated decline in their real per capita incomes. There is the still precarious financial position of many heavily indebted countries.

175. The debt problems of developing countries have rightly been the focus of attention at a number of recent international gatherings. These are problems of crucial importance. Progress has been made, but developing country indebtedness is likely to be prominent on the international economic agenda for some time to come. It is clear that progress towards resolving debt difficulties depends to a large extent on the evolution of interest rates and the rate of expansion of exports of the developing countries, and on the evolution of some other variables. All countries should work to create the conditions in which the key variables can move in the right direction—and here we should not overlook the importance of appropriate economic policies in the debtor countries. We recognize, of course, that there is a link between adjustment and development, and the efforts of developing countries to adjust their economies should be supported by the international community.

176. The very high level of unemployment in both developed and developing countries is a major source of concern. This is so particularly in Europe, where we are undergoing a difficult period of structural adjustment. We must currently tackle the lack of employment opportunities for the millions of people who are willing and anxious to obtain employment. In the Community and world-wide, we must devise a consistent strategy which, while resisting inflationary pressures, aims to reduce the massive unemployment problem. Medium-term projections, on the basis of present policies, indicate that we in the European Community can expect no significant reduction in unemployment for some time to come. The costs of sustained unemployment at present levels are enormous, not just in terms of lost output and incomes but also in terms of their detrimental effects on attitudes in our societies.

177. In all these problems we are bound to recognize the increasing degree of interdependence of different countries and areas in the world economy and the consequences of economic policies pursued by individual countries or groups of countries for developments in other parts of the world. At the same time, we should be aware of the interrelationships of different policy areas, which all too often in the past had been considered separately. Given the uncertain economic environment in which we are operating, it is important that we retain flexibility in our economic policies and that we be prepared to act to counter any threat to world recovery.

178. In the Community we feel that the problems of development should be tackled in an integrated way and over the longer term. It is against this background and in this spirit that the Community has approached the various issues raised during the year in the framework of the North-South dialogue. Many of the issues considered remain unresolved and are on the agenda of this session of the General Assembly. In this connection, the Community recalls its position in favour of global negotiations, which should of course be on a basis acceptable to all.

179. The review and appraisal of the implementation of the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade is another issue before the General Assembly. Despite considerable efforts within the framework of UNCTAD, in the Economic and Social Council and here at United Nations Headquarters, that important exercise is not yet complete. The recent economic recession has held back progress towards the growth and development for which we all hoped and planned in 1980. The review should allow us to take advantage of the improving economic climate and give a new impetus to the implementation of the Strategy for the remainder of the Decade.

180. On behalf of the Community, may I say that we, for our part, firmly hold to our commitments made in the context of the International Development Strategy. In particular, we reaffirm our commitment to maintain and, where possible, increase the levels of official development assistance, especially in favour of the less developed countries.

181. I have already spoken of the concern of the European Community at the terrible problems of Africa, in particular sub-Saharan Africa, where drought and desertification have exacerbated an already difficult situation. I should like to underline that in recent years more than 50 per cent of the total aid received by African countries—that is, over $5 billion a year—came from the Community and its member States. We heartily welcome the growing determination of African countries themselves to engage in further concrete efforts to come to grips with the various problems besetting their economic and social development.

182. We regret that it was not possible to reach agreement in the Economic and Social Council on a declaration drawing attention to Africa's problems. We have confidence, however, that the General Assembly will successfully conclude the negotiations on the declaration. We believe that such a declaration will be a signal to the world of the international community's concern at the plight of Africa and will encourage action to alleviate that plight.

183. We recall that at the meeting of the World Bank a few days ago the Development Committee expressed strong support for the proposed action programme contained in the Bank's report,[8] emphasizing that its implementation would require the concerted and sustained efforts of African Governments, bilateral donors and international organizations.

184. At the Fourth General Conference of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization, held at Vienna from 2 to 19 August 1984, the world community considered the relatively limited progress of industrialization in the developing countries since the Second General Conference in 1975. In the Community's view, faster progress in industrialization world-wide is necessary, and the benefits of industrial growth should be spread more widely among developing countries. We regret that it was not possible to reach agreement on the chapeau or preamble to the report of the Fourth Conference,[9] although we were very near to achieving a consensus. We are pleased that the Conference provided an opportunity for a thorough examination of problems facing developing countries in their efforts to industrialize. It concluded with a consensus agreement on nine resolutions aimed at helping the developing

countries to overcome those problems and at defining the role of UNIDO.[10]

185. We in the Community welcome the opportunity to give further consideration to the two resolutions on which agreement was not reached[11] and which have been transmitted to this session of the General Assembly. We hope it will be possible to achieve consensus agreement on them. We believe it appropriate that, on the eve of the conversion of UNIDO into a specialized agency, the industrialization of developing countries should continue to be in the forefront of our attention here.

186. The effect of demographic patterns—in particular the rapid growth of the world's population—on development and the utilization of resources continues to be a cause of concern. The second half of the twentieth century stands out in history for its unprecedented population growth. Growth rates are still very high in many developing countries, and, even though the global rates have now begun to decline, the result, combined with the rapid growth of previous decades, will be a doubling of the world population over the course of the next 50 years, which will add to the difficulties of overcoming the obstacles to economic and social development. This will necessitate increased international attention now and in the years to come to the problems of improving the balance of resources between the peoples of the world. The International Conference on Population was held at Mexico City from 6 to 14 August 1984 against this background. In reviewing and refining the World Population Plan of Action, the Mexico Conference provided, in its recommendations adopted by consensus,[12] many useful guidelines to Governments in both developed and developing countries.

187. For the Community's own part, and in the context of strengthening our links with the developing countries, our efforts have been largely devoted this year to negotiating a third Lomé convention with African, Caribbean and Pacific countries. As in the case of its predecessors, the third convention will cover a whole range of trade and aid provisions for over 60 African, Caribbean and Pacific countries. We take pride that this co-operation convention represents an unprecedented effort to create a new model for relations between North and South, encompassing almost half of the international community, including most of the poorest nations. The negotiations have now entered their final stage and it is envisaged that the new agreement will be signed in December at Lomé, the capital of Togo. We do not claim that this convention will provide definitive solutions to all the development problems of the African, Caribbean and Pacific countries. It is, however, a contribution, based on a number of fundamental principles, which should enable both the Community and the African, Caribbean and Pacific countries to continue to build the kind of co-operation that will be beneficial to both sides. The objectives of the convention make that clear. We have agreed that we will support and promote the efforts of the African, Caribbean and Pacific countries to achieve self-determined, self-reliant and self-maintained development. Our efforts take account of local needs and local resources. Development must be encouraged from within and not imposed from without.

188. Finally, I should like to refer briefly to the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea. The Community and its member States believe that the Convention constitutes a major effort in the codification and progressive development of international law in various fields.

189. The Convention has now been signed by five member States of the Community. Some concern persists with respect to the deep-sea-bed mining régime of the Convention and should be dealt with in such a manner as to make the Convention universally acceptable. In fact, we attach great importance to the work of the Preparatory Commission for the International Sea-Bed Authority and the International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea. I hope that the Convention will become a useful instrument for the promotion of co-operation and stable relations between all countries in this field.

190. The Ten appreciate the importance of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, to which over two thirds of the General Assembly now belong. The Movement exercises a considerable influence on international affairs. We believe that genuine non-alignment can contribute significantly to international stability and to the peaceful settlement of the problems which face the international community.

191. These problems, some of which I have touched on in this statement and most of which appear on the agenda of this session of the Assembly, present a distressing catalogue to those who believe that the United Nations could and should play a more important and decisive role in international life. It is therefore entirely appropriate and necessary that the Secretary-General should draw attention again this year, in his report on the work of the Organization [*A/39/1*], to the dangerous breakdown in the multilateral approach to international questions. The Ten agree with the Secretary-General's diagnosis of the problem. We also agree with his prescriptions for a solution. We have supported his efforts in the past and we shall continue to help in whatever way we can to restore respect for the Charter of the United Nations and to strengthen confidence in the Organization.

192. As the United Nations enters its 40th year there is an evident need for a recommitment to a multilateral approach which would draw on the energy, the imagination and the potential for co-operation of the majority of the Assembly. Other approaches have been tried and have failed. The Secretary-General, in his report, has sounded a warning about the risks of continued failure. We ignore that warning at our peril.

193. I should like now, as Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ireland, to turn to a problem of supreme importance for all who live in Ireland, whether in the north or the south.

194. During the past year more lives have been lost in Northern Ireland, and the alienation of the nationalist minority there from the system of political authority, security and justice has continued. The urgent need to promote a political solution which will end the violence and alienation remains the most pressing problem confronting my Government. When I addressed the Assembly last year, at the thirty-eighth session [*15th meeting*], I expressed the hope that, following the completion of the work of the New Ireland Forum, its members would be able to present to all the people of Ireland and to the British people a clear and realistic analysis of the Northern Ireland problem, together with imagina-

tive, generous and workable ideas for new arrangements in my country with which all sides could identify. As one of those who worked in the New Ireland Forum over a period of 11 months, I am very honoured to inform the General Assembly that my hope has indeed been realized.

195. The report of the New Ireland Forum was published on 2 May 1984 and has been presented to the Secretary-General. It represents the position of the overwhelming majority of Irish nationalists—that is, almost 75 per cent of the entire population of Ireland—regarding the problem of Northern Ireland. Eleven major realities are identified in the report's analysis and 10 requirements are proposed as necessary elements of a framework within which a new Ireland could emerge. The British Government is invited to join in a process that will recognize those realities and give effect to those requirements and thus promote reconciliation between the two major traditions in Ireland. The Forum report suggests three possible models for creating a new Ireland which would be based on these realities and requirements. As a document reflecting the view of Irish nationalists, the preferred solution is naturally that of a unitary State, achieved by agreement and by consent and embracing the whole island of Ireland. However, other solutions along federal-confederal lines or involving a joint authority of the Irish and British Governments in Northern Ireland are also outlined in the report.

196. Further evidence of the realism and openness of the Forum parties is clear from their stated readiness to consider other views which may contribute to the political development that is so urgently required. The four major Irish nationalist parties which reject violence took part in the New Ireland Forum, and the Government of Ireland, formed by two of those parties, has decided that the findings and conclusions of the report are in accordance with its policy. We have brought the report in all its aspects to the attention of the British Government, and we now await its considered response. The report has already been the subject of a useful debate in the British Parliament, and it has stimulated a new interest on the part of many in Britain in working with the Irish Government to create a durable solution to the conflict in Northern Ireland.

197. We have been encouraged, too, by the positive international response outside Ireland and Britain to the Forum's report. The Irish Government believes that the interest of those international institutions—to which both Ireland and Britain belong—in the problem of Northern Ireland can be of positive support in our search for a solution. The sympathetic interest of the United Nations, as well as the recent adoption by the European Parliament of a report on Northern Ireland, are examples of such helpful and constructive interest.

198. The debate which was inaugurated by the publication of the New Ireland Forum report has already shown that there is much that is now common in the British and Irish perceptions of the Northern Ireland problem. It is encouraging that the British authorities now acknowledge the importance of the Irish Government's concern for the interests of the minority community in Northern Ireland. My Government is concerned for the needs of all the people of Northern Ireland, and in recent months we have welcomed signs that some spokesmen in Northern Ireland, representing the people of the unionist tradition there who value their British heritage, are ready to be more open to their fellow citizens of the other Irish tradition.

199. Since I last spoke before this Assembly, the heads of Government of Ireland and Britain have on a number of occasions had the opportunity to review the situation in Northern Ireland. Following a substantive discussion in November of last year they expressed their deep concern about the continuing violence and their joint determination to take all possible means to end it. The two heads of Government, Mr. Fitzgerald and Mrs. Thatcher, will meet again shortly for a summit session of the Anglo-Irish Intergovernmental Council. Should the two Governments jointly determine in the months ahead to meet the requirements of the Northern Ireland problems identified in the New Ireland Forum report—and it is my conviction that only such an urgent joint approach can succeed in resolving this tragedy—then we will need the support and understanding of all in the United Nations. A lasting commitment on the part of the Irish and British authorities to a realistic settlement will be difficult for both Governments. I believe, however, that we can, together, as two Member States inspired by the ideals of the United Nations, overcome those difficulties, meet the risks involved and bring peace at last to the suffering people of Northern Ireland.

The meeting rose at 1.25 p.m.

NOTES

[1] Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, signed at Helsinki on 1 August 1975.

[2] E/CN.4/1984/72.

[3] Concluding Document of the Madrid Meeting of Representatives of the Participating States of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, Held on the Basis of the Provisions of the Final Act Relating to the Follow-up to the Conference, issued on 6 September 1983.

[4] *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-ninth Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1984*, document S/16433.

[5] *Bulletin of the European Communities*, No. 6, 1981, vol. 14, para. 1.1.13.

[6] See *Report of the International Conference on Kampuchea* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.81.I.20), annex I.

[7] *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 27*, annex I.

[8] The World Bank, *Annual Report, 1984* (Washington, D.C., 1984).

[9] ID/CONF.5/46 and Corr.1, chap. II, sect. A.

[10] *Ibid.*, sect. B.

[11] *Ibid.*, sect. C.

[12] See *Report of the International Conference on Population, 1984* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.84.XIII.8 and corrigenda), chap. I, sect. B.

United Nations

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

THIRTY-NINTH SESSION

Official Records

7th
PLENARY MEETING

Tuesday, 25 September 1984,
at 3.40 p.m.

NEW YORK

President: Mr. Paul J. F. LUSAKA (Zambia).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. The PRESIDENT: I have great pleasure in welcoming the Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of New Zealand, Mr. David Lange, and inviting him to address the General Assembly.

2. Mr. LANGE (New Zealand): Mr. President, I congratulate you on your election. When Africa's problems are looming so large, it is appropriate that an African should once again preside over the General Assembly. We are confident that your presidency will help make this session a fruitful one. New Zealand will do all it can to assist you.

3. We welcome the newest Member of the United Nations, Brunei Darussalam, a country of our own part of the world, with which we have long-standing ties. New Zealand has long believed that the membership of the Organization should be universal. We welcome every step in that direction. We would not want to see the principle of universality compromised in any way.

4. I would not adequately reflect the views of most New Zealanders if I did not, right at the beginning of my first address to the General Assembly, talk about an issue that has become very prominent in public debate in our country. New Zealanders—not just a few of them, but people from all sectors of the community—have become gravely concerned about nuclear weapons and the continuing and deadly competition in their production, their refinement and their deployment.

5. New Zealand is a small and remote country, perhaps a little distant from the mainstream of world affairs. We are fortunate enough to live in a region that constitutes a pocket of tranquillity in a deeply divided and troubled world. Like many members of the international community, New Zealand faces serious economic problems and some social ones as well; but we are at least able to come to grips with these problems without having our attention diverted by those immediate worries about security that are all too familiar for many Members of the United Nations. We are not occupied; we are nobody's client; we have excellent relations with all our neighbours; in 1984 no other country has New Zealand in its sights. For our longer-term protection we rely on our membership of the Western Alliance. That membership is formally expressed in a security treaty with the United States and Australia which for 33 years has been a central feature of the foreign and defence policies of successive New Zealand Governments, including my own.

6. Against this background, why is it that New Zealanders are becoming increasingly worried about a contest that is centred in two capitals half a world away? With no more immodesty than many others, New Zealanders like to think of themselves as practical and sensible people. They are simply alarmed at the continuing build-up of nuclear arsenals, because they can see no sense in it. How does it make sense continually to augment and refine an existing capacity to make the rubble bounce and bounce and bounce again? New Zealanders have felt deepening frustration at the inability of the States that hold nuclear weapons, in particular the two super-Powers, to agree on practical measures to halt and reverse the process of building more and "better" nuclear weapons. If ordinary people everywhere can see the irrationality of that race, they ask, why cannot the super-Powers see it also? And, if they can see it, why do they not do something about it?

7. Quite recently, another dimension has been added to these concerns. Our people, like others round the world, have known for a long time that the possibility of nuclear war is a terrible and frightening one. They have known for very many years that if the countries that have these weapons eventually descend to hurling them at each other, then those countries and their peoples will be destroyed. They have also recognized that other countries, including New Zealand, would suffer very severely indeed. But New Zealanders had not previously supposed that the direct physical consequences for them could be overwhelming. If common humanity and concern for others dictated anxiety about nuclear war, it was thought, perhaps we could afford to be slightly less anxious than others.

8. Within the last year or so, New Zealanders have been told that even that last tattered shred of reassurance is probably no longer available. Reputable scientists from east and west have told us that the global, climatic and long-term biological consequences of a nuclear war would be much more severe than had been previously thought. What is more, that would be the case if even a relatively small part of existing nuclear arsenals was used or if the weapons were used only against so-called counter-force or military targets. The scientists have also told us that nuclear war in the north may generate a nuclear winter in the south as well. They have gone further and advised us that there is a possibility of the self-inflicted extinction of the human species. That, we are told, is what could flow from the deliberate, if irrational, act, the mistake, the miscalculation or the accident.

9. To New Zealanders this is a truly appalling state of affairs. Refinements or modifications of the predictions which the scientists have made about the consequences of nuclear war may be made as a result of further work, but they will concern only the exact range of utter disaster.

10. What the scientists have already made entirely plain to all of us—plainer than ever before—is that the nuclear weapons that may have helped to maintain an uneasy peace between two great countries for more than three decades have become a threat to the security and survival of countries and peoples everywhere. The situation we are facing is quite unlike any other with which the international community has had to grapple before. It is one from which, unpalatable though it may be to think about, no country—and, for that matter, no individual—can back away. We shall not escape from it if the traditional prescriptions of great-Power politics are applied.

11. What the scientists have not demonstrated, of course, is that nuclear war will occur or that it is more likely now than it was in the past. But the question how close we may be to falling into the abyss does not take account of the essential point. The fact is that a nuclear war is possible, whether it is half a year or 100 years away or whether, as we all hope, it never occurs.

12. None of the nuclear-weapon States can tell us that it will not occur, that they will never do what they have in their power to do. The results of the use of nuclear weapons would be so grave that it is absolutely incumbent upon the nuclear-weapon States to do everything possible to avoid their use. And that would remain the case even if the consequences of nuclear war should be shown later to be only half or a quarter as bad as the scientists have predicted.

13. My Government can find no encouragement in the recent response of the nuclear-weapon States to this situation. The refinement and deployment of nuclear weapons continues apace. There are disquieting indications that the military competition between the super-Powers may, in the coming years, move to the new environment of outer space. Multilateral arms control negotiations are stalled and, in some cases, in danger of being discredited. I would ask the Soviet Union to respond positively to the United States invitation to resume key bilateral arms control talks in order to get a dialogue under way again.

14. My Government hopes that the two super-Powers will take a long hard look at the course of developments in the nuclear arms race. It is clearly in their own interests and in the interests of all of us to make a new and very much more determined attempt to reach agreements that will enable them to change direction. None of us underestimates the complexities involved in reaching agreements that will permit a mutual, balanced, verifiable—and very large—reduction in existing levels of nuclear weapons. We are aware that it will not be easy to manage safely the transition to a more secure world where, as a stage in the road to their elimination, the number of nuclear weapons is drastically reduced and where innovations in weaponry, if they are to occur at all, are not of a kind that cause instability. That process will require trust and good will. It is also likely to require the taking of risks. But the most dangerous risk of all is to do nothing: to allow compulsive competitiveness to continue indefinitely.

15. We ask, in addition, of the Soviet Union that it reflect on the fact that many countries, of which New Zealand is one, have the greatest difficulty in understanding its current reluctance to take part in bilateral arms control negotiations with the United States. The events that occurred between 1939 and 1945 gave the Soviet Union every reason to be concerned about preserving the peace. It will advance that cause by returning to the bargaining table and looking at ways and means of beginning the process of de-escalation.

16. Countries such as my own have to recognize that the contribution we can make to assist this process is limited; but we are bound to continue to try. There are several things we want to emphasize. The most urgent of these is the need for massive reductions in strategic nuclear arms. There are other things as well. New Zealand has, for many years, argued the case for the conclusion of a comprehensive test-ban treaty.

17. It needs to be understood that our advocacy of that measure is not prompted solely by the fact that one of the nuclear-weapon States continues, despite repeated pleas from all the countries in the region, to test its weapons in the South Pacific. We see a prohibition of the testing of nuclear weapons by any country in any environment as a critical first step in halting and then turning back the arms race. We have been disappointed at the lack of progress made in securing such a prohibition. My delegation will again at this session of the General Assembly sponsor a draft resolution which seeks to encourage and speed up that work.

18. A comprehensive test ban will also be of the greatest importance in preventing the further spread of nuclear weapons. Everything possible must be done to stop that from happening. My Government will want to take an active part in the Third Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons next year. We see that Treaty as fundamental to world security.

19. There are, of course, other techniques of modern warfare which are not much less unpleasant than nuclear weapons. Biological weapons have already been outlawed. The need for a comprehensive agreement to outlaw the manufacture and use of all chemical weapons is another matter of concern to New Zealand. During the past year there appears to have been some prospect of progress in that direction. We urge the Conference on Disarmament to get on with the task.

20. If the international community is to chart a way out of the current impasse on nuclear weapons, this will be done through global measures in which the nuclear-weapon States will play the major role. But regional initiatives can also make a contribution. My Government regards the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (Treaty of Tlatelolco)[1] as a significant regional advance. We are also fully committed to, and will vigorously defend, the Antarctic Treaty,[2] which demilitarized a whole continent to the south of New Zealand and prohibited the basing or testing of nuclear weapons and which, for more than 20 years, has effectively guaranteed the stability of that region.

21. Very recently, a new initiative has been taken in our part of the world. On the proposal of Australia and with the full support of my Government, the heads of Government of the 11 countries that make

up the South Pacific Forum agreed on 28 August of this year, at a meeting in Tuvalu, on the desirability of establishing a South Pacific nuclear-free zone at the earliest opportunity. The heads of Government spelt out the principles that will be applied in the construction of such a zone. It was agreed that there should be no use, testing or stationing of nuclear devices in the South Pacific; that no South Pacific country would develop or manufacture or receive from others or acquire or test any nuclear explosive device; and that nuclear activities in the South Pacific would be conducted in accordance with applicable international principles and treaties, notably the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*]. The meeting acknowledged the need for a South Pacific nuclear-free zone to respect the principles of freedom of navigation and overflight. It was accepted that South Pacific countries would retain their unqualified sovereign right to decide for themselves, consistent with the objectives of the zone, on their security arrangements and on such questions as the access to their ports and airfields by vessels and aircraft of other countries. It was agreed that in the course of the next year a draft of a treaty to establish the zone should be prepared.

22. This initiative represents, I believe, a major advance for the region. It would not, we know, spare us from the consequences of nuclear war but, when in place, it would significantly strengthen the existing measures, both global and regional, to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons. It would also, I believe, convey a clear signal that the South Pacific countries do not want their region to become an arena for rivalry involving nuclear weapons.

23. New Zealand would hope to be in a position to report to the General Assembly next year and, before that, to the Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons that good progress has been made in creating a South Pacific nuclear-free zone. New Zealand and the other countries of our region naturally expect that, when the necessary work has been done within the region, all the nuclear-weapon States will co-operate with us to ensure that the zone becomes a reality.

24. The recent meeting of the South Pacific Forum turned its attention also to the evolving situation in New Caledonia.

25. The question is not really where that Territory is going. Rather, it is how it gets there, and at what pace. The French Government has, I believe, made a clear and irreversible commitment to self-determination for the peoples of New Caledonia. There is a particular mix of interests and problems that must be resolved carefully and by the people most directly concerned, that is to say, by all the ethnic groups that have a legitimate stake in the future of New Caledonia.

26. All members of the Forum agreed that the changes that are to come in New Caledonia—and they must and will come—should be made speedily and peacefully, that is to say, without violence and without external interference. It is up to all parties concerned to exercise moderation. They must work together to achieve the kind of political future that satisfies the demands of a truly democratic and harmonious multi-ethnic society in New Caledonia.

27. A significant amount of progress has been made. A lot remains to be done. That was recognized at the Forum. There we were agreed that the process of decolonization would be advanced by a public statement from France about its commitment to independence for New Caledonia. We gave it as our view that the referendum planned for 1989 should be be brought forward; 1989 was, we felt, too distant a date. And we suggested some intensification of preparation for the country's eventual independence to ensure the full and active participation of the Kanak people in the country's educational, vocational and administrative life.

28. We called too, at that Forum, on the Independence Front to play its part in the early and peaceful evolution of New Caledonia to independence by recognizing the need for independence to reflect fully the multiracial nature of New Caledonia.

29. What we stressed above all was the crucial role of dialogue—that those involved should keep talking to each other. That was the message which the Tuvalu Forum sought to convey to France and to the Independence Front. I am hopeful that an initiative taken by the Forum to foster the process of dialogue will soon get under way and that a group of Ministers from Forum countries—including New Zealand—will be able to talk to the leaders of the Independence Front and to the French Government to tell each of them about the concern of the countries in our part of the world that New Caledonia should move through conference and dialogue, not through confrontation and dispute, to independence. We in the South Pacific have always found solutions to problems through dialogue, discussion, consensus; and it is through dialogue and consensus that we wish to see New Caledonia take its rightful place soon in the community of the nations of the South Pacific.

30. Neither we nor our South Pacific partners want to see unwelcome external influences intrude upon events of New Caledonia, nor to see the transition to independence marred by an outcome that is not in accordance with the wishes of all those in New Caledonia who have made that country their permanent home. Our part of the world has been fortunate in that it has been free from the conflict and violence that have so often accompanied decolonization elsewhere. We do not want that record to be blemished. I am confident that it will not be.

31. If it is important to all of us living in the South Pacific that our region remain free from conflict, we are equally concerned to ensure that our backyard, the Antarctic, does not become an area of international rivalry and discord. I have already noted that the Antarctic Treaty demilitarized Antarctica. What is even more important, the Treaty provides the only possible guarantee that the region will continue to be free from international rivalry and conflict. The study on the question of Antarctica, submitted by the Secretary-General [*A/39/583 (Part I) and Corr. 1 and 2 and A/39/583 (Part II) and Corr. 1*] should help countries more remote from the region to understand the contribution the Treaty has made and continues to make to the achievement of the purposes of the United Nations. I hope it will convince them that the Treaty system, which is open to all Members of the United Nations, must be preserved and strengthened.

32. I referred a moment ago to a conviction that there has been an irrevocable commitment to self-determination for the people of New Caledonia. I wish I could say the same about the situation in southern Africa. Namibia continues to be unlawfully

occupied by South Africa. The United Nations has had no choice but itself to accept a special responsibility for the Territory. It has guaranteed to its people that they will be able to exercise their right of self-determination. But that promise has been subverted by South Africa's determination to accept no settlement except on its own terms, and by the military power which reinforces the obstinacy and aggression that South Africa has also shown towards its other neighbours.

33. I wish, too, that it could be said that the agreements South Africa has recently concluded with neighbouring States signified a new era in the region. Regrettably, they do not appear to be agreements made willingly in order to resolve difficulties and develop closer working partnerships, or agreements in which peace and justice were equally sought by both sides.

34. Nor can it be said that the South African Government has offered justice to the people of South Africa in its new constitutional arrangements. There is not the slightest indication that it is ready to share political power with the black majority. Nor is there any sign that it is willing to dismantle the *apartheid* system. The essence of that system is unchanged. In recent and separate elections the Coloured and Indian communities have spurned the South African Government's attempt to draw them into an alliance and, by so doing, have confirmed their rejection of the *apartheid* system.

35. New Zealand likewise rejects *apartheid* and all it stands for. We are committed in our country to building a multiracial society based on freedom, justice and consent. The South Africans have already learned that my Government will not compromise with a system that rejects those values.

36. If my Government believes that there is today more reason than ever before to keep the basic issue of war and peace right at the top of the agenda of the United Nations, we also see an urgent need to move quickly and firmly to tackle the economic problems facing the world.

37. The world economy is just beginning to emerge from the worst trial it has known for over 30 years. Investment and production have increased, inflation is down and world trade is increasing. But doubts persist. Unhappily, even now many countries have yet to benefit significantly from the recovery in some of the leading industrial economies. The international financial system has shown enough flexibility to survive the recent crisis. That is a relief. But it is hard to feel very optimistic about the future when many countries are still struggling to meet their financial obligations and in many others large numbers of people are actually facing starvation.

38. The protracted debates in international forums during the past few years have not done much to alleviate the real problems confronting us. New Zealand would like to encourage the development of a gradual movement towards pragmatism and compromise. New Zealanders have never seen much prospect of resolving the world's economic problems through confrontation. Dialogue and consensus are the techniques that we are trying to use in our own country, and they seem to us to hold out the best chance of success on the international scene.

39. The recent economic crisis has had at least one good result. During the past year or so, it has become widely recognized among industrialized as well as developing countries that, despite the role that international financial institutions have played in supporting the adjustment and development efforts of individual countries, the present international system is not working well. If proof is still required it can easily be found in the debt problem, on the one hand, and the problem of protectionism, on the other. More and more, international trade is escaping the multilateral rules that should safeguard the interests of all countries, including the smaller among them. The need for an overhaul is pressing. The task now is to find the right technique for the job—that is, a technique that will work. New Zealand has been active in the search for an acceptable and effective procedure for dealing with the problem. New Zealand supports a comprehensive review of the trade and payments system.

40. Before I finish I want to reaffirm my faith and my country's in the United Nations. Nowadays there are many people who question the usefulness of the Organization for their own countries if not for the world at large. I am not one of them. I believe that the Charter of the United Nations is the foundation of the system of international relations under which we have all lived for nearly 40 years. I believe that the essential function of the United Nations under the Charter is to discourage the use of force by one State against another. I believe that the Organization has played a part in saving us all so far from the catastrophe of a third world war. I belong to a generation in my country which has never experienced at first hand the ravages of war in the sense of the amount of fear that war brings, and throughout my lifetime the United Nations has symbolized, as it has coexisted with a level of peace for which we yearn, the fact that multilateral arrangements can be of benefit to the human race. I believe that the United Nations has an important contribution to make towards bringing the nuclear arms race under control and freeing us from the fear of nuclear war. I believe that I and all New Zealanders and our children can rest more peacefully because of the work that is done within the United Nations, and I believe that that is true for all peoples on our Earth.

41. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of New Zealand for the important statement he has just made.

42. Mr. CLARK (Canada): It is with particular pleasure that I congratulate you, Sir, and your country, Zambia, on your election as President of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. You have worked closely with Canadians since the start of your long years of dedication to the United Nations. We also value the many links between Zambia and Canada, one of the most rewarding being our shared membership in the Commonwealth. It was an enriching experience for me to visit Zambia in 1979 for the conference of Commonwealth Heads of Government.

43. I should also like to welcome Brunei Darussalam, another fellow member of the Commonwealth, as the 159th Member of the United Nations.

44. Eight days ago the Progressive Conservative Government of Canada assumed office. It is appropriate that the first foreign policy statement outside Canada by our new Government should be here at the United Nations. Like all countries, we have urgent problems at home, and we are determined to

face them. But the basic reality of Canada is that we are open to the world; our economy responds to the international economy; our population comes from and connects with all continents and nations; the name of our capital city, Ottawa, is drawn from the Algonquin Indian word meaning "a meeting-place", and our history is that of a community where different cultures and contesting interests can meet together. Ever since we have been a sovereign nation, our Governments and our people have tried to put our talents to work for the world. We shall continue in that spirit.

45. Canada was active at the creation of the United Nations, and successive Canadian Governments, formed by different political parties, have consistently helped the Organization to meet its most difficult challenges. I come to this rostrum in the tradition of Howard Green of Canada, who struggled to achieve a partial test-ban treaty as a first step towards a comprehensive test ban; in the tradition of Lester Pearson, who inspired the concept of peace-keeping; and in the tradition of Paul Martin, who helped to end the log-jam which had prevented the admission of new Member States in the early years of the United Nations. Canadians are proud of having contributed to the solution of problems such as those.

46. In the nearly four decades since the Second World War, the international community has come to count on Canada as a moderating influence in a world beset by extremes. Our new Government is in the mainstream of this Canadian tradition and intends to build on it, consistently and pragmatically.

47. We want to ensure that we are using our influence and defining our interests in ways which reflect the contemporary challenges facing Canada and the world. As a new Government should, we shall undertake a thorough and public review of Canadian foreign policy aimed at the creative renewal of a moderate and constructive Canadian role in the world. Citizens of Canada and friends of Canada will be encouraged to suggest how the Canadian international tradition can best be applied to the increasing tensions and interdependence of the modern world, including those of the nuclear age.

48. The frightening facts of the nuclear arms race are well known. The super-Powers are developing new kinds of nuclear weapons, more countries are developing nuclear capacities, and the risk rises that terrorist groups could acquire nuclear devices. Physicians and scientists warn that even for survivors the world would be virtually uninhabitable after a major nuclear conflict. But far more threatening than the weaponry are the patterns into which the world has settled. Nuclear-arms-control negotiations between the super-Powers are at a standstill. This stalemate allows other nuclear States to claim impotence in the arms race and could encourage States without nuclear weapons to argue that they, too, have a right to acquire them.

49. If these patterns continue and the path towards effective nuclear arms control remains blocked, the world will become infinitely more dangerous.

50. We therefore welcome the meeting that will take place in Washington later this week between President Reagan and Foreign Minister Gromyko. We applaud the United States willingness, expressed so eloquently yesterday by President Reagan [*4th meeting*], to engage in political consultations on a regular and frequent basis. We hope that the Soviet Union will respond positively to this opportunity to meet and to talk.

51. On these questions, Canada's influence is limited but real. We have no corner on moral authority or technical expertise, but we do enjoy a reputation as a people who are serious about peace and skilled at mediation. Those qualities are critically important in reversing the ominous trends which threaten to unravel arms control. The essential problem today is not moral and it is not technical. Neither super-Power wants a holocaust, and human ingenuity, which can invent weapons, can devise controls. The problem is political, and this is one of the forums in which we must work together to inch the world away from nuclear devastation.

52. Some people despair of anything constructive being possible in the present state of international tension. They point to the recent lack of progress in virtually every area of arms control. The Canadian view is that something must be done and so it can be done.

53. The major decisions rest with the super-Powers, but the responsibility rests with us all. Multilateral efforts, led and encouraged by the medium-sized and smaller countries, can help improve the atmosphere and can put specific, workable ideas on the agenda.

54. Canada, for its part, is determined to continue to play a leading role in the search for peace and disarmament. We believe that the nuclear build-up threatens the life of every Canadian and that it threatens the existence of human society. Countries like our own must use their influence to reverse that build-up and reduce the danger of destruction. That will be a constant, consistent, dominant priority of Canadian foreign policy.

55. My country is not neutral in the contest between open and closed societies. We defend and we actively assert the values of democracy and individual freedom. We believe it is essential to pursue the goals of peace and freedom simultaneously.

56. We shall seek, through concrete and realistic steps, progress towards a comprehensive test-ban treaty. We shall encourage super-Power and multilateral discussion on all outer space weapons and shall commission further studies on how a space-weapons ban might be verified. We shall work for the success of the Third Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons next year, in order to prevent the horizontal proliferation of nuclear weapons. We shall bring to bear our technical expertise in verification measures to ensure mutual confidence and security in areas where arms control agreements can be achieved. We shall encourage agreement on a mutual and balanced reduction of conventional forces in Europe, and hence reduce the danger of escalation to nuclear war. We shall continue to press for a verifiable convention prohibiting the development, production, stockpiling and use of chemical weapons. Canada will continue its financial support of the World Disarmament Campaign. We shall, in addition, expect that the newly created Canadian Institute for International Peace and Security will contribute its share of studies and advice on specific arms control proposals and measures to reduce international tension.

[*The speaker continued in French.*]

57. Since we are new in office, I speak today in more general terms than I shall on future occasions. The Prime Minister, Mr. Brian Mulroney, has said

that our new Government "will play a more active role in the United Nations and its agencies".

58. Our Government is unreservedly committed to the United Nations. We value our bilateral relations with other countries and our role in such associations as the Commonwealth and *La Francophonie*. These links are important, but they are not enough. Whether medium-sized Powers or smaller countries, we all need effective international institutions so that our voices may be heard in the world and so that we may face together the huge political and economic problems of our century. A dynamic and responsive United Nations system is essential for countries such as Canada—but also for the super-Powers. It is precisely because more communities adopt an introspective attitude that we must strengthen the world institutions that bring us together.

59. In his reports on the work of the Organization over the past three years, the Secretary-General has tried to make us face up to our responsibilities as Member States. In his most recent report [*A/39/1*] he asks this:

> "Why has there been a retreat from internationalism and multilateralism at a time when actual developments both in relation to world peace and to the world economy would seem to demand their strengthening?"

60. When are we going to start to answer his disquieting questions? Let us hope that it will not take a major disaster to jolt us out of our inertia.

61. The eve of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations is a fitting occasion for each Member State to examine its commitment to the Charter of the United Nations. This anniversary must be marked by a renewal of commitments for the future, not merely by a celebration of the past.

62. It is not enough to reaffirm our adherence to the Charter. Member States must work together actively to strengthen the United Nations system. The Secretary-General has expressed the hope that in each of our countries our best talents will be put to this task. Let us take up this challenge and establish the guidelines for this work.

63. An unprecedented conference of 35 leading Canadians, sponsored by the United Nations Association in Canada, will take place on 26 October at Ottawa to launch a review of ways to strengthen the United Nations. The Prime Minister, Mr. Mulroney, and the Government intend also to ask Canadian parliamentarians to study this question and present formal recommendations.

64. How can we translate the results of this soul-searching in each of our countries into collective action to strengthen the United Nations system in concrete ways?

65. We should consider at this session, as a priority issue, how we, the "friends of the United Nations", can identify and give effect to practical measures to strengthen the United Nations system.

[*The speaker resumed in English.*]

66. Any analysis of what is needed to strengthen the United Nations system must be based upon a realistic assessment of what has gone right and what has gone wrong.

67. The first thing that has gone wrong is that the Security Council has become increasingly ineffective. We all recognize that the Council does not operate in a vacuum. It will continue to mirror world tensions. But deteriorating relationships between its permanent members must not be allowed to immobilize the Council. We must immunize the Council to the extent that no matter what the crisis and whatever the state of relations among its members their representatives will continue to talk.

68. Last year the members of the Security Council held a series of private meetings to discuss how to improve the effectiveness of the Council. But that exercise appears to have run out of steam. Even ideas which appear uncontroversial on the surface seem to have been ignored. Why, for example, cannot the members of the Council agree to hold regular sessions *in camera*, with the Secretary-General present, to review the Council's and the Secretary-General's roles in facilitating the solution of current, incipient or potential disputes? A reluctance to talk is no excuse. The Council, at least behind the scenes, must function as a multilateral hot-line.

69. A second failing is that we have not lived up to our own responsibilities as States Members of the United Nations. We have expected the Secretary-General to fill the vacuum, without giving him adequate political support to do the job. We must allow the Secretary-General a greater margin of initiative and a greater independence of action. He has been able on his own to take action in some areas of United Nations activity. He has, for example, made a promising start in improving the management of the limited financial and human resources of the Organization. He has used a period of budgetary restraint to begin to weed out lower-priority activities. The Secretary-General has also been exerting a positive influence on many intractable international problems. But we must provide him with more political backing. He should be allowed and encouraged to increase his fact-finding capacity and his ability to exercise his good offices in particular situations.

70. A third thing that has gone wrong is that too much valuable time and resources are being wasted throughout the United Nations system on extraneous political issues. We all accept the fact that the Security Council and the General Assembly are political forums, but even here we should avoid the repetition of sterile political debates, the proliferation of resolutions on the same topic and the scheduling of redundant conferences and meetings.

71. We must also resist the over-politicization that is increasingly infecting the technical parts of the United Nations system, which are neither mandated nor equipped to handle such issues. It is naive to expect that a certain number of heated political issues will not be raised. However, it becomes debilitating when political issues begin to frustrate the normal give and take between groups in working out consensus on the essential activities of United Nations organizations. UNESCO, for example, has been a serious offender in recent years. We must step up the momentum to bring UNESCO back into balance.

72. We must not permit challenges to the universality of membership to undermine the continued viability of the system. Israel, for example, must retain its right of membership in the United Nations family of organizations. The Republic of Korea deserves full membership in the United Nations.

73. We must not, of course, allow any analysis of the things that have gone wrong to obscure the many

things that have gone right within the United Nations system. We often take for granted the many parts of the system which are continuing to function well. I shall cite only a few examples.

74. First, most of the United Nations specialized agencies are continuing to carry out their mandates with distinction and with dedication. ICAO, as a case in point, was able last spring to approve unanimously an amendment to its Constitution to make even clearer the existing prohibition against using force against civil aircraft.

75. Secondly, in human rights the distance still to go and the double standards still at play cannot obscure the step-by-step progress which has been made. All those who cherish human rights have been heartened by the election of a Government of Argentina committed to the restoration of human rights. Canada hopes that at this session of the General Assembly the next important international milestone in human rights will be passed by the adoption of the draft convention against torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.[3] We must send a message to the world that torture is unacceptable to civilized nations.

76. Thirdly, the United Nations development activities and humanitarian assistance continue to be irreplaceable. In 1984, UNDP will generate about $1 billion in technical assistance to developing countries, using the parts of the United Nations system as executing agencies. UNICEF makes a vital contribution to meeting the development and humanitarian needs of mothers and of children. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and UNRWA co-ordinate essential humanitarian assistance to refugees.

77. Fourthly, the United Nations system is also helping to focus upon the most persistent social issues facing society. The designation by the United Nations of 1985 as International Youth Year has encouraged many countries such as Canada to develop a comprehensive national programme in this field. The International Conference on Population, held at Mexico City from 6 to 14 August 1984, has strengthened the momentum generated on population issues over the last decade and identified emerging problems of global concern. The World Conference to Review and Appraise the Achievements of the United Nations Decade for Women, to be held at Nairobi next July, will provide an opportunity to develop forward-looking strategies to stimulate positive changes in the lives of women.

78. Fifthly, under the auspices of the United Nations system, positive and often innovative legal régimes have been established in such critical fields as the law of the sea, trade, outer space, civil aviation, telecommunications and the environment. The progressive extension of the rule of law is fundamental to the whole multilateral system.

79. The record is much less positive in the area of peace and security. We can do more to make creative use of the machinery under the Charter of the United Nations to facilitate the peaceful settlement of specific disputes.

80. My Government wants the independence, sovereignty and genuine non-alignment of Afghanistan restored and foreign forces withdrawn from that battered country. We support the continued efforts of the Secretary-General and his Personal Representative to accomplish this.

81. We support the countries members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations [*ASEAN*] in their efforts to bring peace to the unfortunate country of Kampuchea, which continues to be occupied unlawfully.

82. Canada regrets the extention to Central America of East-West confrontation and the related militarization of the area. We applaud the initiative, skill and tenacity of the countries of the Contadora Group in their efforts to build a framework of reconciliation in the spirit of the Charter. We also welcome the opening of a direct dialogue between the United States and Nicaragua.

83. We need a negotiated settlement to end the suffering and destruction of the war between Iran and Iraq. We support the Secretary-General in building upon his recent success in obtaining the agreement of the belligerents to cease attacks on civilian population centres. His sending of a team to investigate allegations of the use of chemical weapons was also a useful action.

84. Canada hopes that the current efforts of the Government of Lebanon to restore peace and stability in that tragic country will be rewarded. We support Lebanon's territorial integrity and maintain that all foreign troops should withdraw unless present at the request of the Lebanese Government. Canadians have been appalled by the latest act of terrorism in which so many people were killed and wounded at the United States Embassy in Beirut.

85. We strongly support a just and comprehensive solution to the Arab-Israeli dispute based on Security Council resolution 242 (1967), which provides for the right of all States, including Israel, to live within secure and recognized boundaries. We also support the realization of the legitimate rights of the Palestinians, including their right to a homeland within a clearly defined territory, the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

86. We should remind ourselves that United Nations peace-keeping forces and observer missions continue to be essential in a number of troubled areas of the world. All Member States have a responsibility to contribute to the support of these operations. In particular, we ask Member States to respond positively to the appeal by the Secretary-General for additional voluntary contributions to UNFICYP. While peace-keeping forces can help to reduce the risk of open conflict, lasting peace can be achieved only through reasonable political compromise. In that spirit, we applaud the constructive participation of the leaders of the two Cypriot communities in the proximity talks held during the last two weeks under the auspices of the Secretary-General. We welcome the announced renewal of those exchanges next month, and we urge the parties to seize this opportunity for progress towards a just and lasting settlement.

87. We are all painfully aware that political and economic forces now at play in the global environment are interrelated. It is worth asking: What is the record of the multilateral system on the economic front?

88. The debt crisis has severely afflicted many developing countries. The effects of severe indebtedness on the economic prospects of so many developing countries, on the well-being of their peoples and on the health of the international financial system as a whole must remain a major

14

preoccupation of the international community. Continued efforts will be required by the industrialized countries to ensure that the recovery strengthens and persists and spreads to all countries, developed and developing alike.

89. Canada will support expanding multilateral efforts to stabilize the debt situation, in line with the decision of major industrialized countries, at the London Economic Summit, held from 7 to 9 June 1984, to confirm their strategy on debt and to implement and develop it flexibly case by case. The Commonwealth, too, has been doing important work in this area. My colleague, the Minister of Finance of Canada, was invited by Commonwealth Finance Ministers, at Toronto last week, to recommend to this week's annual meeting of the World Bank and the IMF that issues of special importance to developing countries, including debt, be placed on the agenda of the next meeting of the Development Committee. I am encouraged by the agreement of the Interim and Development Committees, in Washington over the weekend, to devote special attention at their meetings next spring to such matters as debt, adjustment and financial flows in the medium-term perspective.

90. The courageous adjustment efforts of many developing countries must be continued, but it is also important that adequate financing be provided by the international community. In this respect, the important role that could be played by private investment should not be overlooked.

91. As a country heavily dependent on foreign trade and foreign investment, my Government is pledged to maintain close co-operation with its economic partners and to uphold the principles of the open and just multilateral system under which all countries, developed and developing, can prosper. Effective multilateral institutions are essential to prevent parochial responses to economic problems that require common action.

92. National and international action will be needed to stem protectionist tendencies, which are still strong and could threaten trade prospects. The major Western industrialized countries rededicated themselves at the London Economic Summit to resist protectionist pressures and to accelerate the work programme of GATT. Our collective ability to fulfil these pledges and to move towards a new round of multilateral trade negotiations will be critical in halting the erosion of the open trading system and ensuring that trade shall continue to be one of the motors of growth in the world economy. Developing countries, as well, must play their full role in this process.

93. Meanwhile, there are the urgent questions of human suffering that must be addressed. Our new Government intends to maintain Canada's commitment to reach by 1990 the target of 0.7 per cent of the gross national product in official development assistance. Despite serious economic problems at home, we shall not turn our backs on the world's disadvantaged peoples. A greater share of our aid budget will be spent by non-governmental organizations, which have proved their effectiveness in community development programmes.

94. The record of the international community on economic issues is one of achievement, although it is far from perfect. We must ensure that the specialized institutions that we have created shall prove capable of coping with current and future challenges. There is growing support for a pragmatic, issue-oriented approach. Organizations such as the IMF/World Bank, GATT, UNCTAD and others which have specific mandates within the multilateral system are being encouraged to get on with their jobs with a renewed sense of commitment and co-operation.

95. As the Secretary-General has emphasized, nowhere is human need greater today than in Africa, where many countries face drought and starvation. The problem of refugees remains of special concern there. So do the debt and balance-of-payments problems. This year Canada is devoting over 40 per cent of bilateral aid to Africa. We have sharply increased our food allocations and raised our contributions to humanitarian relief organizations.

96. The struggle for freedom and equality in southern Africa is also our common cause. Canada joined with other Commonwealth countries in adopting the 1979 Lusaka Declaration of the Commonwealth on Racism and Racial Prejudice. We stand by that Declaration, which reflects our commitment to work for the eradication of the evil of racism. We reject policies designed to perpetuate *apartheid* and continue racial discrimination.

97. We are also grieved that the people of Namibia are still denied their independence after a century of colonial rule. South Africa must set a date to implement Namibia's independence under Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

98. I speak here today as a Foreign Minister conscious of the frustrations of the United Nations and the limits on its actions. But I first encountered the United Nations as an idea, not an institution—an idea that reached into the comfortable corner of the world where I was born, let me know that famine and war and disease were part of daily life in most of the world, and gave me hope that there was a way we could fight those evils. Viewed from that perspective, the United Nations can be judged not by volumes of repetitive debates but by the millions of children who are fed and clothed and are living; the wars that were averted or limited or postponed; the hundreds of millions of human lives that have been protected or improved because the idea of the United Nations connects people who can help with people who need help.

99. The idea of the United Nations is as important now as at any time in our history. It forces the comfortable out of complacency. It lifts the desperate beyond despair. It allows today's frustrations to be seen in the light of four decades of lives improved, conflicts reduced, perspectives enlarged.

100. Support for the United Nations must be based on a clear-sighted view of current realities. When we list the things that have gone wrong with the United Nations, we should not forget the things that have gone right, and when we rejoice in the things that have gone right, we often underestimate the political and economic problems that lie ahead. We must avoid the trap of blaming the United Nations for our own sins and omissions. If we collectively are unable to revitalize the United Nations system, we shall have to resign ourselves to watching it wither away. That must not happen.

101. The year 1985, the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, can be a turning-point in the life of the Organization. A broad coalition of "friends of the United Nations" must join forces to renew the

effectiveness of global institutions. My Government will do its utmost, working with other States and with the Secretary-General, to make these institutions flourish. This is the fortieth birthday present our peoples deserve. Let us prove that life begins at forty.

102. Last week in Canada, Pope John Paul II called for "a new vision of humanity" to inspire nations and individuals in the pursuit of peace and well-being for all. He asked Canadians to do more. Let us all do more.

103. Mr. TINDEMANS (Belgium) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, I would like to begin by conveying to you the congratulations of the Government of Belgium on your election to the presidency of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly and expressing our wishes for success in the fulfilment of this most prestigious and essential task.

104. My country is delighted that a person of your stature has been chosen for this high office. It views this as an assurance of the success of our work. Furthermore, Belgium is happy to see a representative of a region of the world to which it attaches a very special interest chairing the General Assembly of an institution which, as underlined by the Secretary-General in his report on the work of the Organization [*A/39/1*], constitutes the embodiment of multilateralism itself.

105. Allow me also to take this opportunity to thank your predecessor, Mr. Illueca, for the manner in which he guided the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly and for the positive contribution he thus made to the Organization.

106. The universal character of the United Nations unquestionably remains one of its most important features. Its task, which is to receive into its fold all the States of the world on an equal footing, with respect for the sovereignty of each, is essential to its mission of peace. I am therefore happy to greet the arrival of a new member, Brunei Darussalam. I assure it of our intention to maintain with it relations of meaningful co-operation and friendship.

107. I wish to recall with emotion one of our late colleagues, Mr. Lee Bum-Suk, former Foreign Minister of the Republic of Korea. A year ago Mr. Lee led the delegation of observers of the Republic of Korea to the General Assembly. A week later, he fell victim, with other Korean leaders, to a repugnant political crime. I express the admiration of the Belgian people and Government for the moderation and self-restraint with which the leaders of the Republic of Korea reacted to this assault, refusing to respond to violence with violence.

108. This tragedy underscores more than ever how imperative it is to find, without delay, a peaceful and democratic solution to the question of the reunification of the Korean peninsula. Belgium shares the opinion of the Republic of Korea that any negotiation in this respect must begin with a dialogue between the two parts of Korea, a dialogue aimed at restoring confidence between them, which is indispensable.

109. While we await this reunification, Belgium declares itself in favour of the simultaneous entry of both Koreas into the United Nations. A decision to this effect could contribute to easing the tension in the peninsula and would also be in conformity with the principle of universality of the United Nations, a principle which we uphold.

110. This year Belgium had the privilege of welcoming the Secretary-General. I express our gratitude to him for this visit and our appreciation of his untiring efforts for world peace and security. The talks I had with him enabled me to understand better his dedication to his duties and his personal commitment to the best performance of his tasks. We think particularly of the consultations he is holding to bring about the necessary conditions for a peaceful settlement of the question of Cyprus.

111. I read the Secretary-General's report this year with the utmost attention, just as I did his two preceding ones. Similarly, I took note with great interest of his statements in other forums—particularly two speeches he delivered last May, one to the Brookings Institution and the United Nations Association of the United States of America and the other at the John Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies. I want him to know how much his analysis of the crisis of multilateralism impressed me and how much I admire the opinion he expressed, as the highest official of the United Nations, on this crisis and its consequences.

112. What the Secretary-General said reminded me of the words of one of my predecessors, Paul-Henri Spaak, who in 1946, as you know, was the first President of the General Assembly. Even before assuming this post he made clear at San Francisco how he viewed the work of the Organization, declaring:

> "Everybody today stresses the necessary solidarity that ought to manifest itself in time of war, and one is right to do so. But this solidarity would probably become unnecessary if the peoples understood more clearly that they must help one another in times of peace.
>
> "From a strategic point of view, there are no more frontiers. When war breaks out in one part of the world, it does not take long to devastate the whole world. That is the terrible vision that is presented to us to remind us from time to time, since we tend to forget it, that we are all dependent on one another.
>
> "But why do we wait for war to become conscious of this reality? It also exists—as much, and perhaps even more—in times of peace. It is fine to be united to achieve victory, but it would be even better, much more effective and less costly to be united to build a better world.
>
> "One cannot limit oneself to drafting texts for use only when the situation becomes serious. I wish that we could build something that would become part of our daily life, of our daily concerns, something that would not only come to mind when the spectre of war threatened us but would help us to respond effectively to the disturbing questions that will be posed by the economic and social organization of the world.
>
> "I should like the international organization that will result from our work not only to tell us how we may avert war and how to win it if, despite everything, it breaks out, but also to give us the means to ensure peace by giving men the chance to live with employment and in happiness."

113. The Secretary-General expresses the same concern when he calls in his report for the firm establishment of the three main elements of a stable international order: an accepted system of maintaining international peace and security; disarmament

and arms limitation; and the progressive development of a just and effective system of international economic relations. I wish him to know that we share his views and that he has our full support.

114. My colleague, Mr. Barry, current President of the Council of Ministers of the 10 member countries of the European Communities, has accurately expressed their views from this rostrum [*6th meeting*], for which I thank him. I recognize Belgium's own opinions in the ones he expressed and in the survey he made of an international situation that is more disquieting than ever. I can therefore concentrate on just a few subjects.

115. First, however, I should like to stress, as did Mr. Barry, the importance my country attaches to the planned meeting between the Foreign Ministers of the countries of Central America and the Contadora Group, on the one hand, and of the Ten, accompanied by the European Communities Commission, and Spain and Portugal, on the other. This meeting, which will take place in a few days, will enable representatives of States linked by history and culture to consider the problems of a region torn by a crisis rooted in political, economic and social problems. We hope that this meeting will bring about a new kind of co-operation which will lead to peace, economic recovery and social progress.

116. Rereading the statements I had the honour to make in the past two years to the General Assembly, I found that both covered subjects related to security and disarmament, the reduction of tension, and peace. My predecessors had already deemed these problems sufficiently important to dedicate most of their attention to them, as did the majority of my colleagues at this rostrum.

117. Is not that normal? Is not the pursuit of peace and the means to ensure or preserve it the prime objective of the United Nations and the foremost duty of the international community? The United Nations even dedicated two special sessions of the General Assembly to disarmament, in the work of which we placed great expectations. Unfortunately, crises have continued to cause upheavals in certain regions of the world and are all the more disturbing since they are set against a backdrop of regrettable tensions in East-West relations.

118. Indeed, far from having narrowed, the division between the Western countries and those of the Warsaw Pact seems to have widened, the arms control negotiations are stalled or have been interrupted, and the political dialogue itself seems to be in deadlock, to such an extent that some political commentators do not hesitate to call 1984 "the lost year".

119. In fact, 1984 seems not to have borne fruit with respect to disarmament, and even to détente, but it has not been completely lost for peace, and we should beware of an excessive and unreasonable pessimism, for a number of reasons.

120. I cannot help but feel that the most serious threats to peace lie in imbalances and errors of judgement. Undoubtedly, nuclear weapons have such a terrifyingly destructive power that no side could hope to win a nuclear conflict it might have started; but, precisely for that reason, should we not admit that this formidable weapon is a powerful deterrent?

121. The danger of a nuclear conflict would be greatest precisely if one of the potential adversaries were to stop viewing the atomic weapon as unacceptable and were to consider it as a weapon "like all others"—that is, a weapon which would enable it to wage and to win a war—and if, through misreading or miscalculation, it felt itself to be in a position to subject its enemy to a nuclear blaze without fear of retaliation. Hence, risks are due far more to imbalances and errors of judgement than to an increase in armaments. I think, therefore, that it is the upsetting of the balanced equilibrium which fosters the arms race, and not the reverse.

122. In this context I should like to take this opportunity, in my capacity of Minister for Foreign Affairs of a member State of the Atlantic Alliance, to reaffirm emphatically two fundamental elements of the doctrine of the Alliance: first, that the strategy of the Alliance is not to "wage war" or even to "win a war", but indeed to see that war never breaks out; and, further, that none of our weapons will ever be used except to react against aggression.

123. I should like to add that while taking the necessary steps to maintain and, where needed, restore this balance, essential to security and peace, Belgium and its allies have taken measures to avoid an arms race: indeed, they have twice decided to cut down their nuclear arsenals and resolved to reduce those arsenals by one nuclear warhead for each intermediate-range missile deployed. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization [*NATO*] has also adopted the doctrine that "only the minimum number of those forces necessary to support NATO's agreed strategy of deterrence and defence should be retained".

124. Indeed, although balance seems to us indispensable, it does not follow that such balance must necessarily be at the present level. On the contrary, Belgium, like its allies, favours a balance at the lowest possible level, and that applies equally to conventional and to nuclear weapons. It is precisely for that reason that we are wedded to the Vienna Talks on Mutual Reduction of Forces, Armaments and Associated Measures in Central Europe, as well as to all other negotiations likely to bring about reductions in the level of armaments without affecting the security of each country concerned.

125. We have pointed out that this will not be an easy task. Thus, we advocate the view that we should set ourselves to developing measures of confidence and security conducive to stimulating a climate in which negotiations having a more specific bearing on the reduction of armaments will stand a better chance of bearing fruit. Our efforts at the Conference on Confidence- and Security-building Measures and Disarmament in Europe, at Stockholm, have no other intent.

126. Another reason for not indulging in excessive pessimism is precisely the willingness of the Atlantic Alliance to enter into negotiations at any moment and without pre-conditions. This overture has unfortunately not so far met with any response from the leaders of the Warsaw Pact nations. I want to believe that those leaders will come to realize how sterile such an attitude can be and that they will bring themselves to grasp the hand we hold out to them.

127. Finally, we are now on the eve of the Third Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, and I cherish the hope that for the greater well-being of the whole international community this exercise will be fruitful. The Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of

Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*] has been a success so far as limiting horizontal proliferation goes. Unfortunately, the results have not been equally convincing with regard to the limitation of vertical proliferation. If some progress could be made in that regard also, the chances of success of the Third Review Conference would be enhanced.

128. My intention is not to minimize the importance of the present crisis but only to put it back in its right perspective. The situation is perhaps not as alarming as some would claim, but it is worrying in more ways than one. First of all, we see the dynamics of overbidding, along with mounting tensions and a correspondingly diminishing confidence, taking root. Further, it has to be recognized that the increase in military budgets deprives the developing nations of necessary, indeed vital, aid. These expenditures also weigh very heavily on our own economies in these days of budgetary restrictions.

129. There are thus enough good reasons for wanting to reverse the present course of events without having to invoke bad ones. What makes us want to say "Enough!" to arms development is the waste that such development implies, the responsibility of the developed countries towards those not yet sufficiently developed, and the danger of nuclear proliferation.

130. We should not deceive ourselves, however. It will not be easy to retie the broken thread of negotiation. Too much emotion has entered into play; too much confidence has been undermined. We shall nevertheless have to overcome distrust, to rise above disappointment and to resume the dialogue. There is no alternative.

131. In the present state of affairs it is undoubtedly imperative to make every effort to achieve substantive progress in the near future at the most important negotiating tables which are still operating at Geneva, Stockholm and Vienna. The prospects of resuming negotiations on intermediate-range nuclear forces or the strategic arms reduction talks have not so far materialized, though we pray most fervently for such resumption. The hope of seeing an early start of discussions on the demilitarization of space has not yet materialized either.

132. We thus note with the utmost regret that practically all the established channels of discussion between East and West are blocked. For Belgium, it is not the venue which is essential: what is essential is that negotiations resume and be brought to a successful conclusion.

133. Perhaps we shall have to start from new, more realistic and, for the present, less ambitious bases, but our goal will always remain the same, that is, to turn Europe into an area of peace and security, based on respect for freedom and for the legal and humanitarian principles that must govern the relations between States and peoples.

134. Belgium, for one, has always considered that this ongoing dialogue is essential to the restoration of confidence but that it is not enough. We should not limit our contacts to the political issues alone; we must encourage the development of sound economic relations on realistic and mutually beneficial bases. Cultural, technological and scientific relations also have an essential role to play in bringing closer together individuals and communities across borders.

135. I am convinced that through patience and perseverance and by keeping in mind clear goals we shall in the end fulfil the true ideals of the Helsinki Final Act,[4] in which we had placed so much hope.

136. As the representative of a European country, I beseech all other countries of that continent to transcend the atmosphere of mistrust which in 1984 has rendered too many discussions fruitless, in order once again to take the path of negotiations. This will undoubtedly not be easy, but let us by all means take the path of dialogue, step by step, towards a horizon which will gradually grow ever wider.

137. By its tone, its philosophy and the proposals it contained, the statement made yesterday before the Assembly by the President of the United States [*4th meeting*] constitutes, to my mind, a positive contribution to the early resumption of this indispensable dialogue. Such dialogue is important not only for the countries of the Warsaw Pact and for those of the Atlantic Alliance but for the whole world, for the East-West tension does not affect only those States which play a direct part in it. In fact, it hampers, sometimes greatly, international relations as a whole. It weighs heavily on the work of the United Nations, making its action in the service of peace and development even more difficult. The President of the Council of Ministers of the 10 member countries of the European Communities has stressed this in a truly remarkable fashion in his statement [*6th meeting*]. Is it not true that this tension also often lends an additional dimension to local conflicts which, by broadening them, exacerbates them and makes them more difficult to solve?

138. My Government, which respects the sovereignty and independence of States as well as genuine non-alignment, has indeed always expressed the desire that the utmost care be taken to avoid involving other continents in the ideological and political differences which may develop between East and West and, in this context, not to bring division to those continents.

139. For example, two of the principles on which my Government bases its African policy are: first, that our country will strive to prevent the involvement of Africa and the African countries against their will in clashes between blocs and major Powers; and secondly, that it will endeavour to prevent anything that might contribute to the division and weakening of the African continent and will, rather, strive to promote inter-African co-operation.

140. The resumption of the North-South dialogue is imperative at all costs and should provide the effort required to combat the economic crisis which affects us all.

141. Belgium, like most other industrialized nations, is suffering particularly from unemployment, which is a source of anxiety for a large portion of our population. This makes wide-ranging industrial readaptation indispensable.

142. However, the economic crisis affects even more seriously the least favoured nations. Undoubtedly, some signs of economic recovery have been evident for some time, but so far it has had only a very limited effect on the industrialized world and even less on the developing countries.

143. The considerable indebtedness of many States seriously jeopardizes their development efforts even though some of them have faced this burden courageously and, with the help of the IMF, have at least

begun to find some solutions. Famine continues its devastation, and for some among us it is the question no longer of development but of simple survival.

144. In a world of ever-increasing economic interdependence, the international economic situation concerns us all directly. No matter which continent we belong to, what stage of development we have reached or what our political and ideological options may be, it is in our interest, just as it is our duty, to work together to find solutions to these acute problems, which weigh heavily, if perhaps unequally, on each one of us.

145. What do we see? The global negotiations are at present deadlocked. Proof of this is the fact that the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held at Belgrade from 6 June to 2 July 1983, and the Fourth General Conference of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization, held at Vienna from 2 to 19 August 1984, have disappointed us in many ways. Even if the International Conference on Population, held at Mexico City from 6 to 14 August 1984, produced certain results, we cannot affirm that the North-South dialogue, in which we had placed so much hope, has had all the expected results.

146. What then can we do? I sincerely believe that we must, in spite of everything, strengthen the North-South dialogue, but we must realize that this dialogue can only be successful if it leads to balanced commitments. I am convinced that it is by heading in this direction that genuine progress can be made.

147. Belgium appeals urgently to the United Nations and in particular to its specialized agencies to spare no effort and to use all the means at their disposal to fight the scourge of recession and its consequences. Millions of men and women expect the international community to translate into action, under United Nations guidance, the commitments accepted under its Charter.

148. In this spirit, Belgium advocates an agreement between the European monetary zone and the zones of the yen and the dollar. This should result in a more stable basis for the world economy and a climate of increased confidence.

149. Furthermore, Belgium believes that everything possible must be done to find speedy solutions to the problems of the indebtedness of the developing countries. We consider this to be an indispensable condition of the recovery of the international economy and the improvement of North-South relations.

150. We cannot afford to despair. Recent experience proves that when our States are challenged by a situation in which man, his dignity and his life are at stake, they can surmount their different interests and their political differences to decide on and put into effect together the practical means required by the situation. I am thinking of the Second International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa, held at Geneva from 9 to 11 July 1984. I have rarely seen an international conference inspired by such sense of human solidarity.

151. From the outset, the countries participating in that Conference recognized that the problem of refugees in Africa is the concern of all, for it is the common responsibility of all nations, even if, regrettably, some States chose to remain aloof from this great movement of international solidarity. On the one hand, the African Governments clearly reaffirmed their commitment to do everything in their power to find lasting solutions for often painful human problems. On the other hand, donor Governments, which offer their financial assistance, committed themselves to working hand in hand with the African countries to support such solutions and to bear the often heavy cost of the infrastructure which the reception and repatriation of refugees implies for the countries concerned. The international development organizations, for their part, said that they are ready to co-operate fully in this undertaking.

152. It is not surprising, therefore, that this spirit, marked by positive and constructive determination and humanitarian concern, enabled the Conference to culminate in the adoption by consensus of a Declaration and Programme of Action [*A/39/402, annex*]. These documents are clear and reflect very well indeed the will that inspired all the countries represented, since they demonstrate the commitment of all to work together, in close solidarity, sharing the burdens, on the basis of a strategy designed to bring about a lasting solution to the refugee problem in Africa.

153. Moreover, the Conference stressed the vital importance of the complementarity of aid to refugees and development aid. The commitment to give concrete expression to this correlation was one of the substantive achievements of the Conference. Emergency aid and assistance are major aspects of this correlation and must continue. The efforts of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to promote long-term solutions through voluntary repatriation—the most desirable solution, since it goes right to the heart of the refugee problem—and through settlement programmes have proved correct. All these efforts must also be continued. But to ensure these solutions, it is necessary to integrate the projects relating to refugees within the development process. The Conference clearly confirmed this principle.

154. It thus took its place within the general framework of North-South relations and proved that substantial progress is possible within this context as long as there is the will and the realism.

155. I firmly believe that if the Second International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa achieved such success it was because its participants put the determination to save lives above all else, for it was for humanity that the United Nations was created—to save mankind from war, protect it from oppression, free it from poverty and hunger.

156. Every time that this is remembered, the actions of the United Nations have been crowned with success, a success which the Secretary-General points to in his report. Each time it is forgotten, the Organization has failed.

157. It is time, on the eve of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, that we remember this.

158. It is, moreover, what the Secretary-General asked for in the statement he made on 31 May 1984 before the Preparatory Committee for the Fortieth Anniversary of the United Nations. He said that the anniversary should be an occasion for the world community to

> "speak out frankly and with a full sense of responsibility towards the entire human family and its planetary home, about the shortcomings of Member States and of this Organization to fulfil such vital purposes as the consolidation of peace

> and security, disarmament, economic development and the promotion of human rights".

He went on to say that

> "a firm recommitment by all Member States to their obligations under the Charter and its fundamental purposes . . . needs to be expressed not so much through ceremony and in words as in policies and actions. A renewal of faith in the Organization is absolutely necessary to the future of the global community."

159. That is a proposition to which Belgium, for one, intends to make a contribution, and it wishes to do so in the closest co-operation with each and every one of its fellow Member States in the Organization.

160. May this fortieth anniversary offer us the opportunity to ensure that elements that unite us prevail over those that divide us. Let us try to remember the tragedy of the Second World War, the state of the world at the end of that conflict, our desire that such a calamity should never happen again, and our decision to create, to that end, the organization which became the United Nations. After the tragic failure of the League of Nations, the hopes of humanity were transferred to an organization which would be universal and would be able to ensure collective security once and for all, tackle fundamental economic issues and reaffirm the basic rights of every human being. Let us recall the extraordinary surge of hope to which the birth of the United Nations gave rise in our people from all walks of life. Let us try from now on to fulfil that hope and let us learn from our failures.

161. A poet of my country, Emile Verhaeren, once sang the epic of a century-old tree, evoking the ordeals by which its growth had been marked from season to season; but he concluded:

> "Its energy, however,
> Never failed
> One single moment.
> It wished, unwaveringly, its life
> To expand and be more beautiful
> In every spring."

That is my wish for the United Nations on the eve of its fortieth anniversary.

162. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations His Royal Highness Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, President of Democratic Kampuchea, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

163. Prince NORODOM SIHANOUK (Democratic Kampuchea) (*interpretation from French*): First of all, I wish to extend my cordial greetings to all delegations which are concerned about the tragic fate of the Khmer people and which are now attending this meeting of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. The steadfastness and energy with which so many nations have for many years supported the just cause of Democratic Kampuchea, which has been invaded, occupied, plundered and half-colonized by an imperialist, annexationist foreign Power, represent for all the patriots of Kampuchea invaluable encouragement in their struggle for independence and freedom.

164. Mr. President, your noteworthy election to guide the proceedings of this session of the General Assembly is a well-deserved tribute to your well-known ability and your outstanding work as President of the United Nations Council for Namibia. It is also, through you, a tribute to your valiant country, Zambia, which, under the successful leadership of President Kenneth Kaunda, has been carrying out courageous action on the front line against racism and *apartheid* and for the independence of Africa.

165. I should like, on behalf of the delegation of Democratic Kampuchea, to address to you our warmest congratulations and best wishes for success in your important and difficult duties. I wish also to express our sincere and profound gratitude to the outgoing President, Mr. Jorge Illueca, who conducted our work with great wisdom and efficiency.

166. I should like, further, to express to the Secretary-General our profound esteem and deep appreciation for his tireless efforts to ease the tensions which have arisen in various parts of the world and his continuing work in the interest of security, justice and peace, which are primary objectives of the Charter of the United Nations. The Secretary-General has demonstrated on many occasions his impartiality, skill and courage. The Organization, to which he does credit, is greatly indebted to him.

167. It is a great pleasure for me, on behalf of the Coalition Government and the people of Democratic Kampuchea, to welcome the admission of Brunei Darussalam to the United Nations. Its accession to independence, its membership in ASEAN and the general esteem it enjoys enable it to make a valuable contribution to the maintenance of peace and security in that region of the world and in the Pacific. We wish its eminent sovereign, Sultan Hassanal Bolkiah, and the people of Brunei peace, happiness and prosperity, and we assure them of our determination to develop ties of friendship and co-operation between our two peoples, our two nations and our two Governments.

168. Finally, it is my duty and my privilege, on behalf of my Government and our people, to pay a warm tribute and offer heartfelt thanks to all the countries that have given shelter to Khmer refugees. First among these is the Kingdom of Thailand, which since the early days of our misfortunes has generously opened its borders to hundreds of thousands of our compatriots who have sought refuge on its territory. Many of them later found other countries of asylum, but Thailand is still housing about a hundred thousand of them and at present is receiving groups of hundreds of fugitives who have fled from zones controlled by the enemy. The protection accorded by the Kingdom of Thailand to our refugees is not only costly to it but also dangerous sometimes, when Vietnamese forces infiltrate its territory or bomb it. That neighbouring Kingdom has shown us exemplary compassion and solidarity, thereby winning our undying gratitude.

169. I should like also to thank the many more-distant nations which have given asylum and assistance to tens of thousands of Khmer refugees, enabling them to build, often with their families, decent and peaceful new lives. We owe undying gratitude to those nations which took pity on our unfortunate people and treated as brothers all those who sought refuge in their territories.

170. Many countries, Governments and peoples, international bodies, associations, groups and even private individuals have given our people humanitarian aid which is greatly appreciated. Others have given us essential diplomatic and material assistance in our struggle for national liberation. On behalf of

the Government and people of Democratic Kampuchea, I wish to express my deepest gratitude to all those great and generous friends of Cambodia.

171. This year, our liberation struggle has scored new successes in the battlefield. Since the beginning of the last dry season, our armed forces have increased their activities and intensified their attacks in the centre of the country, particularly in the provinces surrounding the Tonlé Sap (the Great Lake), a region of great strategic and economic importance. It is, in fact, a junction of railways, roads and waterways, whereby the enemy supplies its units stationed in the north-west and the west, near the border of Thailand. Our resistance forces have waged fierce battles, harassing the enemy and destroying many depots of military supplies, up to the heart of the provincial towns of Battambang, Siem Reap, Kompong Thom and Pursat.

172. As a result of our constant attacks on the railway lines and roads, up to Tonlé Sap, more than two thirds of the enemy supply convoys have been dispersed or destroyed. A large part of the "rice granary" of Battambang province has been freed from Vietnamese control, causing serious supply problems for the occupying forces and reducing almost to nothing the rice levy that they have tried to charge in order to benefit Viet Nam itself, whose economic difficulties, as is well known, are considerable.

173. Viet Nam had thought that it had found a solution to its set-backs by carrying out the large-scale installation of Vietnamese "peasant soldiers" on the best lands of Kampuchea. Foreign observers who managed to visit the so-called People's Kampuchea led by the puppet team of Mr. Heng Samrin, under tighter and tighter control of Hanoi's cadres, have reported that the process of pure and simple colonization of Cambodia has reached a very alarming degree.

174. It has been reported by reliable witnesses that almost half of the inhabitants of our capital, Phnom Penh, are now Vietnamese and that, in some regions under Vietnamese control, the occupiers have established purely Vietnamese zones in which most of the "settlers" are armed and participate in suppressing the resistance activities of the Khmer patriots.

175. This policy, favoured by some hundreds of Mr. Heng Samrin's followers, who have become mere collaborators with the enemy, imposes the compulsory teaching of the Vietnamese language in schools and the use of Vietnamese at all levels of the puppet administration, and promotes mixed marriages. The thousand-year history of Kampuchea has been outrageously distorted by the new masters so that schoolchildren learn how to feel as members of the "Great Viet Nam", that is, of the "Indo-Chinese Federation" conceived by Ho Chi Minh.

176. The famous French naturalist and ethnologist, Marie Alexandrine Martin, a researcher at the National Centre for Scientific Research, author of several authoritative books on Cambodia, contributed a very valuable study to the review *Politique internationale*, in the summer of 1984, entitled "The Process of the Vietnamization of Cambodia", which all those who are interested in the problems of our country would do well to read. She pointed out, in particular, that in 1982 "the maritime borders were shifted to the detriment of Cambodia" and that in July 1983 a "treaty on the solution to the border problems between the two countries" was signed by the leaders of Hanoi and their puppets in Phnom Penh.

177. She recalled that another text recognizes the existing borders, but it considers a "new delimitation of the land borders"; corrections to the borderlines have already been made, particularly in the province of Svay Rieng, the Parrot Beak district.

178. According to witnesses, and thanks to the prevailing influence of their representatives in Kampuchea, the Vietnamese freely cross over into Kampuchea and settle there. On the basis of their own findings and of considerable reliable testimony by Khmer refugees, foreign observers estimate the present number of Vietnamese settlers in Cambodia to be 500,000 or 600,000. At a meeting in Phnom Penh attended by high-level administrative cadres, the heads of districts and provincial communes learned of a decree (*prakas*) specifying that the Khmers must "share their lands with the Vietnamese civilians, help them to settle down and to build their houses"; otherwise they would be imprisoned for anti-Vietnamese activities. There have therefore been many incidents, and many Khmer civilians have fled into the maquis or to Thailand.

179. Mrs. Martin stated that some Vietnamese civilians, particularly those who speak Khmer as a result of having lived in Cambodia, "have already taken Cambodian nationality and can pass themselves off as Khmers . . . They, of course, have the right to vote." She added that the Phnom Penh leaders, as reported by many officials who escaped, do not even have the pretence of authority. They encounter "the inertia of the Khmers, who are less and less willing to co-operate with the occupiers and are more and more sympathetic to those who are offering resistance". The number of Vietnamese advisers in the administration has "doubled". Mrs. Martin concluded: "The people of Kampuchea, who have undergone all kinds of humiliation and repression, are admirable for their dignity in the test of strength which is now going on."

180. The correspondent of *The Washington Post* in Bangkok, confirming this information a few months ago in a dispatch to *The Japan Times*, stressed the growing resentment of the Khmers inside the country against the Vietnamese occupiers. The Vietnamese have aroused the aversion of the people because of the lack of discipline of their troops and the increasingly large settlement of Vietnamese in the provinces of Kampuchea. Last year, according to that journalist, 15,000 Khmers fled to Thailand as a result of a "purge" by the occupiers, the provincial administration and the military forces of Heng Samrin.

181. The correspondent of *The Washington Post* stated that whereas the Vietnamese and the puppets in their service stated that only 56,000 Vietnamese had settled in Kampuchea since 1979, Western diplomats gave the figure of 200,000 to 400,000, and the resistance movements gave the figure of 500,000 to 600,000.

182. For his part, Mr. Sek Yen, an important personality of the Heng Samrin régime, former Deputy Director of the Political and Propaganda School of the régime, fled to Thailand with 15 members of his family and was transferred to Bangkok.

183. Sek Yen revealed in a press conference that most of the Khmer senior officials were married to

Vietnamese women, who met once a week and reported on the activities of their husbands to the Vietnamese authorities in Phnom Penh. The children born of those marriages had been sent to study in Viet Nam.

184. With regard to Vietnamese influence in Cambodia, Sek Yen said that from the central administration down to the lowest levels, "all decisions were made by the Vietnamese. The home of every Kampuchean official, or of those who want to please the occupiers, must have a portrait of Ho Chi Minh displayed in a prominent place."

185. He stressed also that "ordinary Cambodians are starting to find ways to support the (anti-Vietnamese) resistance forces". Sek Yen concluded that the Khmers "are increasingly supporting the Coalition Government, because they want to eliminate the Vietnamese and liberate their country, a task they believe to be possible".

186. I felt that I should sum up the remarks of Mrs. Martin, a real expert on our problems, whose intellectual independence is beyond doubt, and of Sek Yen, a personality of the pro-Vietnamese régime of Heng Samrin who fled his country in protest against the Vietnamese domination of Cambodia, which has been reduced to bondage by the Hanoi Government.

187. It is interesting to note that, unlike almost all foreign observers and journalists who have been able to penetrate Vietnamese-controlled Kampuchea, some persons still repeat the propaganda themes of the Vietnamese, to the effect that the Phnom Penh régime is desired and supported by the whole Khmer people and that the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea is rejected by everyone. So that international public opinion can judge the validity of that statement, I repeat a proposal I have been submitting for several years now—that is, that after the total withdrawal of Vietnamese forces, general elections under strict United Nations supervision be organized in my country, elections in which all parties and political groupings, including the Heng Samrin team, could freely participate. This democratic suggestion should have been taken up right away by the Heng Samrin government and its Vietnamese allies. It was a golden opportunity, since the Khmer people, according to them, would vote massively in favour of the present Phnom Penh leaders, getting rid once and for all of the three component parts of the resistance. Crushed and laminated by a vote of the people supervised by the United Nations—and therefore with irrefutable results—the resistance groups would simply have to leave Khmer soil and reflect upon the humiliating defeat in exile.

188. Unfortunately, neither Phnom Penh nor Hanoi wanted to hear of any such free elections, nor do they want to hear of them now.

189. I would add that the very logical and reasonable proposals that I have presented over the years have had no more success; they have been met with the same categorical refusal. For example, in order to pave the way to the reconstruction of our country—three quarters of which has been destroyed by war—I suggested the creation of a government of national reconciliation, through the inclusion in the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea of all the other Kampuchean parties that would agree to work for an independent, neutral and non-aligned Kampuchea.

190. This government of national reconciliation would become a member of ASEAN, with the status of a neutral, non-aligned State, in order to prove to the Vietnamese and their great Soviet friends that a reconciled Kampuchea would not be part of the so-called Chinese threat, about which Viet Nam pretends to be so concerned.

191. It is clear that, for the time being, Viet Nam and its allies reject any political solution to the problem of Kampuchea. That is shown by the recent Vietnamese proposal to embark on so-called unconditional talks between the ASEAN countries and the Indo-Chinese States—alias the Vietnamese Indo-Chinese Federation. In fact, this Hanoi proposal, which some people describe as a breakthrough, seeks merely to bury the five resolutions of the General Assembly on the situation in Kampuchea [*resolutions 34/22, 35/6, 36/5, 37/6 and 38/3*] and to recognize the Vietnamese *fait accompli* in Kampuchea, and therefore the Vietnamese Indo-Chinese Federation, consisting of one master and two servants.

192. And yet our armed resistance is gaining ground. It has more than 60,000 combatants, better armed, equipped and trained and with a better experience of war and a higher degree of patriotic motivation—as is shown in the courageous raids, mostly successful, throughout the national territory.

193. On the other hand, the Vietnamese offensives, ill-supported by Khmer adolescents who have been forcibly conscripted into Heng Samrin's paltry units, have doubtless done much harm to our civilian compatriots in the liberated zones, but they have not succeeded in imperilling our combatants—still less in winning back those zones.

194. No matter how loudly the Vietnamese proclaim that the situation in Kampuchea is irreversible, the fact is that, quite to the contrary, it is on the point of being reversed. Militarily, our position is gradually improving. We are striking back and are often taking the initiative, vigorously and with determination. Politically, as the best observers have confirmed, the people inside the country, despite their understandable desire to live in peace, are clearly siding, in their hatred of the Vietnamese occupiers—the masters of so-called People's Kampuchea—with our Coalition Government. The soil is getting hot under the feet of the enemy, which thought it could make short shrift of little Cambodia.

195. Diplomatically, finally, our legitimate Government is becoming better understood and supported by nations that are committed to independence and justice and that, in fact, make up the overwhelming majority of the United Nations. I have seen this myself on the scene, during my many trips in Asia, Africa and Europe, where I have received the most understanding and encouraging welcome everywhere.

196. The intensification of our struggle in Kampuchea, as well as the increasing support by the international community, will not fail—in the not-too-distant future, I hope—to bring Viet Nam to its senses and make it participate in an international conference on Kampuchea.

197. That is clearly in the interest of Viet Nam itself, which has been suffering more than would appear because of its condemnation by the highest international forums, and also by most of the Powers that were its friends and allies when it was courageously defending its right to self-determination and reunification. Need I recall that among those friendly

nations, Cambodia, of which I was Head of State, was in the forefront.

198. I would stress also that our Coalition Government is not, as it is sometimes reproached with being, a Government-in-exile. Its Ministers work all the time in the liberated areas, to which I pay regular visits to assist the people there, to inspect our combatants and to receive the credentials of diplomatic envoys of friendly Powers.

199. We have every reason for hope, if we can safeguard our national union now and in the future. That is the basic factor in the survival of our nation and the preservation of our national identity.

200. Our overriding duty now is to devote all our forces to the patriotic union, without which our struggle would be futile. I note that all the component parts of our Coalition Government have become aware of this need and place the salvation of the homeland before any other consideration. It gives me the greatest pleasure to see the failure of our enemies to sow division within our coalition.

201. We Khmers know full well that the Vietnamese are our neighbours and will be so for all time. It is a warlike, expansionist, ambitious race, with which we have often had difficulties in living in peace. Its leaders are, however, on great occasions capable of realism. They have demonstrated that in recent decades in their dealings with the United States. They probably know when not to go too far. Their domestic situation, particularly the economic situation, is becoming increasingly difficult, and the people of South Viet Nam are not really committed—to put it mildly—to the ideology and austerity of the North.

202. With regard to Kampuchea, the Hanoi leaders no longer have any illusions: they know that their Phnom Penh puppets obey them only reluctantly and have no authority over the populace which, humiliated daily, is alienated by their excesses. Thanks to the courageous action of our resistance forces, Kampuchea will never be the rice granary coveted by North Viet Nam to alleviate its food shortages. This war has taken a heavy toll: many lives have been lost, human resources that should have been devoted to the development of Viet Nam have been diverted to the military; it has sapped the economy of Viet Nam and its international prestige.

203. That anachronistic colonialist policy cannot go on forever—unless Viet Nam has a suicide mission or wants to make sacrifices totally out of proportion with the benefits for which it hopes from this failed operation.

204. If the adversary can heed the voice of reason, we propose to end this age-old hostility. If it withdraws from our territory, we offer to develop with it and its allies of the moment, and with all countries of the world, relations of friendship and co-operation based on the five principles of peaceful coexistence, in equality, mutual respect and common interest. The Kampuchea that we build will be independent, neutral, non-aligned, no one's enemy, and friend of all who wish it well. How could it disturb Viet Nam—a country of 52 million inhabitants—which is so militarily powerful?

205. Thus far, the Vietnamese have left us no alternative but to fight them. We sincerely hope that they will soon realize the need to negotiate with the legitimate representatives of the people of Kampuchea and understand that there would be no humiliation involved in establishing between our two peoples relations based on justice, wisdom and equity.

206. As a Member of the United Nations, Democratic Kampuchea, through the voice of its delegation, would like in conclusion to state the following.

207. First, we reiterate our cordial solidarity with our brothers and sisters of Laos, themselves victims of Vietnamese domination, in their just struggle for the independence and freedom of their homeland.

208. Secondly, we reiterate our abiding support for the ongoing efforts of the Korean people to reunify their homeland. We firmly support the just proposals of President Kim Il Sung for an independent and peaceful reunification of Korea.

209. Thirdly, our support and solidarity go also to the Afghan people struggling against the Soviet invasion. We wish the heroic Afghan combatants fresh victories until the Soviet forces withdraw, so the Afghan people can exercise its inalienable right freely to choose its Government and its economic and social system.

210. Fourthly, we continue our firm support of the Palestinian people in its efforts, under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization [*PLO*], to recover its legitimate national rights, including the right to found an independent State on its territory—the only way to bring about a lasting peace in the Middle East.

211. Fifthly, in the same hope, we welcome the establishment of a government of national union in Lebanon. It is essential that all foreign forces withdraw from that martyred country so that it can once again find its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

212. Sixthly, we urge two fraternal neighbours, Iraq and Iran, to end the escalation of the war between them; we support any measures that could bring about a peaceful settlement of that conflict.

213. Seventhly, we reiterate our total support for the African liberation movements, in particular the South West Africa People's Organization [*SWAPO*], the sole, legitimate representative of the popular struggle of the Namibian patriots, for the withdrawal of the present illegal Administration and the transfer of power to the Namibian people, with United Nations assistance.

214. Eighthly, we support the efforts of the Organization of African Unity and the countries of the Horn of Africa to restore peace and stability in the region. We reiterate our solidarity with the Somali people in defending their independence and territorial integrity.

215. Ninthly, we support the efforts of the people and the Government of Chad to defend the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of that country.

216. Finally, we support the initiatives of the countries of the Contadora Group to eliminate the tension prevailing in Central America and the Caribbean and to bring about the freedom and independence of all States of the region.

217. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the President of Democratic Kampuchea for the important statement he has just made.

218. Mr. RAMÍREZ OCAMPO (Colombia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): It is a good omen indeed, and Colombia is very pleased, that the deliberations

of this session of the General Assembly should be presided over by so distinguished a person as Mr. Paul Lusaka, one of the most eminent leaders of African unity. From the very beginning, Zambia and Colombia have shared the ideals of independence defended by the United Nations Council for Namibia, so wisely guided by Mr. Lusaka.

Mr. Gumucio Granier (Bolivia), Vice-President, took the Chair.

219. We should also like to congratulate Mr. Jorge Illueca, who worked so excellently during the last session of the General Assembly. We agree with him on the ideals of peace which have taken shape in the Contadora Group.

220. I take this occasion to welcome the State of Brunei Darussalam as a new Member of the United Nations.

221. I also congratulate the Secretary-General on the report on the work of the Organization [*A/39/1*], which he has presented to the Assembly for consideration, in fulfilment of the guiding role entrusted to him by the Organization.

222. Only 15 years remain before mankind embarks upon the third millenium of our era. This century has been characterized by sharp confrontations and by wars, but also by the most dynamic technological and cultural progress. Yet, equitable development and peace still elude vast segments of the world.

223. Many of the political problems we are now experiencing stem from the distribution of power since the Yalta agreements, which established spheres of influence that have often clashed with the national interests of States. This situation still persists—in essentially the same guise—in Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America.

224. Indeed, the American continent has not been immune to the effects of this theory of world power. Over the past several decades we have witnessed the imposition of dictatorships against the popular will—totalitarian régimes that have disregarded lawful means of expression. As is well known, the advent of such régimes, of the left or of the right, has invariably been the prelude to constant violations of human and other basic rights.

225. We must, therefore, establish a policy which will protect mankind from ideological polarization involving violent confrontation. This can be done only by advocating the sound principle of pluralism as the essence of dialogue and as recognition of differences of opinion.

226. It was that concept which prompted my country, in all good faith, and in co-operation with Mexico, Panama and Venezuela, to strive to prevent open confrontation in Central America and thus avert the social and economic upheaval that would result from a fratricidal war bound to have grave consequences for the stability of our continent.

227. What we advocate for the region is the promotion of democratic systems, free interplay of political parties, respect for the rights of others, and tolerance as the corner-stone of the political process. This position stems from the fact that by peaceful means we have overcome our temporary differences with our sister States of Latin America. Hence, we cannot believe that armed confrontation or an internationalization of the problems of the region is the way to a brighter future—one which we truly desire—for a continent made up of countries characterized more by similarities than by differences. That is why we ask the nations gathered here to give their political backing and support to the current peace efforts of the Contadora Group.

228. Twenty days ago, the Foreign Ministers of Mexico, Panama, Venezuela and Colombia submitted the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America [*see A/39/562*], the main sections of which emphasize the non-use of force, non-interference in internal affairs and respect for the rights inherent in sovereignty. The Act proclaims the need to restore peace and confidence in the region by means of the right of peoples freely to select the kind of political, economic and social system best suited to their own interests.

229. To that end, the Contadora Act establishes that no territory shall be utilized for acts which violate the sovereign rights of other States. We advocate the creation, promotion and strengthening of democratic systems by means of efforts at national reconciliation, with a view to achieving lawful popular participation in political agreements.

230. In that document on peace and development we also advocate the implementation of agreements by means of a relaxation of tension and the promotion of confidence. Hence we have specified the functions of the Verification and Control Commission for Security Matters, composed of four commissioners, representing States known for their impartiality, who will verify the dismantling of foreign military installations. Furthermore, we ask for the immediate withdrawal of the foreign advisers involved in training and in operations. In addition, the signatory countries are requested to abstain from conducting within their territories activities designed to destabilize Governments in the region.

231. There is now a real possibility of an agreement that will make it possible for the Central American States to tackle their own development problems without internal or external threats of war. We have come before the United Nations in the hope of finding support from the Organization, which was established precisely to preserve peace.

232. It would be naive to deny that the serious economic problem affecting the entire region of the continent is at the root of the crisis gripping Central America. One of the objectives of the meeting to be held at San José, Costa Rica, at the end of this week is the convening of the Foreign Ministers of the member countries of the European Economic Community [*EEC*], Spain and Portugal, together with their counterparts from Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Mexico, Panama, Venezuela and Colombia, to discuss possible formulas for direct economic assistance and other forms of co-operation so that this region of Latin America may have better prospects of development.

233. I cannot let pass this opportunity to commend the attitude adopted by the 10 member countries of the EEC, along with Spain and Portugal, in their desire to participate in a solution based upon the support of all nations of goodwill in the search for genuine political balance and for the diversification of economic opportunities.

234. The countries members of the Contadora Group, in compliance with the mandate entrusted to them last year, have this afternoon reported to the Secretary-General on the work they have accom-

plished and on the progress of their talks. We have submitted the revised Contadora Act to be circulated as an official Assembly document. We also intend to inform the Security Council, in compliance with the provisions of its resolutions.

235. In addition, the Contadora Group will submit a draft resolution for discussion by the General Assembly, thereby complying with the provisions of the resolution adopted by the Assembly at its last session entitled "The situation in Central America: threats to international peace and security and peace initiatives" [*resolution 38/10*].

236. Once the Contadora Act, which has met with broad support from the countries of Central America, has been signed, and once we have received the final comments from those Governments, an additional protocol will be opened for signature by all countries. It will reflect in concrete legal terms the unanimous support the international community has given to the Contadora process from its very inception. The adherence of the super-Powers and the industrialized countries to the Act is especially necessary in order that our objectives may be successfully attained. Nor is it superfluous to add that it will be solely and exclusively the political will of the signatory States, free from any interference, that will decide the fate and future of the region.

237. In this same context of the constant search for peace on all levels, the Government I have the honour to represent here, headed by its President, Belisario Betancur, has embarked with special resolve upon a labour of peace for the benefit of all its citizens.

238. It is a special characteristic of my country's present Administration that we are practising at home what we preach in the international arena as a solution for Central America. It is fitting that this should be so, since political leaders are often subject to criticism for the lack of consistency that is perceived between what is preached at the international level and the actions that their Governments in fact take.

239. Colombia is confident that, as the very essence of democracy, dialogue is better suited to national interests than confrontation and unbridled struggle. We have carried out a policy based on "national dialogue" in which our political system has never been threatened, much less our institutions and our legitimately established authorities, which have rightly been praised on all sides.

240. I should now like to draw the Assembly's attention to one of the issues that is of greatest importance to the international community, namely, foreign debt. At a recent meeting we discussed the difficulties of strengthening the democratic system if the adverse consequences of indebtedness were allowed to persist and if Latin America remained subject to a constant drainage of its resources that are being transferred to the creditor countries and thereby creating effects that are clearly disastrous for employment, production and growth.

241. The Latin American region, far from having progressed, has in 1983 and thus far this year regressed to 1976 levels. In other words, all the political, financial and social efforts of the past eight years have been in vain. The widely publicized recovery of certain industrialized countries remains confined to their economies. The passage of time has thus confirmed that we were right when we stated in 1981 that recovery in the North would not automatically generate recovery in the South.

242. We are forced to reflect on the futility of the efforts of the Organization in sponsoring the first and Second United Nations Development Decades, six sessions of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, the development of the new international economic order, and the promulgation of the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States, which today, given the crisis in the developing world, seem to be mere historic facts.

243. Latin America now transfers 3 per cent of its gross national product to the developed countries. Over the past three years, this has represented a capital loss of almost $50 billion. How paradoxical this seems when we read the commitments made in the 1960s by which the industrialized countries were to transfer 1 per cent of their gross national product to the developing countries. We have rechannelled and rendered futile the real efforts of eight years and have derogated the political efforts of a quarter of a century.

244. Hence, and for good reason, on 21 June of this year, 11 Latin American countries met at Cartagena de Indias to consider carefully and effectively the political and material consequences of the heavy burden of a $350 billion indebtedness and in order at the same time to find, for the purpose of individual renegotiations, areas where problems converge and where solutions might be shared, to evaluate them together, not to propose either a unilateral moratorium or the oft-mentioned debtors' club, but rather to work out the best way to fulfil our financial commitments and meet our financial obligations through the reinitiation of a development process that has been allowed to stagnate in our region.

245. The validity and timeliness of the Cartagena Consensus [*see A/39/331*] will be proved either by success in dialogue or by the bankruptcy of debtors and creditors if that dialogue is not achieved. It highlighted as main points of analysis and discussion the need to find real levels of interest rates consistent with the growth of the world economy and the ability of the debtors to pay; the need to establish special compensatory facilities to cover the overhead caused by present financial conditions; the need to make the credit terms of the multilateral financial agencies more flexible; the urgent need for the IMF to contribute to the creation of a new world liquidity aimed at alleviating the debt burden and opening markets through the elimination of protectionist barriers.

246. The first follow-up meeting to the Cartagena Consensus was held at Mar del Plata just two weeks ago. There, in spite of the optimism of the communications media and of some Governments of developed countries over the temporary success of some individual renegotiations, we concluded that no substantive solution had yet been found to the indebtedness problem. As was stated by the negotiators themselves, the rope has loosened a bit but the knot is still not untied. In these circumstrances, we find ourselves faced with the need to invite the developed community to establish a direct political dialogue with the Governments of the debtor countries. Only governmental decisions on all sides with great foresight can save the world economy from strangulation in the near future.

247. My country wishes to reiterate in the Assembly its interest in the proposed dialogue. We cannot imagine that this mechanism, which has so often saved mankind from its deepest crises, might through fear or lack of understanding be disqualified as a means of achieving lasting solutions to the problem. Recent rises in the rate of the dollar demonstrate that it is urgent for all countries, including the industrialized countries, to study the international financial problem together.

248. On 10 August 1984, at Quito, as was very eloquently stressed this morning by the President of Venezuela [*6th meeting*], the Presidents of Bolivia, Ecuador, Venezuela and Colombia and the Vice-Presidents of Nicaragua and Panama declared that the traffic in and illicit use of narcotic drugs was a threat to the public health of peoples, affecting their development and posing a constant danger of subversion.

249. They also recognized that the narcotics traffic is an activity planned and carried out at the international level through organizations having vast resources and that the struggle against it must be waged equally by producer and consumer countries and must include concerted international action. Towards that end, there is a need for a specialized international conference, under the auspices of the United Nations, which would declare narcotics traffic to be a universal crime, establish action at the world level to combat it and create an assistance fund for the producer countries that are endeavouring at great cost to eradicate it.

250. Colombia has suffered from this scourge at an incalculable cost, to the extent that this year it brought about the death of its Minister of Justice, cruelly assassinated by the drug underworld, which he was valorously combating.

251. My Government is continuing that combat, but it knows full well that that trade would not exist if the consumer countries were to tackle it with equal energy. This is why we propose to the Assembly that a pitched and universal war be waged against traffic in narcotics.

252. At the thirtieth session of the General Assembly, in 1975, Colombia for the first time referred[5] to the need for a legal definition of outer space, and in particular the need to ensure the rights of the equatorial countries to the limited natural resource of the geostationary orbit, which has assumed extreme importance as a result of accelerated technological and scientific advances, the new industrial potential of outer space and the risks of its militarization.

253. In the Legal Sub-Committee of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, meeting at Geneva from 19 March to 6 April 1984, we submitted, on behalf of the equatorial countries, draft general principles governing the geostationary orbit,[6] which the Group of 77 consider to be a good basis for negotiation. The draft principles represent a serious legal statement having broad scientific support; they urge that the resource be placed at the service of mankind and that the present situation of monopoly and inequity be redressed. In [illegible] at our initiative also, the new International Telecommunication Convention, adopted by the Plenipotentiary Conference of the International Telecommunication Union, held at Nairobi, included recognition that there are countries such as ours that have a special geographical situation.

254. The growing concern of the developing countries over the prevailing congestion of frequencies and in certain orbital positions has led to the convening of a World Administrative Conference of Space Radiocommunications, which we hope will deal with all these issues in a spirit of justice.

255. Just as we have contributed to the definition of the law of the sea, a successful endeavour of the international community, we believe that at present we must in the same spirit establish the laws of outer space, taking duly into account the special circumstances of the equatorial countries and recognizing the needs of the developing countries.

256. In the effort to strengthen peace and avoid the destruction of civilization, Colombia believes it is making a concrete contribution with its proposals on the regulation of the geostationary orbit, and we invite the spokesmen of the space Powers to explore the path towards harmony and consensus formulas. We want outer space to be a way of reaching our shared destiny and never a springboard for destruction, hatred and war.

257. We have repeated, almost to excess, the way in which my country understands and puts into practice its belief in the ideology of the purest humanism. We have never taken up arms except in defence of our territorial integrity. None of the sister countries bordering ours—in the Caribbean as in the Pacific, on the Orinoco as on the Amazon—can say that we have called into question the sanctity of treaties and good faith in their fulfilment. Today, as in the past, we advocate acceptance, *urbi et orbi*, of the express commitment of a State.

258. That is why we strongly reject interference or military intervention by one country in the affairs of another, whether in Afghanistan, Kampuchea or Namibia, in Mozambique, Angola or Chad, in Nicaragua, El Salvador or Honduras. Wherever such activities have occurred we have seen a succession of countless corpses and injustices, as well as misery, in various continents, leaving a trail of hatred, pain and insecurity for the human race.

259. We must affirm here that foreign troops and military advisers must return to the camps from which they came. If we want every State to be the master of its own wealth, the architect of its own economic development and the creator of its own cultural identity, each must be able with complete autonomy to follow its own course towards peace, justice and progress.

260. We have defended the right to be different, without affecting the universality of international organizations.

261. We are concerned about the situation in the Middle East, which is why we call for a solution recognizing the right of the Palestinian people to a sovereign State, without calling into question the existence of the State of Israel and its desire to live in peace within its own borders. That is what we also hope for Lebanon, where we should like to see the restoration of the peace and harmony that characterized that nation for so many years, so that there may be no more bloody acts against humanity such as those that we have witnessed with horror recently.

262. Similarly, we stress that Great Britain and Argentina should once again sit down at the negotiating table to resume the dialogue, unilaterally interrupted, which will make it possible to reconcile

Argentina's sovereignty over the Malvinas Islands with the interests of their inhabitants.

263. We welcome the resumption of relations between Spain and Guatemala, announced on 22 September in our capital, Bogotá, after the successful mediation of the President of Colombia.

264. It has rightly been said by representatives of all the schools of thought into which today's international politics are divided that the arms race between the two major Powers has gone beyond the bounds of rationality. Simple logic would prompt us to reflect on the madness of stockpiling enough weapons to destroy the enemy 10 times over. Where can this frenetic and absurd race lead, if not to total destruction?

265. Let us pause to reflect on many reasons to celebrate in the near future the triumph of life over death, to sow peace in fields now devastated by war and to guarantee the existence of the millions of human beings who share this planet with us, so that the intelligence of man shall never be so evil or perverse as to prefer nuclear holocaust over the expectations of progress and fraternity among all the peoples of the world.

266. A year ago, in this same Hall, at the Assembly's thirty-eighth session, President Belisario Betancur stated that: "Peace is not achieved solely by the abolition of the arms race; it is necessary for us to disarm in spirit and in action" [*19th meeting, para. 17*].

267. We do not want mankind of today and the future to awaken to a nuclear threat that has become an obvious, unchangeable fact. That is why, together with Chile, Peru and Ecuador, we protested against the nuclear tests carried out in the South-East Pacific, tests that endanger the marine ecosystem of those regions of the southern seas. If, as we were haughtily told, those tests have no effect on the marine environment of those regions, why were they not carried out in the seas near the coasts of those conducting them? My country is sure that it is joined by the overwhelming majority of those represented here in supporting the idea of a nuclear agreement, as mentioned by President Reagan in his statement here [*4th meeting*], giving the world hope of arriving safe and sound in the third millennium of our era.

268. We express the following thought against all types of injustice. How can we not support the rights of the Namibian people in its struggle for independence? Or how can we not support the black race, which has not given up its legitimate appeal for an end to the unnatural practices of *apartheid* in South Africa? How can we forget the millions of innocent refugees who die at the hands of mercenaries of authoritarian, violent régimes or who are defenceless victims in the waters of the Pacific?

269. Colombia supports everything that the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees can do in this regard, in the hope that his work will help millions of human beings throughout the world. We must study means that will guarantee them a return to their own countries, with respect for their personal integrity and with no danger to their lives.

270. Likewise, we ask that the question of the Korean peninsula be resolved by peaceful means, through dialogue between the parties directly concerned, so that negotiations may be resumed without hostility.

271. The world today is on a razor's edge, threatened on all sides by the military confrontation of the two blocs. That is why the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries is necessary. The Movement, of which Colombia is a member, is needed in order that the world shall no longer be a battlefield for those vying for supremacy. We welcome the policy that stems from the foresight of Marshal Tito, Prime Minister Nehru and President Nasser, which inspired dozens of newly-independent countries to think for themselves, to struggle for their freedom, to define their own political, economic and social system with universal values.

272. It has rightly been said that the United Nations was established on the basis of two principles involving the very fate of the human condition, principles intended to save mankind from annihilation. The first concerns the right of States to have their territorial integrity respected, as a basis of international law, together with recognition of their autonomy and the peaceful settlement of disputes. The second principle concerns the progressive development and improvement of the standard of living of the various nations of the world.

273. There can be no doubt that the Organization has partially fulfilled its purpose in respect of decolonization; in affirming the principles of economic and social justice; and in serving as a political forum, so that all ideas may be heard, since politics consists to a large extent in reaching understanding with the adversary. My country, as a peace-loving country, as a signatory at San Francisco of the Charter of the United Nations—whose principles continue to inspire us to seek agreements such as those sought by the Contadora Group—would like to propose a return to those principles. We would like to propose that we make of them a constant practice, a daily endeavour, an imperative for all men of good will.

274. A return to principles is a sound policy, above all at a time when, in the midst of grim expectations, we lose our way and no longer find the compass at hand. There is no doubt recognition of the fact that this community of nations, based, as is any other, on respect for the rights of others, as was emphasized by Juárez, and on tolerance for other ideas, remains a valid system for the airing of disputes among States. Never before have we found such validity in the words of the French philosopher who described a decent way of life and of thinking which, if applied strictly and with understanding, could be a way of shared existence for all countries: "I disapprove of what you say, but I will defend to the death your right to say it."

275. In this statement, my country has endeavoured to share with the Assembly its highest ambition—peace; but we fear that we may be alone, that in this tower of Babel, this confusion of languages, not only are words different but also the concepts that they express. We must recognize that for the developed world, the socialist and capitalist countries, peace is a concept closely related to disarmament and the need to prevent a nuclear holocaust. It is, in a word, the solution of the East-West conflict. For the developing world, however, that third world which includes three quarters of our planet, peace is a concept which is inevitably linked to those of poverty, hunger and injustice—in other words, it means a solution to the North-South conflict.

276. Colombia wishes to invite the international community to work together to find a common denominator for the East-West and North-South conflicts, so that we may all arrive at the same idea of peace and therefore unite all our energies in order to achieve peace, in progress and justice, for all peoples.

277. Mr. BODSTRÖM (Sweden): I should like first of all to congratulate Mr. Paul Lusaka, of Zambia, on his election to the high office of President of the General Assembly. I also wish to take this opportunity of warmly welcoming Brunei Darussalam as a new Member of the United Nations and to extend to it my country's sincere wishes for a peaceful and prosperous future.

278. Among the items raised at the first session of the General Assembly in 1946 were two issues that merit our special attention today. One was the elimination of atomic weapons and other weapons of mass destruction. The other was South Africa's claims to what was then known as South West Africa, that is, Namibia. Now, when we are approaching the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, these issues are still with us. On the agenda of the General Assembly we find the questions of the accelerating nuclear arms race and the illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa. These sad facts should be a cause for deep reflection.

279. There has been no improvement in the international situation over the past year. Relations between the super-Powers are marked by deep distrust and there has been little dialogue between them. At the same time, the economic gap between industrialized and developing countries is growing. The debt crisis continues to be a serious development problem. No region can escape being affected by the tensions created by this negative climate.

280. For almost a year, no negotiations have been going on with regard to the reduction of nuclear weapons. Despite the insights presented by scientists about the catastrophic consequences of nuclear war, as a result not only of the immediate destruction but also of the nuclear winter, both super-Powers are investing in more and more advanced systems. Warning times become shorter and the risks of a conflict breaking out by accident are increasing.

281. The current climate of confrontation must be replaced by increased dialogue. This dialogue should embrace both the armaments situation and the many regional conflicts which, under the influence of the great-Power rivalry, tend to become increasingly difficult to solve.

282. It is a deeply regrettable fact that almost 40 years after the founding of the United Nations we are still far from living up to the basic principles laid down in the Charter of the Organization. The United Nations has all too frequently had to play the part of a passive onlooker. Its interventions in conflicts, when at all possible, have often come late and have been directed towards the external symptoms of the conflicts rather than their causes.

283. In spite of their obligations under the Charter, States still to a great extent resort to force to resolve problems. The international community has been unable to rid itself of the scourge that the violations of human rights constitute. The programmes of the United Nations for the promotion of economic and social development have not been assured sufficient resources.

284. The authority of the United Nations can be maintained only if Member States fulfil the obligations they have assumed under the Charter. The basic provisions of the Charter are and must remain the foremost principles of the international community. They must be our common guidelines for peaceful relations and co-operation between States. Disputes must be solved by peaceful means. The threat or use of force must not be tolerated. States must respect each other's territorial integrity and political independence. They must recognize each other's right to security. Every State chooses, in its own way, how to achieve security, but this must not be done at the expense of another State. At a time of increased interdependence, security must ultimately be ensured in common.

285. In no circumstances can violations of the fundamental principles of the Charter be tolerated. No country should have to be subjected to such acts. In pursuing its traditional policy of neutrality, Sweden has upheld and is determined to uphold its territorial integrity and national sovereignty. Only by respecting the fundamental rules of international law and through international co-operation can a lasting peace be ensured. A special responsibility rests on the permanent members of the Security Council. If they themselves, in contravention of international law, disregard the principles of the Charter, a dangerous breeding-ground is created for international anarchy.

286. For Sweden, membership of the United Nations and the obligations this involves remain a corner-stone of our foreign policy. For the Swedish Government, it is of the greatest importance that the United Nations be given the opportunity to fulfil as intended its primary purpose—the maintenance of international peace and security.

287. The debate ensuing from the Secretary-General's clear-sighted analyses during the past two years has resulted in a number of practical suggestions to strengthen the United Nations. Last year, the Nordic countries made a concrete contribution to this discussion in a joint report to the Secretary-General.[7]

288. The Security Council should find working methods to make it easier to deal with conflicts at an early stage and to prevent the resort to violence. With this objective in view, there is room for improving the co-operation between the Council and the Secretary-General. Better methods must be found to ensure that the Council's decisions are implemented. The Council should consider meeting at ministerial level on some occasion in order to consider the dangers threatening peace and to discuss methods of containing them at an early stage.

289. The principle of collective responsibility for the financing of the expenditures of the Organization, including all peace-keeping operations, must be upheld.

290. As Member States, we must all be responsible for ensuring that we utilize the Organization in the proper manner. In his report on the work of the Organization [*A/39/1*], the Secretary-General draws our attention to several tendencies with respect to working methods and resolutions which are contrary to this aim.

291. It is of vital importance that the universal character of the United Nations be maintained. Differences of opinion will not be brought any closer to a solution if States are excluded from the Organization.

292. It is also important that States do not turn away from the work of the United Nations but instead participate in efforts to carry out from within the reforms of the United Nations system that may be called for.

293. The United Nations offers a well-formulated code of conduct, well-tested negotiation machinery and an indispensable meeting-place.

294. The concern of peoples and Governments at the accelerating arms race, in particular the nuclear arms race between two super-Powers, is reflected in the widening involvement of the United Nations in the area of disarmament. Initiatives, proposals and recommendations for confidence-building measures in the military field, arms control and disarmament have increased in number. Studies are carried out on questions of fundamental importance for the disarmament efforts. The non-nuclear-weapon States—that is, the great majority of the United Nations Member States—try in different ways to find methods to break the deadlock in negotiations between the two major nuclear-weapon States and to halt the arms race. Sweden continues to attach great importance to this work within the United Nations and at the Conference on Disarmament, meeting at Geneva.

295. On 22 May of this year, six Presidents and Prime Ministers from five continents, including the Prime Minister of Sweden, made an appeal for the nuclear arms race to be stopped [*see A/39/277*]. They urged the nuclear-weapon States to proclaim a nuclear-arms freeze. Also, a broad section of public opinion in many countries increasingly demands of the nuclear-weapon States a nuclear-arms freeze. This is reflected in the work of the United Nations by the resolution on a nuclear-arms freeze initiated by Mexico and Sweden in 1982 and approved by the General Assembly by an overwhelming majority [*resolution 37/100 B*].

296. However, it has been possible to implement United Nations disarmament resolutions to a limited extent only. This cannot fail to weaken the authority of the United Nations. A great responsibility for this situation rests on the two leading nuclear-weapon States.

297. Those with the power to decide on the use of nuclear weapons are not only gambling with the survival of their own countries but also putting our lives in jeopardy. For this reason, we who do not possess nuclear weapons must do our utmost to assert our interests and to persuade the nuclear-weapon States to realize that they also have a responsibility to us.

298. Today, less than one year before the Third Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, there are no ongoing negotiations, either bilateral or multilateral, on nuclear disarmament. At the Conference on Disarmament, meeting at Geneva, it has proved impossible even to establish a committee on the question of a nuclear-weapon-test ban. This failure of the nuclear-weapon States to fulfil their obligations under the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*] gives rise to serious misgivings for the future of that Treaty. Against this background, it is of particular importance that a comprehensive test-ban treaty be negotiated and that negotiations in the nuclear-arms field are resumed.

299. A decision to observe a moratorium on the deployment of additional nuclear weapons would be a valuable contribution in this connection. It is also urgently necessary to initiate multilateral negotiations in order to prevent an arms race in outer space. The major space Powers can lay the foundation for progress on this question bilaterally.

300. In our work at the United Nations, at a time marked by tension and mistrust between the two super-Powers, we must seek practical ways to contribute to building up the minimum of mutual confidence required for progress in the field of disarmament. Progress in the negotiations on the prohibition of chemical weapons at the Conference on Disarmament indicates that this is not impossible.

301. Since the beginning of 1984, Stockholm has hosted the Conference on Confidence- and Security-building Measures and Disarmament in Europe. It is a positive and significant fact that practically all the States in Europe, as well as the United States and Canada, are now negotiating confidence- and security-building measures to promote détente in Europe and prepare the ground for negotiations on disarmament.

302. Respect for human rights must be an indivisible part of the international legal system and of the work for peace. Violations of human rights are not the internal affairs of individual countries and must be condemned wherever they may occur. An alarming discrepancy remains between the real situation in many parts of the world and the provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenants on Human Rights. Sweden welcomes the increasing attention now being paid to this serious problem by the United Nations. We appreciate the involvement of the Secretary-General and support his efforts.

303. An important step forward is that a draft convention against torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment[3] has been submitted to the General Assembly for consideration at this session. Reliable information indicates that this shocking violation of the integrity of the individual is being committed systematically in a large number of United Nations Member States. In the view of the Swedish Government, it is of great importance that the Assembly accord this draft the highest priority. We hope that it can be adopted, if possible this year, in such a form that its implementation can be monitored in an effective way.

304. The urgent question of abolishing the death penalty is now being dealt with by the Commission on Human Rights. It is the Swedish Government's hope that the work can be carried out with the greatest dispatch.

305. Outside the United Nations system as well, significant work is being carried out for the promotion of human rights. It is of great importance that the commitments in this field which were made in the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, signed at Helsinki on 1 August 1975, should be given substantive content.

306. We share the Secretary-General's view that increased and better co-ordinated multilateral efforts are required to deal with the serious drug problem.

307. We must also strengthen the role of the United Nations in the management of the earth's common resources. Ever since the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment took place at Stockholm

12 years ago, we have gradually realized that it is a matter of survival for the human race to find international solutions to the central problems of the environment. However, at the international level this realization has so far led to rhetoric rather than to concrete action. It is our hope that the World Commission on Environment and Development, recently established by the United Nations and chaired by Mrs. Brundtland, of Norway, will prove successful and strengthen the work of UNEP.

308. The United Nations has a particular responsibility to contribute to a settlement of the conflict in the Middle East. The absence of positive steps in a peace process is disturbing.

309. The parties concerned must meet in direct negotiations on the basis of Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973). Also the PLO must take part in these negotiations on an equal basis. A peace settlement must meet the legitimate demands of the Palestinian people for self-determination, including the right to establish a State of their own in the West Bank and Gaza. The same applies to Israel's right to exist in peace within secure and recognized borders. A possible way to speed up a settlement of the question would be to convene an international conference under the auspices of the United Nations, as proposed by the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, held at Geneva from 29 August to 7 September 1983.[8] Israel's policy of establishing illegal settlements in the occupied territories must cease; it constitutes a serious impediment to a solution of the conflict.

310. The Israeli occupation forces must leave Lebanon without delay. The Swedish Government supports the Lebanese Government in its efforts to create peace for the Lebanese people and restore the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon.

311. The Iran-Iraq conflict has now entered its fifth year. My Government expresses its appreciation of the Secretary-General's initiative with a view to terminating attacks on civilian population centres and the use of chemical weapons in the war. The effect of the war with regard to free shipping in the region is also a source of concern. It is the earnest desire of the Swedish Government that it will be possible to bring this tragic conflict to an early end by peaceful means.

312. As was noted at the meeting at Stockholm in June of this year between the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Nordic countries and of the front-line States in southern Africa, the *apartheid* policy remains unchanged. South Africa continues its endeavours to weaken and dominate the neighbouring States in order to maintain and strengthen the *apartheid* system. In its indiscriminate killings and its imprisonment of members of the political opposition, in particular the United Democratic Front, the régime has shown its true face.

313. Against this background, we must again—and with renewed vigour—urge the Security Council to decide upon binding economic sanctions against South Africa.

314. Six years after adoption by the Security Council of resolution 435 (1978), the United Nations plan for Namibia remains unimplemented, as a result of continued delaying tactics on the part of South Africa. We find this unacceptable. Extraneous issues, such as the presence of Cuban troops in Angola, must not be used as an excuse to obstruct Namibia's independence. The Security Council should now enforce its plan for Namibia and finally bring about a solution to this question.

315. The Soviet troops still remain in Afghanistan. In violation of the Charter of the United Nations and international law, the people of Afghanistan are still denied the right to independence and the opportunity to determine their own future. A similar situation exists in Kampuchea, where the Vietnamese occupation continues. Although the years pass, we must not accept these conditions. We support the efforts to resolve the conflicts. The foreign occupation troops must be withdrawn. The suffering of the civilian populations in both countries must be brought to an end.

316. The situation in Central America is still tense. The conflicts in the region have their origin in economic and social injustice. Sweden fully supports the efforts initiated by the Contadora Group to prevent further spreading of the conflicts and to find peaceful solutions. Only through respect for the sovereignty and the territorial integrity of the countries in the region can foundations be laid for political solutions and the danger to international peace and security be eliminated. Progress in the entire region towards democracy and respect for human rights is of decisive importance. The peoples of Central America must be given a chance to build up their societies in peace and freedom without external intervention. The United States has a great and undeniable influence in the region. The Swedish Government is of the view that the United States should act with restraint and use its influence to promote negotiations.

317. The people of Chile are still deprived of their civil rights and liberties. The United Nations must untiringly continue to press its demands for the restoration of democracy and respect for human rights in Chile.

318. My earlier remarks on the importance of strengthening the United Nations also apply to a very high degree to international economic co-operation and to North-South relations. We must seize every opportunity to strengthen the multilateral dialogue in the economic field.

319. Unfortunately, the discussions in the United Nations on the problems of development have made practically no progress lately. The International Conference on Population, held at Mexico City from 6 to 14 August 1984, constitutes a noteworthy exception. It is our hope that it will lead to concrete results.

320. If the recovery of the world economy is to be sustained, the developing countries must become more actively involved in the process. Among other things, this requires increased access for those countries to the markets of the industrialized countries. This is necessary, not least in order to cope with the debt problems. At present, the developing countries make interest payments at the rate of approximately $60 billion a year to the industrialized countries. They receive only approximately $30 billion in grants from the industrialized world.

321. In spite of the economic upturn, however, protectionist tendencies appear to be on the increase. This development must be countered. All countries should work to strengthen and expand free trade. A new round of multilateral trade negotiations, carefully prepared, can contribute to that end. It is also extremely important that the decisions taken at the

sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held at Belgrade from 6 June to 2 July 1983, be followed up.

322. The developing countries' own struggle against economic and social crises must be supported by increased aid, not least through multilateral channels. UNDP must be strengthened, and the co-ordination between the various aid organizations within the United Nations system must be improved. The largest multilateral development body, IDA, whose undisputed competence has been of decisive importance to the poorest countries, must be ensured sufficient resources. We therefore regret that some of the largest donor countries have not shown willingness to contribute to the reinforcement of IDA.

323. The critical situation in sub-Saharan Africa, which is characterized by drought and starvation, must be met with prompt and decisive action. Meanwhile, it is encouraging that the African States themselves are attempting to reverse the development through regional co-operation. Sweden has supported, and intends in the future to increase its support for co-operation within the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference.

324. UNICEF's work for the survival of children is also of the greatest significance. We welcome the Fund's initiative in taking up the question of support for children in especially difficult circumstances, such as children living in situations of war. In this connection, attention should also be drawn to the draft convention on the rights of the child, which is under consideration in the Commission on Human Rights.

325. The countries of the world need the United Nations. We need the United Nations in order to eliminate the risk of armed conflicts and to achieve international disarmament.

326. We need the United Nations in order to be able to deal with the pressing common problems of environment and resources, which no one country can tackle alone.

327. We need the United Nations in order to follow through our efforts to improve the economic and social conditions of the third world.

328. The United Nations must not be allowed to degenerate into a forum for confrontation. The United Nations must be a forum for constructive deliberation and co-operation.

329. Mr. ELLEMAN-JENSEN (Denmark): I should like first to offer Mr. Lusaka my sincere congratulations on his election to the presidency of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. I assure him of the full co-operation of the Danish delegation in performing the duties of his high office.

330. Furthermore, it gives me great personal pleasure to extend a most cordial welcome to Brunei Darussalam as the newest Member of the United Nations.

331. The international situation today represents a disheartening picture. We are witnessing a lack of progress in the dialogue between East and West in the crucial area of arms control and disarmament. The global problems of hunger, poverty and the violation of human rights remain serious. Regional conflicts have deteriorated into open military fighting. Perhaps the only reason for keeping some optimism alive is the fact that the growth in international communications gradually makes people aware that we live in one world and ultimately share a common future.

332. The real and urgent challenge of today is to organize the international community in a way that compels us all to face the fundamental issues confronting mankind. The world has become too small for antagonism and confrontation. Differences and conflicts of interest must be resolved through compromise and co-operation.

333. The relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union is a fundamental factor in the environment of international politics. This past summer's great disappointment was the lack of sincerity in bringing about negotiations aimed at preventing an arms race in outer space. Earlier, the Soviet withdrawal from the negotiations on intermediate-range nuclear forces and the strategic arms reduction talks interrupted the serious efforts aimed at achieving security at a lower level of armaments. But problems are not solved by turning one's back to them.

334. In this negative atmosphere, it is extremely important that efforts to turn developments in a more positive direction have been made in the dialogue between East and West at the collective level. In NATO we have thoroughly examined East-West relations in the light of the experiences of the 1970s and the challenges of the 1980s and with the aim of creating a more constructive dialogue. In our declaration from the meeting in May in Washington we reconfirmed the priorities and aims of the Alliance. Thus, despite severe set-backs in recent years for the policy of détente, the Alliance has not given up hope. In fact, efforts to seek dialogue and co-operation will be intensified as part of a long-term policy to bring about genuine détente and stability. The President of the United States, when he spoke in the Assembly yesterday [*4th meeting*], very clearly reaffirmed the United States commitment to this policy, and we very much hope that the Soviet Union will respond positively to that statement.

335. Our policy undoubtedly corresponds closely to the hopes and aspirations of all people in West and East alike. It also corresponds closely to the conditions that must be met if the individual countries on both sides of the present dividing line in Europe are to enjoy fully the privilege of expressing their interests and pursuing them in co-operation with others. The principal aim is to strengthen peace and deepen co-operation between East and West. In the short term, a more modest aim is to reach a situation in which both sides have more to gain from co-operation than from confrontation. The Danish Government is ready to contribute actively towards the attainment of this aim.

336. The Danish Government values highly the possibilities for common action which flow from the multilateral process initiated by the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, signed at Helsinki on 1 August 1975. The years have also demonstrated the value of the Conference process as a framework for dialogue. This process represents to all the participating States, big and small, an opportunity and an obligation: an opportunity for all to launch their ideas and values into the discussion about the future of Europe; an obligation to seek results through consensus.

337. This year, the process has acquired a new important dimension, the Conference on Confi-

dence- and Security-building Measures and Disarmament in Europe, meeting at Stockholm, with the task of establishing a set of militarily significant, verifiable confidence- and security-building measures covering the whole of Europe. It is our hope that the Conference will be able to work out concrete measures to strengthen confidence between East and West and thus consolidate the commitments under the Charter of the United Nations and the Helsinki Final Act concerning the renunciation of force.

338. We are also looking forward to the CSCE expert meeting on human rights at Ottawa next spring. We trust that the meeting will contribute to the promotion of the human dimension of the Helsinki Final Act.

339. Last year, a record total of 63 resolutions concerning disarmament was adopted by the General Assembly. Unfortunately, this impressive number of resolutions has not had much impact in terms of concrete disarmament measures. The Conference on Disarmament, meeting at Geneva, has dealt intensively with many questions which my Government regards as high-priority issues, such as a comprehensive and effective ban on chemical weapons. The course of these negotiations has so far been discouraging.

340. We urge all parties to show good will and flexibility and to work together in an effort to solve some of the high-priority questions, including an agreement on a comprehensive test ban and the question of preventing an arms race in outer space.

341. Nuclear disarmament remains the issue of the highest priority. At the bilateral level, the United States and the Soviet Union have conducted negotiations on mutual reductions of strategic nuclear arms. It is regrettable that these negotiations have been discontinued. It is the view of the Danish Government that they must be resumed without delay.

342. The negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union on intermediate-range nuclear forces, negotiations which have also been discontinued, are of special concern to us. Instead of a negotiated correction of the imbalance created by the Soviet deployment of additional SS-20 missiles, a situation has been created which has led to further deployment of intermediate-range nuclear missiles in Europe. The Danish Government sincerely hopes that negotiations will be resumed without pre-conditions or delay.

343. In an effort to halt the continued build-up of nuclear weapons, the Danish Government supports the idea that the nuclear-weapon States should agree to a verifiable freeze on all types of nuclear weapons and their delivery vehicles as a basis for negotiations on a build-down, taking into account the security interests of all States. In this context, I should like to repeat from my statement at the thirty-eighth session [*8th meeting*], that the Danish Government supports all realistic efforts to establish nuclear-weapon-free zones in conformity with the provisions of the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session, devoted to disarmament [*resolution S-10/2*].

344. We can, and must, achieve measures of nuclear disarmament. But this does not mean that we should simply accept the present situation in the area of conventional arms. Quite apart from the possibility of conventional war itself and the risk of escalation, in certain circumstances, into nuclear war, if the diversion of resources to development is to mean anything at all, then most of these resources must come from expenditure on conventional arms and armed forces, which accounts for four fifths of present military spending.

345. For all those and other reasons, we hope that the study which the Secretary-General has submitted to the General Assembly on all aspects of the conventional arms race and on disarmament relating to conventional weapons and armed forces [*A/39/348*] will be a first step towards effective measures of conventional disarmament, which will complement measures of nuclear disarmament. I wish to express my gratitude to the Group of Experts for their endeavours, which resulted in a study adopted by consensus.

346. The conflicts in the Middle East still give rise to considerable concern. During the past year there has been little substantive progress towards a peaceful settlement of the problems of that war-torn region. The Danish Government calls upon all parties concerned in each conflict to recognize that their maximum aims are unattainable and that negotiations between them are the only way to achieve peace.

347. The fundamental and longest-lasting conflict in the Middle East is the Arab-Israeli dispute. The Palestinian problem is the core of this conflict; and a solution to the Palestinian question remains a prerequisite for an Arab-Israeli settlement, which can be achieved only through direct negotiations between all parties concerned. Although we do not want to prejudice the outcome of such negotiations, the Danish Government has often stated its belief that a lasting settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict must take account of both the right to existence and security of all States in the region, including Israel, and the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination.

348. However, regrettably, it is becoming ever clearer that the existing situation is detrimental to the building of the confidence necessary for the peace process. It is crucial that the Israeli Government put an end to its policy of establishing settlements in the occupied territories, in order to preserve the principle of exchanging territory for peace, on which Security Council resolution 242 (1967) is based. It is equally important that all parties apply the principle of non-recourse to the threat or use of force.

349. The Danish Government commends the achievements of the Lebanese Government of National Unity towards an improvement of the security situation in Lebanon, and its efforts towards national reconciliation. It is our firm belief that the international community still has an important role to play in the restoration of Lebanon's independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity. Any durable settlement in Lebanon would also require the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Lebanese territory.

350. The continued conflict between Iran and Iraq poses a very serious threat to the stability of the whole Gulf region. Human suffering on both sides has been shocking, and despite numerous international mediation offers no peaceful solution is in sight. I wish to express again my Government's appreciation to the Secretary-General for obtaining the commitment of both parties not to attack civilian targets, and I encourage the Secretary-General and his Special Representative to continue their efforts to bring an end to this tragic conflict. Since the begin-

ning of the war, Denmark has pursued a policy of impartiality and has continuously advocated a peaceful settlement based on negotiations. It goes without saying that we strongly condemn any use of chemical weapons in this or any other conflict. We also call upon both parties to comply with the principles and provisions of international humanitarian law in armed conflicts.

351. A glimmer of hope for the future of southern Africa arose earlier this year. At Lusaka, an understanding was reached on 16 February between Angola and South Africa on the withdrawal of South African troops from southern Angola. At Nkomati, an Agreement on Non-Aggression and Good Neighbourliness was signed on 16 March by Mozambique and South Africa [*A/39/159, annex I*], which seemed to imply that South Africa was finally abandoning the policy of destabilization of the countries neighbouring it. Hopes were raised that these agreements would contribute to peace and stability in the region, and more specifically to early progress towards independence for Namibia.

352. Regrettably, it now seems that the hopes were raised too high. There is imminent danger of a return to the deadlocked position which characterized the negotiating process last year. South Africa has suspended the withdrawal of its troops from Angola and continues its illegal occupation of Namibia. Whereas SWAPO has reconfirmed its commitment to the United Nations plan for Namibia's transition to independence, South Africa continues to lay down extraneous conditions for its co-operation in the implementation of the plan. The Danish Government remains convinced that the Namibian people must, without delay, be given the opportunity to decide their own future through free and fair elections, under United Nations supervision and control, in conformity with Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

353. In South Africa itself the fundamental elements of the *apartheid* system remain. The new South African Constitution has in no way changed the deplorable fact that the great majority of South Africans are still denied basic human rights and fundamental freedoms. The effective boycott of the recent elections by the so-called Coloureds and Asians clearly showed the solidarity of those groups with the black majority and their aspirations for basic human rights for all, without distinction of any kind such as race or colour. The repressive measures undertaken by the South African authorities against those who were active in the boycott are clear evidence that the so-called constitutional reforms are nothing but an attempt to consolidate the *apartheid* system.

354. Peace and stability will not come to southern Africa as long as the *apartheid* system is maintained. The Danish Government remains convinced that the international pressure on South Africa must be increased and made more effective. The South African Government must not be given any illusion that the world community will settle for anything less than Namibia's early independence and the eradication of the *apartheid* system.

355. In defiance of the overwhelming majority of the States Members of the United Nations, Soviet military forces have remained in Afghanistan, thus violating the territorial integrity of an independent State, maintaining the threat to the stability of the South-West Asian region and imposing a serious strain on the international climate and a heavy burden on neighbouring Pakistan and Iran. The latest Soviet military attempt to bring the popular resistance movement under control has added dramatically to the sufferings of the already hard-tried civilian population. We are seeing a further increase of international concern for the humanitarian aspects of the situation. To my Government's call for withdrawal of the Soviet forces and recognition of the right of the Afghan people to self-determination is added the hope that international relief organizations, including UNHCR and the International Red Cross, will be given working conditions that will enable them to alleviate the plight of the civilian population.

356. My Government is deeply concerned over the situation in Kampuchea, which is comparable to that in Afghanistan. I reiterate the appeal for a comprehensive political settlement that would secure complete withdrawal of all foreign forces; the right of the Kampuchean people to determine its own destiny through free elections, supervised by the United Nations; respect for the independence and neutrality of Kampuchea; and a commitment by all States to refrain from interfering in Kampuchea's internal affairs.

357. Denmark has noted with satisfaction the moves towards democracy that are taking place in various Latin American countries. We hope and believe that this process will lead to full respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms in all countries of Latin America.

358. The Danish Government is gravely concerned at the present tense situation in Central America. Just and durable solutions to the centuries-old social and economic injustices and oppression cannot be achieved by military means. The only path to just and durable solutions lies in regional political co-operation and respect for the fundamental principles of non-interference and the inviolability of national frontiers. This goal can be attained only through economic and social reforms and a more equitable distribution. It is of overriding importance that all the conflicts in Central America be settled by peaceful means, through negotiation. All parties directly or indirectly involved in those conflicts should therefore show the greatest possible restraint.

359. My Government fully supports the peace efforts of the Contadora Group and regards the elaboration of the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America [*see A/39/562*] as an encouraging development. I hope that the forthcoming meeting at San José of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the European Community, Spain and Portugal and their counterparts from the countries of Central America, as well as of the Contadora Group, will contribute to a successful outcome of those peace efforts.

360. International awareness of human rights has emerged, and a body of international human rights law has been adopted. A global human rights conscience exists. It is for States to respect human rights and to ensure that respect under responsibility not only to their citizens but also to the international community and international law. Nevertheless, these standards continue to be violated in almost every part of the world.

361. There are no easy solutions to human rights problems. One important aspect in our efforts to improve the human rights situation is the imperative necessity of achieving global accession to global instruments and to their implementation machinery in its totality, as well as the political will to abide by the decisions, recommendations and views of international institutions established to safeguard human rights.

362. In spite of the results achieved in the field of standard setting, it is still necessary to improve the protection of human rights in international law. The vicious practice of torture and summary or arbitrary executions are but two examples of flagrant human rights violations where international efforts are required. My Government warmly welcomes the draft convention against torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment,[3] submitted by the Commission on Human Rights. It is hoped that the lengthy and exhaustive deliberations belong to the past, so that the compromise text before us may be adopted during the present session of the General Assembly with effective and mandatory implementation provisions. My Government is also prepared to support steps to extend and strengthen the mandate of the Special Rapporteur on summary or arbitrary executions.

363. The Danish Government remains firmly convinced that ideological, religious and cultural differences in the world should not prevent the universal and homogeneous application of human rights standards. We therefore sincerely hope that this session of the General Assembly will see a return to the consensus it established last year on the Programme of Action for the Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination [*resolution 38/14*].

364. In addition to the immediate sufferings caused by violations of human rights, such violations tend to generate refugee problems. Despite an encouraging trend during the past year, voluntary repatriation under safe conditions is still a possibility for very few refugees. Resettlement in third countries remains the only remedy for far too many. Denmark remains committed to participating in international resettlement programmes in a spirit of international burden-sharing.

365. The Danish Government attaches great importance to the involvement of the United Nations in promoting full equality between men and women. The World Conference to Review and Appraise the Achievements of the United Nations Decade for Women, to be held next year at Nairobi, will provide an opportunity for reviewing achievements so far and for setting out strategies for the future. Likewise, we welcome the concern of the United Nations, through the International Youth Year, 1985, for the increased participation of young people in the development of society.

366. The international economic situation in the early part of this decade showed a grim picture. It was not until last year that we experienced a first—although fragile—economic upswing in many of the industrialized countries. This year has proved that our cautious optimism then was not wishful thinking. Although the economic growth rates vary considerably among nations, the general trend is a positive one; clearly, economic recovery is now under way.

367. The task before us is to consolidate and strengthen this development. To achieve this goal, we must also address the serious problems which continue to present obstacles to economic growth in large parts of the world, in particular in many developing countries. It is a shared responsibility that ways be found to promote economic development in the third world and among the large populations who have experienced a reduction of per capita income and for whom the concept of recovery has until now remained an abstract idea.

368. The United Nations is a unique forum for a thorough debate on the increasingly interrelated components of the world economy. It is the Danish Government's hope that this session of the General Assembly will make a real contribution to the achievement of consensus with regard to the ways and means of reaching the goals set out in the Charter of the United Nations in the economic and social areas.

369. In spite of the enormous needs of developing countries, official development assistance has stagnated during the last few years. Certain donor countries have moved closer to or—like Denmark—have exceeded the 0.7 per cent target, but most are still far from reaching it. In the present situation, it is more than ever necessary that donor countries live up to their commitment to expand official development assistance. This would also lead to more equitable international burden-sharing. Particular emphasis should be placed on assistance to the poorest and least developed countries. More development assistance resources should be used for production and employment-generating activities, especially in the agricultural sector.

370. Notwithstanding the amount of foreign assistance, it is a prerequisite for development that the recipient countries pursue effective economic policies aimed at mobilizing domestic resources and channelling them to efficient and productive use. This may not always have been the case. We have seen examples of artificially high exchange rates and distorted price structures within the agricultural field, with negative effects on production and development. It is crucial to the political and practical ability of donor countries to maintain and expand their assistance that development efforts are not hampered by such policies.

371. The International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade [*resolution 35/56, annex*] is one of the most ambitious and comprehensive action plans formulated by the United Nations system. Regrettably, the accomplishments have so far fallen short of the expectations for the decade. We urge all countries to renew their efforts during the final phase of review and appraisal, in order that this may lead to reinforced national and international commitments to achieve the goals of the International Development Strategy.

372. The initiative taken by the Secretary-General on behalf of the African countries has increased the awareness of the donor community concerning the urgent need to assist those countries in alleviating their acute problems. Almost all African countries are suffering, and the situation in many sub-Saharan countries can only be described as disastrous. Emergency measures are necessary as a supplement to longer-term efforts to secure the sound functioning of the African economies.

373. Danish development co-operation with the African countries has always been particularly inten-

sive. In fact, last year no less than 53 per cent of our bilateral development assistance, as well as a considerable portion of our assistance through multilateral and humanitarian organizations, went to African countries. We stand ready further to strengthen our co-operation with those countries.

374. The consistent support of my country for the development activities of the United Nations family is well known. This year the Danish contribution to UNDP will amount to approximately $40 million, which is considerably more than in 1983. However, similar efforts are necessary on the part of other donors to improve further the financial basis of the Programme and at the same time secure more equitable burden-sharing between donors. It is my hope that such a development will be furthered by the revitalizing process of UNDP, which is now under way.

375. The work of UNICEF is followed with great interest by the Danish public. As a new member of the Executive Board, we hope to contribute constructively to the work of this important body. The child survival revolution launched by UNICEF in 1983 has gained widespread and well-deserved support among potential donor countries, developing countries and international organizations.

376. Finally, a word on an important international conference which took place this year—the International Conference on Population, held at Mexico City from 6 to 14 August. That Conference confirmed that the interrelationship between poverty and rapid population growth has gained increased recognition by the international community. My Government is confident that the recommendations of the Conference and the Mexico City Declaration on Population and Development will provide a solid basis for further progress in the implementation of the World Population Plan of Action.[9]

377. In this respect, I find it most important that family planning is now considered a basic human right and that such activities should be pursued with full respect for the free choice of individuals and couples.

378. It is a primary objective of the Danish Government to work for the strengthening of the United Nations and its specialized agencies and to help to create conditions in which the bodies of the Organization may most effectively perform the functions entrusted to them.

379. When, as we hope, Denmark becomes a member of the Security Council beginning on 1 January 1985, we will approach the task humbly and with great respect for the responsibility resting upon us. Our foremost endeavour will be to help to provide the Council with that fundamental authority which can only come from unanimity among all its members.

380. In my previous statements before the General Assembly, I—like most of my colleagues—have included a section on my Government's commitment to the purposes and principles set forth in the Charter of the United Nations and the great merits of the Organization, which, in its universality, is the unique forum for co-operation among all sovereign States of the world. I have omitted that section this year. In dealing with the many issues of world affairs, I have involuntarily emphasized the role of the United Nations in relation to each of them. Can there be a more significant and more sincere affirmation of the real relevance of the United Nations?

381. Mr. KHATRI (Nepal): I have the honour to convey to you, Sir, and to the representatives present here, the greetings of my Sovereign, King Birendra Bir Bikram Sháh Dev, as well as his best wishes for the success of the current session of the General Assembly.

382. May I also on behalf of my delegation extend our warm felicitations to Mr. Paul Lusaka on his election to the high office of President of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. We are indeed happy to find a man of his eminence and ability guiding the work of this important session. He represents a country which is deeply committed to the principles of non-alignment and has always been in the forefront of defending the cause of international peace and justice. Nepal shares common characteristics and commitments with Zambia. My delegation is therefore confident that the deliberations at this session of the Assembly will be both meaningful and memorable.

383. I would be remiss were I to fail to express our appreciation to Mr. Jorge Illueca, who presided over the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly with great distinction.

384. I would also like to take this opportunity to place on record our sincere appreciation of the Secretary-General for his contributions in promoting the cause of international peace and co-operation and also for his efforts to enhance the image and effectiveness of the United Nations.

385. My delegation has the pleasure to welcome among us Brunei Darussalam, a country with which Nepal enjoys a close relationship.

386. Many distinguished speakers who have preceded me have given expression to their concern over the dangers and difficulties that we face today. Indeed, every passing year has been a witness to the drift and deterioration in the international situation. While the world moves from crisis to crisis, the actions of the international community have been more in the nature of belated reactions than of bold initiatives to forestall problems or make better arrangements for the future. The maintenance of international peace and security and the enhancement of global co-operation for the benefit of mankind presuppose a gradual but steady strengthening of an international order. This will require a universal acceptance of the codes of international conduct and a growth in trust and respect between nations.

387. These are the principles on which the United Nations was founded, and these are the principles that we are all committed to uphold. However, the gap between conduct and commitment has led not only to the aggravation of tension and trouble but also has seriously eroded the very effectiveness of the Organization. I sometimes wonder whether we can afford further deviation from the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. Man's ingenuity in endlessly refining the supreme weapons of universal annihilation stands in stark contrast to deprivation and destitution of an unimaginable magnitude. A number of key disputes with potential for subverting the fragile structure of world peace continue to go unresolved. While poverty and economic hardship threaten a vast portion of the world's population, efforts to devise global economic remedies remain deadlocked. Violence and terrorism, bred by mass

frustrations, are sapping the failing faith in human life and values.

388. If there was anything of universal significance in the dismal events of the past year it was our need to address ourselves to the most pressing problem of our time, the arms race. Yet we find the momentum in the reverse direction. The strained relations between the two super-Powers have continued to feed on the infinitely ominous tendency to build, refine and stockpile weapons. Their competition in manufacturing and stockpiling weapons of mass destruction has triggered an intense race far in excess of the legitimate need for self-defence among the third world countries. While the arms race has been increasing both in intensity and scope, no progress is recorded in the negotiations with respect to priorities identified in the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session, devoted to disarmament [*resolution S-10/2*]. All the more frustrating is the fact that there appears to be very little prospect of an immediate breakthrough, notwithstanding the technical and legal groundwork laid down years ago. The stalemate in the Conference on Disarmament on such issues as the comprehensive nuclear test-ban treaty, agreement on the complete and effective prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of all chemical weapons and their destruction and on a convention prohibiting the development, production, stockpiling and use of radiological weapons cannot be explained other than as a result of the lack of political will on the part of the major Powers to come to any agreement.

389. It is true that all nuclear-weapon States have expressed an aversion to using nuclear weapons. However, the very existence of such weapons in the present state of international relations presents an unprecedented threat to human life and civilization. Possession of these weapons confers on the major Powers a responsibility to negotiate ways to reduce and ultimately eliminate these weapons of annihilation.

390. Nepal has always insisted that continuing dialogue between the United States and the Soviet Union undertaken in good faith will not only facilitate progress on all aspects of nuclear disarmament but also have a decisive impact on the general climate of international relations. A prolonged stalemate in the negotiations between the two super-Powers could, in addition, have far-reaching implications for the proliferation of nuclear weapons, both vertically and horizontally. It might then be too late for the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*] to contain the situation any longer.

391. My delegation fully shares the general anxiety posed by nuclear weapons. We would like to stress, however, the need to tackle the problem of the production, refinement, stockpiling and, above all, international transfer of conventional weapons. Inferior to nuclear weapons only in their capacity to bring devastation, these immensely powerful weapons of mass destruction have been a major drain on the limited resources of many developing countries which are trying to outdo each other in acquiring them. These weapons have caused untold suffering in the years since the founding of the United Nations. My delegation welcomes the study on all aspects of the conventional arms race and on disarmament relating to conventional weapons and armed forces [*A/39/348*]. We would support any initiative designed to promote security and stability at a lower level of armament.

392. My delegation shares the deep concern at the present prospect of the arms race extending into outer space and reiterates its appeal for negotiations to be initiated without delay and for action to prevent this development.

393. The past years have shown an increasing tendency to resort to arms in response to situations that could or should have been resolved through peaceful means. This has increased the opportunity for powerful foreign forces to intervene in the affairs of smaller nations. The superimposition of East-West tensions on regional conflicts has further complicated the situation.

394. The situation in the Middle East, with all its complexities, continues to command the attention of the international community. The adamant refusal to heed reason and good sense has perpetuated the cycle of mistrust and violence. The national tragedy of Lebanon has only underscored the need to redouble efforts to find a solution to that continuing crisis. A just and lasting peace in that region can be achieved only through a comprehensive settlement covering all aspects of the problem, such as recognition of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people and the right of all States in the region, including Israel, to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries, and Israel's withdrawal from territories occupied since 1967.

395. The United Nations is the only universal forum within the framework of which efforts towards a comprehensive peace can properly be pursued. In the past we welcomed partial steps in the hope that they would be a prelude to comprehensive peace and justice. We stand ready to support any initiative that sincerely seeks to address the elements of a just, lasting and comprehensive peace that I have outlined. The United Nations should also take immediate steps to encourage national reconciliation in Lebanon, the withdrawal of all foreign forces and respect for the territorial integrity and legitimate sovereignty of Lebanon.

396. The continuing conflict between two non-aligned countries, Iran and Iraq, is a source of deep concern to the international community. That tragic war has caused immense human suffering and material loss and will have unpredictable consequences in a very sensitive area of the world. Nepal renews its appeal to both Iran and Iraq to agree to an effective cease-fire and seek a negotiated settlement of their dispute.

397. Utter disregard for the basic norms governing relations between States in many parts of the world has been a constant source of tension and a threat to international peace and security. Every State, big or small, powerful or weak, has the inalienable right to choose its own social, economic and political system. This basic and legitimate right of a State and people can be denied only at the cost of the ideals, purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. Respect for these fundamental principles of inter-State relations enshrined in the Charter is the only effective protection for States against the domineering influence of the big Powers. It is in this perspective that my delegation views the situation in Kampuchea and Afghanistan.

398. The situation in Kampuchea remains a matter of grave concern. Despite strenuous efforts by the

United Nations and the International Conference on Kampuchea, peace and stability have not come to that country and the situation remains precarious. Only a just solution of the military and political issues can lead to a comprehensive solution of the Kampuchean problem. My delegation once again reiterates its call for the total withdrawal of foreign forces, which alone can create the conditions in which the Kampuchean people can exercise their right to self-determination.

399. Similarly, developments in Afghanistan have been a cause of great tension and anxiety throughout the world. The General Assembly has more than once pronounced itself unequivocally on the principles involved and the action required. Only adherence to the will of an overwhelming majority of the international community can help facilitate a fair political solution that will ensure that the Afghan people determine their own destiny without intervention or interference from outside. The efforts of the Secretary-General and his Personal Representative, Mr. Diego Cordovez, enjoy the full confidence and support of my delegation.

400. The situation in Central America remains volatile and tense. A feeling of insecurity and fear of destabilization caused by outside forces is fuelling violence and tension in the region. My delegation reiterates its support for Security Council resolution 530 (1983), which reaffirms the right of the States in the region to live in peace and freedom. The efforts of the Contadora Group continue to receive our firm support.

401. The situation in Cyprus has taken an unhappier turn in the recent past. Nepal reiterates its support for the territorial integrity, independence, sovereignty and non-aligned character of Cyprus. My delegation believes that intercommunal talks under the auspices of the Secretary-General offer the best hope for a viable solution of the Cyprus problem, and it renews its support for the recent initiative taken by the Secretary-General in that direction.

402. Nepal remains firm in its view that the aspirations of the Korean people for national reunification must be fulfilled peacefully, without outside interference.

403. Despite concerted efforts by the international community, South Africa persists with the abhorrent system of *apartheid*. It also continues to implement its policy of bantustanization, designed to make millions of citizens aliens in their own country. The recent sham reforms to give a semblance of representation to the so-called Coloureds and persons of Indian origin is yet another manoeuvre of the minority racist régime to deny the majority their birthright. South Africa's policies constitute a supreme negation of all that constitutes the guiding principles of the United Nations. My delegation renews its call for effective international measures under the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, measures which alone can force the South African régime to respect the will of the international community, thus neutralizing a potential threat to international peace and security.

404. My delegation has repeatedly voiced its total opposition to South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia. We strongly denounce the prevarications often resorted to by South Africa to delay indefinitely the independence of that Territory, for which the United Nations has the sole responsibility. My Government reaffirms its support for the just struggle of the Namibian people, under the leadership of SWAPO. We also renew our appeal to the members of the contact group of five Western States to intensify their efforts for the early implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which alone constitutes the internationally accepted basis for the solution of the Namibian question.

405. Apart from the specific political and security issues to which I have referred, there are economic problems of an equally great magnitude which confront humanity and which must be taken into account seriously if we are to make progress in the great task of building a reasonably acceptable world order. In spite of attempts to strengthen international co-operation, the world continues to face increasing economic difficulties.

406. In the face of the pressing economic needs of the third world countries, the continued deadlock in the efforts to launch global negotiations is clearly unacceptable. The Group of 77 has been approaching the issue with an open and positive mind, as was evident in the exploratory exchanges during the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly. We are dismayed that the London Economic Summit of the industrialized countries, held in June of this year, was conspicuously silent on the issue of global negotiations.

407. Our concern over this continued impasse arises from our conviction that the fundamental problems facing the international community in areas of development and international economic co-operation are global in nature and therefore require a global, integrated approach. Short of this, no measure, no solution, however well-intentioned, can adequately respond to the present crisis.

408. The much-heralded recovery is limited to a few developed market economies. High interest rates, falling prices of primary products, fluctuating exchange rates, an increasing tendency to protectionism, a critical shortfall in resources of international development agencies and the high cost of imports have made the economies of developing countries even more vulnerable. In these circumstances, the negative attitude to the pressing needs of the developing countries is most regrettable.

409. The United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries, held in Paris in 1981, drew the attention of the international community to the plight of that group of countries, whose economies were extremely fragile and faced further deterioration if immediate international action was not forthcoming. The Substantial New Programme of Action for the 1980s for the Least Developed Countries, adopted by that Conference,[10] was a firm commitment of the international community to help to develop the infrastructure of the least developed countries and to launch sustained development programmes. A mid-term global review of the implementation of the Programme is to be undertaken in 1985. Looking back, we cannot but express serious concern at the lack of progress in the implementation of special measures envisaged under the Programme. My delegation wishes to take this opportunity to remind donor countries of their solemn commitments and urge them to come forward generously to realize the objectives set out in the Programme.

410. As a least developed, as well as a land-locked country, Nepal has a vital stake in the full and

successful implementation of the Programme. We have launched a co-ordinated and programmed effort to achieve the all-round development of our country, but our efforts need a good degree of international support. While we accept primary responsibility for our own national development, international co-operation can go a long way in helping us to help ourselves.

411. International development organizations have a vital role to play in achieving the objectives of the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade [*resolution 35/56, annex*]. Shortfalls in the critically needed resources allocated voluntarily to those organizations are disturbing. Organizations like UNDP have, over the years, developed a highly refined skill to provide development assistance. Inability to use these valuable tools because of severe resource constraints would indeed be unfortunate. I take this opportunity to express our appreciation of the valuable assistance Nepal has been receiving from various United Nations bodies and agencies.

412. Given the interdependent nature of the world economy, energy, including new and renewable sources of energy, cannot be treated in isolation. It is an issue closely related to international finance and monetary questions and development assistance. Development of a sustainable supply of energy without excessively depleting natural resources is a great challenge to the international community. It was in this spirit that my country welcomed the Nairobi Programme of Action for the Development and Utilization of New and Renewable Sources of Energy, adopted in 1981,[11] and the subsequent developments leading to identification of priority areas for immediate study and possible implementation.

413. Nepal has based its strategy for national development on an accelerated but prudent exploitation of water resources. However, the magnitude of the task in terms of resources and technology requirements is immense. We appreciate the interest and active participation of friendly countries and multilateral institutions in this undertaking.

414. Because we are aware of the fact that science and technology alone can give us a breakthrough in socio-economic development, the activities at the United Nations in this field are of great interest to us. In the last few years we have made some institutional arrangements to mobilize local talent for national development. My delegation notes with satisfaction the work done by the Intergovernmental Committee on Science and Technology for Development in implementing the Vienna Programme of Action on Science and Technology for Development, adopted in 1979.[12] We look forward to an early settlement of the issue concerning resources for the establishment of a financing system for science and technology.

415. The continued deadlock in the North-South dialogue has reinforced the importance and urgency of South-South co-operation. My delegation expresses satisfaction at the achievements of the follow-up of the Caracas Programme of Action adopted by the High Level Conference on Economic Co-operation among Developing Countries, held at Caracas in May 1981.[13]

416. Nepal firmly believes that the strengthening of South-South co-operation is an essential ingredient of international co-operation and development. As a part of this process, the seven countries of South Asia are engaged in a programme of regional co-operation. We have already covered important ground at the conceptual stage, and an integrated programme of action has been adopted. The second South Asian Regional Co-operation Meeting of Foreign Ministers, held at Male on 10 and 11 July of this year, gave clear guidelines for the systematic implementation of the programme of action, launched in a spirit of mutual understanding for mutual benefit.

417. This brief survey of a few of the important issues facing us brings me back to the idea with which I opened my statement. The ideal world order which the Charter of the United Nations visualizes, viewed against ever-increasing and complicated problems, appears Utopian. It is, however, preferable to a course of events which, if allowed to grow unchecked, would lead to a world conflagration.

418. While the reality around us is bleak, we at least have some instruments to deal with it. The process of decolonization, except for Namibia, is almost complete. Human rights and human dignity have become important factors in international affairs; science and technology offer great prospects for attacking poverty and inequality on a global scale; and, above all, the United Nations offers a unique mechanism to deal with threats to international peace and security. The frequent side-tracking of the decisions of the Security Council and its failure to develop an effective common approach to potential threats to international peace and security have eroded respect for the Security Council and for the United Nations in general. If things are allowed to go on in this way, we face the danger of accepting difficulties without trying to solve them, with possible catastrophic results.

419. This places enormous responsibilities on each of the States Members of the United Nations. A rededication to the commitments undertaken under the Charter must mean a clear realization of the demand for cohesion and co-operation in facing threats—political, security and economic. International peace and security and international co-operation for global development are issues which override ideological interests. Given the sincere co-operation of all, the mechanisms provided in the Charter for the maintenance of international peace and security, for social justice and for economic development are as valid today as they were at the time of their formulation.

420. Nepal has abiding faith in the principles and purposes of the United Nations. We stand ready to contribute in whatever way we can to strengthening this international instrument of peace and development. The present state of international relations and the crisis in the world economy have only reinforced our belief in the indivisibility of peace and development. This perception has led us to support the establishment of zones of peace in the Indian Ocean, South-East Asia and any other region or country. We likewise support the recent initiatives of ASEAN to make South-East Asia a nuclear-weapon-free zone. It has been our considered view that each initiative of this nature, be it the creation of a zone of peace or of a nuclear-weapon-free zone, will help to reduce tension and institutionalize peace, with a positive and salutary effect on peace, stability and development.

421. Inspired by a desire further to strengthen peaceful and co-operative relations with all countries and in response to our national needs and aspirations, King Birendra has proposed that Nepal be declared a zone of peace. This proposal embodies our firm resolution to meet challenges of development in an atmosphere of stability and security, while contributing to the cause of peace and stability in our neighbourhood and beyond. This proposal reflects our traditional ethos and embraces the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations and the purposes of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. I take this opportunity to thank all those countries which have supported our proposal.

422. In conclusion, I wish to emphasize once again the gravity of the present international situation. The tendency to replace co-operation by confrontation, conciliation by conflict, mutual understanding by discord and accommodation by imposition cannot be allowed to grow unchecked. With its near universal membership and well-established principles, the United Nations continues to be our best hope for saving ourselves and succeeding generations from the scourge of war. What is needed is our will to use this machinery and effort to make it more effective. Nepal is ready to support any initiative in that direction.

The meeting rose at 8.30 p.m.

NOTES

[1] United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 634, No. 9068.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. 402, No. 5778.

[3] E/CN.4/1984/72.

[4] Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, signed at Helsinki on 1 August 1975.

[5] *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirtieth Session, First Committee*, 2052nd meeting and *ibid.*, *First Committee, Sessional Fascicle*, corrigendum.

[6] A/AC.105/337, annex IV, sect. C, document A/AC.105/C.2/L.147.

[7] *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-eighth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1983*, document S/15830.

[8] See *Report of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.83.I.21), chap. I, sect. A, para. 5.

[9] See *Report of the International Conference on Population, 1984* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.84.XIII.8), chap. I.

[10] See *Report of the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.82.I.8), part one, sect. A.

[11] See *Report of the United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.81.I.24), chap. I, sect. A.

[12] See *Report of the United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.79.I.21 and corrigenda), chap. VII.

[13] See A/36/333 and corr. 1.

United Nations

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

THIRTY-NINTH SESSION

Official Records

8th PLENARY MEETING

Wednesday, 26 September 1984, at 10.30 a.m.

NEW YORK

President: Mr. Paul J. F. LUSAKA (Zambia).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. GENSCHER (Federal Republic of Germany):* May I first extend to you, Mr. President, the congratulations of the Federal Republic of Germany on your election to your high office. We consider your personality, your extraordinary talents and your long-standing deep commitment to the cause of the United Nations to be a guarantee of success in accomplishing your difficult tasks. We see in you the representative of a continent and a country with which we are linked by traditionally good and friendly relations.

2. I wish to express also the gratitude of my country to your predecessor, Mr. Jorge Illueca, for the competent way in which he guided the work of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly.

3. At the same time, I wish to thank the Secretary-General and his collaborators for their untiring efforts and for the excellent work done in the past year in the interest of strengthening the United Nations and of peace in the world.

4. It gives me particular pleasure today to welcome Brunei Darussalam to this forum as a new Member State. We entertain good bilateral relations with Brunei Darussalam and feelings of friendship for it as a member of the Association of South-East Asian Nations [*ASEAN*].

5. In his thought-provoking report on the work of the Organization [*A/39/1*], the Secretary-General recalls the historical achievements of the United Nations. We support his appeal that the great potential of this international Organization for the prevention and settlement of conflicts be utilized and strengthened.

6. The essential characteristics of the world today are the relationship between the industrial countries of the North and the developing countries of the South and the relationship between the democratic industrial countries of the West and the communist industrial countries of the East. West and East account for the greater part of the North. The North is a house divided, but the South, too, is torn by tension and antagonism.

7. We need dialogue between North and South. Internal tensions within North and South obstruct and slow down this dialogue. North and South must, therefore, reduce their internal tensions and dedicate their intellectual and material resources to a common effort aimed at the development of an international order based on equality, accommodation of interests and co-operation; an international order in which everyone has a fair chance, in which people can develop their strengths and abilities; an international order in which human rights are respected and social justice is applied to all.

8. This calls for what I would term an international domestic policy, a policy rooted in the conviction that the future of one's own country can only be assured if the future of all countries is assured.

9. The most pressing North-South problem is the debt crisis in many developing countries, particularly in Latin America. The Presidents of Argentina and Venezuela have made pointed reference to this situation in their statements to the Assembly [*5th and 6th meetings*]. The effects of the debt crisis are felt by South and North. Forceful measures of adjustment are required if the debtor countries are to recover economically. Such measures have political and social repercussions in those countries. Jacques de Larosière, Managing Director of the International Monetary Fund [*IMF*], said recently:

> "It must be realized that there are social and political limits to economic adjustment. The advantages gained by a country from servicing its debts and pursuing a policy of adjustment must be worth the cost in terms of the human misery caused by the adjustment."

Only in this spirit can the problem be solved.

10. The crisis is confronting the North, too, with difficulties. The necessary import restrictions by the debtor countries mean export reductions for industrial countries. The international banking system has been put under heavy pressure. This crisis can be solved only by the common effort of North and South. The debt-servicing commitments and the servicing ability of the developing countries must be brought back into harmony. We need longer-term rescheduling strategies to support successful adjustment efforts by debtors. Mexico has furnished proof that it is possible to adjust successfully. We have reason to hope that the other countries, too, after a painful initial adjustment phase, will manage to move on to the second phase, in which adjustment and growth again go hand in hand.

11. We shall overcome the debt crisis only through intensive dialogue and co-operative solidarity. We therefore welcome the comprehensive dialogue on this subject scheduled to take place early next year within the IMF and the World Bank.

---

*Mr. Genscher spoke in German. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

12. If economic recovery and development are to take place in the third world, a package of co-ordinated measures is necessary.

13. First, the industrial countries must ensure their own stable growth.

14. Secondly, protectionism must be fought. Markets must remain open and become more open to exports from the third world. Deeds must be made to match the many words in favour of liberalized trade.

15. Thirdly, the over-high international interest level must fall. How can permanent growth be achieved in the developing countries in the face of today's level of real interest?

16. Fourthly, the developing countries need more direct investments from abroad. The industrial countries must therefore continue their investment promotion policy. The developing countries, for their part, must create a favourable investment climate. Direct investments not only transfer capital but also transfer technology and managerial experience and provide easier access to the world market. The transfer of technology to the third world must be promoted with the utmost energy. An agreement on balanced codes for transnational enterprises and technology transfers would encourage investment.

17. Our special attention and assistance must be devoted to the world's poorest countries. Since 1971, the number of least developed countries has risen from 25 to 36. Their economic growth, and especially their food production, are not keeping pace with population growth. Their debt burden is oppressive. They need increasing official development assistance. For this reason, the Federal Republic of Germany has always given particular consideration to those countries in its development co-operation. For years it has been providing them only with grants. It has remitted the public debt of most of those countries.

18. The situation is particularly dramatic in many African countries. Africa needs international solidarity and the co-ordinated efforts of the international community. Food security must be at the heart of these efforts; acute need must be combated; self-sufficiency must be strengthened. Africa is therefore a focus of our development co-operation. Substantially more than 40 per cent of our entire aid is channelled into that continent. In response to the appeal by the Secretary-General, we provided an additional 50 million deutsche mark for special food security action in 1984. The World Bank report on sub-Saharan Africa reinforces our intention to allocate additional funds to Africa in 1985.

19. At this point I should like to appeal to the industrial countries with State trading organizations to bring their development aid into an acceptable relationship with their economic power and their arms expenditure. They too should open their doors more widely to exports from developing countries. They absorb only 5 per cent of all exports from developing countries, whereas more than two thirds of such exports go to the Western industrial States.

20. According to estimates by the International Conference on Population, held at Mexico City from 6 to 14 August 1984, the population of the world will almost double in the next 40 years, despite all the efforts to decelerate population growth. That will multiply the number and the seriousness of the problems facing humanity. We who live today bear responsibility for ensuring that our children and grandchildren inherit a world which permits them to live in human dignity. The danger is growing that "spaceship Earth" will no longer be able to carry mankind.

21. The universal nature of this danger to the future is forcing the community of nations to pool its resources. More people need more food, drinking water, clothing, accommodation, schools, employment, hospitals and recreation facilities. All these things are not even sufficiently available to the majority of those living now. And yet we must provide them for more than 8 billion people, and time is short.

22. An increase in population will also impose greater strains on the environment. Even now, we see the deserts spreading, valuable soil becoming salinated and eroded, vegetation in industrial countries being threatened by acid rain. Year by year, numerous types of animals and plants disappear irretrievably. Seas and inland waters are becoming polluted. Hydrocarbon combustion is jeopardizing the world climate. Industrial waste, refuse and sewage pose enormous technical and financial challenges to the world community. UNEP must become the driving force of a world-wide environmental policy. But all international co-operation is in vain if environmental protection is not practised at home, in our own countries. Polluted air and poisoned water do not stop at national boundaries. For this reason, we are talking and negotiating with all our neighbours in the West and the East on joint action to combat the dangers of pollution. The Conference on the Environment, held at Munich, provided an important stimulus for a joint approach on trans-boundary pollution. In the interest of combating environmental pollution at its source, more account must be taken than has been done hitherto, in public and private economic co-operation with the third world, of the need to protect the natural sources of life.

23. In the densely populated and highly industrialized Federal Republic of Germany, environmental problems surfaced earlier than elsewhere. We have therefore been able to gather extensive experience in recognizing, measuring and fighting pollution. We are prepared to share this experience with all interested parties.

24. The major tasks of economic growth and environmental protection, development and the provision of food cannot be solved without the potential offered by the new forms of high technology. New technological developments should serve all mankind; they must not be misused as instruments of power.

25. Gene technology, for instance, will provide the third world with new and great opportunities with regard to agriculture and the solution of the food problem. It appears possible that plants which can yield fruit even in difficult soil and climatic conditions will be developed using the methods of gene technology. It appears possible also that harvests can be considerably increased and the use of chemical fertilizers drastically reduced. The international research programmes to promote agriculture in developing countries must make full use of the opportunities offered by gene technology.

26. But this very form of technology makes us aware that new advanced technology not only presents us with opportunities but also confronts us with dangers which we must control from the outset.

Respect for creation must guide us in our use of gene technology and must make us vigilant about any misguided attempt to manipulate human heredity. Human dignity demands that such manipulation be banned and made impossible from the outset. That is a topic for the United Nations, too.

27. Co-operation between North and South must reduce the prosperity gap, overcome hunger and want, disease and ignorance, and ensure respect for fundamental human rights.

28. The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights must occupy a central place in the work of the United Nations. Peace and human rights belong together. Anyone who violates human rights is thereby breaking commitments he has assumed on the basis of the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenants on Human Rights; he is infringing international law.

29. For the Federal Republic of Germany, an active policy of support for human rights is a pillar of its policy for peace. A draft convention against torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment[1]—a draft convention which we support and to which we attach great importance—has been submitted to the General Assembly. We appeal to all Member States to accept the draft convention and the control procedures for which it provides and to let it become effective. Torture, one of the most dreadful scourges of mankind, must be banished from the world. No one should be delivered into the hands of torturers, and no torturer should go unpunished.

30. We welcome the favourable reaction to our proposal for an optional protocol prohibiting capital punishment. I ask for further constructive co-operation. I address my appeal also to those States which do not yet want to give up the death penalty.

31. Racism, particularly *apartheid* in South Africa, constitutes a fundamental violation of human dignity. We appeal to the Republic of South Africa to clear the way for the realization by all its citizens of elementary human rights.

32. The United Nations needs institutions that permit better protection of human rights. The appeals for the appointment of a high commissioner for human rights and for the institution of a court of human rights point the way to this goal.

33. The Charter of the United Nations represents a magnificent effort to overcome the inherited structures, based on the possession and projection of power, and to create new structures for peace. But the United Nations has not yet united the nations of the world. The world is still marked by rivalry between nations and power blocs, rooted in distrust. That is the result of bitter historical experience. World history has taught nations to be prepared for the possibility of force from outside.

34. Force is still being used. The Afghan people long for the right to preserve in peace their independence, their self-determination and the faith of their fathers. Laos and Kampuchea are fighting for their independence. In the Gulf war, people are still dying a senseless death. Central America is riven by tension from without and within. The independence of Namibia is still being withheld. In South Africa, people are discriminated against because of their colour. There will be no rest for the Middle East as long as violence and not negotiations are the order of the day. Without an undertaking to refrain from the use of force, without the realization by the Palestinian people of their right to self-determination, without recognition of the right of all States, including Israel, of their right to exist, there will never be a lasting and just peace in the Middle East.

35. We must strengthen the peace-making influence of the United Nations. The Secretary-General has rightly pointed out that there should be less talk about the inefficiency of the United Nations and more about a lack of willingness on the part of States to tap its potential. To this end, the principle of universality must remain inviolate. Despite all our differences, we must always so conduct the dialogue as to make its continuation seem desirable to all participants. We all know how difficult it is to settle or even to restrict conflicts once they have broken out. That is why conflicts must be nipped in the bud. For this purpose we need an effective early-warning system permitting the Security Council and the Secretary-General to act swiftly. We support the proposals made by the Secretary-General on this matter.

36. In the Special Committee on the Charter of the United Nations and on the Strengthening of the Role of the Organization, the Federal Republic of Germany, along with other delegations, has submitted proposals on the prevention of international conflicts.

37. Our refugee initiative, aimed at reducing the horrendous flow of refugees through political co-operation, also serves the purpose of stifling potential conflicts.

38. Observance of the prohibition of the use of force is the first step that must be taken. An undertaking not to use force does not mean renouncing convictions, values and interests. It focuses on the form and the means used by States to settle their differences. The undertaking to refrain from the use of force is one of the fundamental and indispensable principles for ordering the peaceful coexistence of States. The policy of the Federal Republic of Germany is a policy for peace, embedded in the commitment to refrain from using force. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization, to which we belong, is built on this foundation. In their Bonn Declaration of 10 June 1982, the allies stated:

> "Our purpose is to prevent war and, while safeguarding democracy, to build the foundations of lasting peace. None of our weapons will ever be used except in response to attack."

39. We know that military strength alone cannot guarantee a peaceful future. Disarmament and arms control are therefore integral parts of our security policy. In Europe, East and West face each other with huge arsenals; throughout the world, enormous resources, which could otherwise help us and the developing countries shape our future, are spent on arms. The prevalent distrust can be measured by reference to world arms expenditure figures. Confidence-building and disarmament are demands addressed to the entire international community, to East and West, to North and South alike.

40. Today, no region of the world can find peace and security on its own. Arms control in Europe strengthens peace and stability in the world. The world-wide and regional dialogue on disarmament and arms control has not been interrupted. Pessi-

mism and resignation must not doom our efforts, which must be guided by the will to utilize the available instruments to pursue an active policy. That means, above all, that negotiations must take place. This principle must apply everywhere and in respect of all weapons. No weapons system must be excepted. No one may consider only his own security interests; the legitimate interests of others must also be acknowledged. No one may seek security at the expense of others.

41. We welcome the fact that President Reagan, speaking from this rostrum [*4th meeting*], proposed to the Soviet Union a comprehensive disarmament dialogue. That dialogue is in the interest of all peoples. The United States and the Soviet Union bear a particular responsibility on account of their nuclear potential and their obligations deriving from the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*].

42. Like the President of the United States, we favour the resumption of nuclear-arms negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union without pre-conditions. We support the American desire for drastic reductions in the field of intercontinental strategic weapons. As hitherto, we want global renunciation of land-based intermediate-range missiles by the United States and the Soviet Union. We support every balanced agreement made to this end.

43. We call for arms control with regard to outer space while there is still time.

44. At the Vienna Talks on Mutual Reduction of Forces, Armaments and Associated Measures in Central Europe, we want to achieve parity in conventional forces in Central Europe by means of mutual troop reductions.

45. We urge the participants in the Conference on Confidence- and Security-building Measures and Disarmament in Europe, meeting at Stockholm, to agree to concrete, militarily significant and verifiable measures for security and confidence-building. Such measures must apply to the whole of Europe.

46. We advocate that the undertaking to refrain from the threat or use of force be made concrete and be reaffirmed within the mandate given to the Stockholm Conference. It must apply among all States within the alliance systems and to the actions of participating States throughout the world.

47. We call for a fresh initiative in the process of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. The Finnish proposal that the tenth anniversary of the Helsinki Final Act[2] be marked by a conference at a political level merits support.

48. We appeal to all Members of the United Nations to enter into the process of confidence-building in all parts of the world in a practical and serious manner, thereby improving world-wide the conditions for disarmament and arms control.

49. It remains important, in view of the universal increase in military expenditure, to publish military budgets and make them comparable. We call for a United Nations register providing information on arms exports and imports throughout the world.

50. We want a world-wide, comprehensive and verifiable ban on chemical weapons. It is not sufficient to ban chemical weapons in Europe only, thereby preserving the option of using them in other parts of the world.

51. The commitments entered into as a result of disarmament negotiations must be verifiable. The Federal Republic of Germany will contribute its share to achieving success in disarmament negotiations.

52. Europe has experienced the horrors of two world wars. The European Community was born of these experiences. We seek European union. The peoples joined in that union will develop their strengths and capabilities in such a way that Europe can take its rightful place in the world.

53. Franco-German friendship is an example of how the lessons of history can be taken to heart. The joint commemoration by the Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany and the President of the French Republic of the war dead at the Verdun military graves is a symbol of reconciliation and friendship.

54. The States of the European Community want to master the future together. But Europe is more than the 10 States—soon to be 12—of the European Community. We seek co-operation with all the States of Europe. We Germans are aware of the responsibility deriving from the history of our country and from our situation at the heart of Europe. The Federal Republic of Germany has linked its fate firmly to that of Europe. Our policy is a policy for peace in Europe. With the other States participating in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, we want to create, on the basis of the Helsinki Final Act, a peaceful order in Europe in which co-operation can develop freely between States, irrespective of the differences in their systems. We seek a peaceful order in which, as envisaged in the Helsinki Final Act, nations can determine their own fate and live free from the fear of violence, threats and restriction of their liberty and in which people can enjoy the exercise of their lawful rights and the fruits of peaceful international exchanges.

55. It is a policy for peace in Europe too when we declare, as stated in the letter on German unity, that our political aim is to work for a state of peace in Europe in which the German nation will regain its unity through free self-determination.

56. The treaties concluded between my country and our Eastern neighbours in the 1970s cleared the way for the Helsinki Final Act. We stand by every word of those treaties. The Federal Republic of Germany respects the territorial integrity of all States within their present boundaries. It proceeds from the existing situation in Europe. It makes no territorial claims on anyone and will not do so in the future either. The Federal Republic of Germany considers the borders of all States to be inviolable and will continue to do so. We call upon all States to educate their young people in peace and in respect for other nations and other opinions. Education in hatred jeopardizes peace; polemics against the peaceful intentions of other nations poison the political atmosphere.

57. The Federal Republic of Germany wishes to breathe life into the treaties concluded with its Eastern neighbours. We want the Helsinki Final Act to be implemented in all its parts. We want to continue the process of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. That process has improved the situation in Europe; it has stood up under severe strains in the international climate. The contribution of all participants in the Conference, large States as well as small, will remain indispens-

able to security and co-operation in Europe. We want co-operation with all the States adherents to the Warsaw Pact. We want co-operation—political, economic, technological and environmental. We want close cultural exchanges.

58. We shall resolutely and patiently pursue our charted course towards compromise and understanding. We shall not let ourselves be disheartened or confounded. We shall consistently pursue with the Soviet Union the dialogue and co-operation based on the Treaty of Moscow—and continued even during difficult times. That Treaty, like the long-term economic agreement, opens up great vistas that must be exploited.

59. The desire for German-Polish understanding and reconciliation determines our thinking and action towards the Polish nation. The Treaty of Warsaw, concluded on 7 December 1970, breached once and for all the vicious circle of injustice and retaliation. It was one of the most important milestones in German and European post-war politics.

60. Our co-operation with the German Democratic Republic, even at times of East-West tension, is an expression of the historically rooted responsibility of both German States for peace in Europe. This responsibility must also prove its worth in the joint solution of human and technical problems. People must be able to experience personally the benefits of détente. In this respect we have made progress. It is our wish that both German States should continue along the route marked out by the Basic Treaty normalizing relations and the Helsinki Final Act. It is our wish that they should set an example by meeting their obligations under the Final Act. In this way we shall live up to the requirement inherent in the recognition of our joint responsibility.

61. An improved relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union is vitally important to East-West relations and to world peace. Contemplation of the principles of equality and mutual consideration embodied in the United States-Soviet declaration of 1972 could smooth the way for such a development. President Reagan, in his statement to the Assembly [*4th meeting*], expressed the determination of his country to co-operate with the Soviet Union in securing world peace. That ought to meet with a favourable response from the Soviet Union. We can offer no substitute for dialogue between the United States and the Soviet Union, but we, like other medium and small-sized States, make our contribution to improving East-West relations, and it is no mean contribution.

62. Europe, so often afflicted by wars and the source of many wars in other parts of the world, must today serve as the starting-point for initiatives aimed at peace and co-operation in all parts of the world. For this reason, as a member of the European Community, the Federal Republic of Germany also relies in its relations with the third world countries on a policy that seeks, as stated in the second Lomé Convention,[3] "to reinforce, on the basis of complete equality between partners and in their mutual interest, close and continuing co-operation in a spirit of international solidarity".

63. We seek friendship and partnership on an equal basis with the countries of the South. We support the principle of genuine non-alignment because it preserves independence and provides protection from foreign hegemonic aspirations. The Movement of Non-Aligned Countries is increasingly becoming a stabilizing factor in international politics.

64. The most populous country in the world, the People's Republic of China, is of great importance to world stability. We are gratified to note that China is opening its doors to Asia and to the world at large and is exercising its co-responsibility for international peace and co-operation.

65. The regional groupings offer small and medium-sized States the opportunity to pool their resources and together to maintain their independence. The European Community co-operates closely with the States members of ASEAN and the Andean Pact within the framework of co-operation agreements. We advocate close co-operation between the members of the European Community and the States of the Gulf Co-operation Council. We are playing our part to ensure that the Euro-Arab dialogue will be further intensified.

66. In a few days the Foreign Ministers of the States members of the European Community, together with Spain and Portugal, will be meeting at San José with their counterparts from the countries of Central America and the Contadora Group to launch a political dialogue and to lay the foundations for economic co-operation between the European Community and Central America.

67. North and South must talk to one another, negotiate with one another and find joint solutions to the present and future problems of humanity. The North-South dialogue will be successful only if it is conducted in awareness of the equal dignity of all the world's cultures. The subject of cultural exchanges between North and South must not be banished to the fringe of talks; it must be at the very heart of such talks. Our world is full of cultural prejudices that are often rooted in ignorance. We all have more to learn from one another. The North may be richer than the South, but it is not thereby wiser, more human or more cultivated. The cultures of North and South must each recognize the equality of the other in its own cultural dignity. It is a matter of the mental attitude with which we encounter other peoples.

68. How often has arrogance towards other peoples arisen from contempt for their cultural identity and achievements. To understand a country, one must understand its culture. Experience of the equivalence of cultures is not inbred in peoples. It requires intensive cultural exchanges. We are prepared to give; we are prepared to take. Cultural exchanges contribute to the establishment of a peaceful international order.

69. During these days the nations of the world have turned to United Nations Headquarters in New York in hope and anxiety. They are uneasy. It is not merely the presence of tensions that worries them; it is the apparent increase in those tensions, and they wonder what will happen if the tensions continue to increase.

70. The problems confronting us are serious and difficult. No one expects us during these days to discover a magic formula that will solve them all at once. But the nations are right to expect one thing, namely, that we should give signs of hope, signs that the Governments of the world have recognized the danger, signs that they can halt the rising tensions. The nations do not want to hear us repeating long-familiar, irreconcilable positions or apportioning blame. They want to know what specifically we

intend to do in order to serve the common cause of peace. We must not disappoint them.

71. I have explained how my country fulfils its responsibility. The Federal Republic of Germany faces the challenge of peace with the confidence of a country whose citizens can freely develop and freely help to build a humanitarian and just world. This great aim of a just and humanitarian world should guide us as we celebrate the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations in 1985 and as we observe in 1986 the International Year of Peace.

72. Mr. WU Xueqian (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): First of all, please allow me, Sir, on behalf of the Chinese delegation, warmly to congratulate you, the outstanding representative of Zambia, on your election to the presidency of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. I believe that the current session will fulfil its mission successfully under your presidency. I also wish to thank your predecessor, Mr. Jorge Illueca, for his contribution to the thirty-eighth session. At the same time, I should like to take this opportunity to extend a warm welcome to China's close neighbour, Brunei Darussalam, on its admission to membership in the United Nations.

73. As representatives of the Governments of various countries of the world, we meet here every year to hold extensive exchanges of views on the international situation and to explore ways to maintain world peace, ensure international security and promote human welfare. This fact itself testifies to the importance of the United Nations and its historic mission.

74. Reviewing international developments over the past year, people cannot but feel worried. With the suspension of their disarmament negotiations, the two nuclear super-Powers have stepped up their deployment of intermediate-range missiles in Europe and adopted confrontation measures, thus further escalating their nuclear-arms race. This poses a new threat to all European countries and deeply disturbs all countries in the world. Over the past year, while the two wars of aggression in Asia went on unchecked, a new armed invasion occurred in Central America. The Middle East is still fraught with crises, and the flames of war in the Gulf region are spreading, causing widespread concern. Basically, the tension and sharp contradiction in southern Africa are not yet relaxed.

75. Meanwhile, the serious economic difficulties of many developing countries show clearly that the global North-South contradiction is sharpening and the gap between the rich and the poor widening. Therefore, I think no one will deny that peace and development, generally speaking, remain the two fundamental questions bearing upon the interests of all the peoples in the world today. I should like to take this opportunity to offer some observations on the two questions on behalf of the Chinese Government.

76. At present, what concerns and disturbs people most is the threat of a nuclear war. Despite innumerable rounds of talks on nuclear disarmament and a variety of proposals to this end, nuclear weapons have continued to increase and nuclear stockpiles have reached extremely dangerous proportions. As is universally recognized, the two super-Powers ought to bear the main responsibility on this question. It is they that possess over 95 per cent of the world's total nuclear weaponry, and it is they alone that are in a position to fight a nuclear war. Should they choose to use only a small portion of their nuclear arsenals, not only would the people of these two nuclear Powers suffer, but the people of the whole world would be plunged into an unprecedented holocaust. For this reason, the numerous small and medium-sized countries and people throughout the world are fully justified in demanding that they immediately halt their nuclear-arms race and take the lead in drastically cutting back their nuclear weaponry.

77. The arms race between the two nuclear Powers is extending to outer space. Both sides are stepping up the development of anti-ballistic missile weapon systems so as to reinforce their strategic offensive capabilities through improved strategic defensive means. Recently they have made some gestures on the question of outer space weapons, each mounting negotiation offensives against the other. However, as people can see, negotiations have not really started and yet each of the super-Powers is busy shifting the responsibility for obstructing and sabotaging the talks on to the other. This cannot but arouse suspicion. Do they really intend to hold talks or just to use them to cover up their arms race in outer space?

78. As the arms race between the two nuclear Powers escalates, the danger of a nuclear war will increase with each passing day. Though already possessing an over-saturation and overkill nuclear capacity, each of the super-Powers is doing its utmost to gain supremacy over the other on the pretext of maintaining parity and equal security, lest the other side should surpass it in terms of quantity and quality of nuclear weapons. This practice of progressive escalation of nuclear armaments cannot but arouse doubts as to whether or not they truly have a sincere desire for disarmament. What the people of the world want is genuine and effective disarmament to ensure that people can live in peace and security.

79. The Chinese Government and people always stand for nuclear disarmament. We hold that efforts should be made to promote progress in conventional as well as nuclear disarmament. The small quantity of nuclear weapons China possesses is solely for the purpose of self-defence. We have solemnly declared time and again that at no time and in no circumstances will China be the first to use nuclear weapons and that it unconditionally undertakes not to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear States and regions. China has never participated in the nuclear-arms race, nor does it intend to participate in that race or to shirk its responsibility in regard to nuclear disarmament.

80. China's position on nuclear disarmament can be summed up in the following three basic points. First, our fundamental position is the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of all nuclear weapons. Secondly, as a practical step towards nuclear disarmament, we propose that, after the Soviet Union and the United States have taken the lead in putting an end to testing, improving and manufacturing nuclear weapons and have agreed on substantially reducing their nuclear arsenals, a broadly representative international conference should be convened with the participation of all nuclear States to work out together concrete measures for further nuclear disarmament. Thirdly, before all this materializes, for the sake of reducing the threat of nuclear war and showing good faith in nuclear disarmament, all nuclear States should undertake not to be the first to

use nuclear weapons and unconditionally pledge not to use, or threaten to use, nuclear weapons against non-nuclear States and nuclear-free zones and should reach agreement on mutual non-use of nuclear weapons.

81. We support the just demand of the people of the world for the prohibition of nuclear weapons and the prevention of a nuclear war, and we appreciate all reasonable proposals conducive to nuclear disarmament and the maintenance of world peace. To promote progress in nuclear disarmament, we are ready to exchange views, within the United Nations or in other forums, on such issues as the prevention of nuclear war, the cessation of the nuclear-arms race, and nuclear disarmament, provided all the other nuclear States agree to do so.

82. As things now stand, we cannot but emphasize that it is of great urgency to demand that the two nuclear Powers stop their nuclear-arms race, halt the deployment of new intermediate-range missiles, resume negotiations on nuclear disarmament and reduce and destroy those nuclear missiles already deployed in Europe, Asia and elsewhere, and immediately stop extending their arms race to outer space. We stand for the early conclusion of a treaty on the prohibition of the arms race in outer space and a ban on research, testing, development, manufacture, deployment and use of all weapons designed for outer space warfare, as well as destruction of all the existing outer space weapon systems. All this is highly necessary for demilitarizing outer space and ensuring the peaceful use of outer space by mankind.

83. China has always opposed the development, production and use of all biological weapons detrimental to mankind. The Standing Committee of the Chinese National People's Congress has already adopted, on 20 September 1984, the decision on China's accession to the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on Their Destruction [*resolution 2826 (XXVI), annex*]. From now on, China will join other countries to combat all acts that violate this Convention and to work hard for its further improvement so as to advance the whole process of disarmament.

84. A major cause of the turbulence and tension in the world today is the commission in international relations of such acts as infringement of the sovereignty of other countries, invasion and occupation of their territories, interference in their internal affairs and the use of force against them in violation of the basic principle of the sovereign equality of all States as set forth in the Charter of the United Nations.

85. We are of the view that all nations, big or small, strong or weak, rich or poor, should be treated as equals and that they should respect one another, live in harmony and engage in mutually beneficial cooperation. The affairs of a country should be determined by the people of that country themselves. External interference of all kinds is illegal and impermissible.

86. In pursuing their foreign policies, all countries should observe the norms guiding international relations and abide by the Charter. However, the super-Powers, on the strength of their size and power, often try to impose their own will on others, thinking they may do whatever they please. Instead of respecting the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of other countries, they have pursued hegemonism and power politics and even carried out armed aggression against weak and small countries. With their support, certain regional hegemonists do not scruple to play the tyrant and have tried to annex territories of their neighbours by force. At this important rostrum of the General Assembly we have condemned more than once the big and small hegemonist Powers for their acts of aggression in violation of the Charter and in breach of international security. Today we once again strongly condemn these acts. People throughout the world will go on denouncing the hegemonists, with full justice, so long as they persist in such acts of aggression.

87. At present there exist many "hot spots" in the world. Some areas may become "hot spots" tomorrow. Kampuchea is still being trampled upon. The war of aggression against Afghanistan is being intensified and expanded. The situation in the Middle East and Central America remains complex, tense and volatile. In southern Africa, the racists and colonialists are obstructing national independence and threatening the security of neighbouring countries. Some of these "hot spots" have resulted from direct aggression by the super-Powers; others have turned into international crises because of their meddling, intervention or behind-the-scenes support and manipulation. To cool down the "hot spots", relax tensions and resolve contradictions, the prerequisite is to stop interference, control and infiltration by the super-Powers and their followers so that the parties concerned in each country or region may seek reasonable solutions to their respective internal problems through peaceful negotiations.

88. As an old Chinese saying goes, "Common fear leads to unity; common greed leads to rivalry." This is how the world situation stands today. On the one hand, the two super-Powers are in rivalry for world hegemony; and on the other, the large numbers of small and medium-sized countries are steadily strengthening their unity and supporting one another in the struggle against hegemonism. It is our belief that, in the face of unjust action where the strong bullies the weak and the big oppresses the small, the international community has the responsibility and obligation to speak out for justice and struggle against such acts in order to uphold the norms governing international relations and the principles of the Charter. Far from helping world peace and stability, tolerance towards aggressors will only inflate their arrogance.

89. The struggles of the world's people against hegemonism, imperialism, colonialism and racism are all just struggles, to which the Chinese Government and people will, as always, give firm support.

90. We support the position of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in favour of the holding of tripartite talks, the easing of tension in the Korean Peninsula and the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea, and calling for the withdrawal of United States troops from South Korea.

91. We support the people of Afghanistan in their heroic struggle to safeguard national independence and resist foreign aggression. We oppose the efforts of the Soviet Union to intensify its aggression against and devastation of Afghanistan, and we demand the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan.

92. We have always stood by the Arab people and supported their just struggle against Israeli aggression and expansion and the just struggle of the Palestinian

people to regain their legitimate national rights; and we demand Israel's withdrawal from Lebanon and from all the other Arab territories it has occupied since 1967.

93. We support the just struggle of the people of Namibia for national independence and that of the people of South Africa against *apartheid* and racial discrimination, and we demand the withdrawal of the troops of South Africa from Namibia and the cessation of military threats to the neighbouring countries.

94. We support the Latin American people and the Contadora Group in their endeavour for peace and stability in Central America and demand that the outside forces stop their acts of military intervention and infiltration in this region.

95. Here I would like, in particular, to say a few words about the question of Kampuchea. Almost six years have passed since Viet Nam invaded and occupied the independent and sovereign State of Democratic Kampuchea by armed force. Viet Nam refuses to give up its wild ambition of annexing Kampuchea despite repeated set-backs on the battlefield in its successive "dry season offensives". It has time and again played the trick of the so-called partial withdrawal in an attempt to cover up its refusal to withdraw its troops. Its demand to make its troop withdrawal conditional upon the exclusion of one of the patriotic resistance forces of Kampuchea has revealed all the more clearly that to this day it lacks the sincere desire to solve the Kampuchean question.

96. We hope to see a fair and reasonable solution to the question of Kampuchea at an early date. But a political settlement of this question must be predicated on the withdrawal of all the Vietnamese aggressor troops from Kampuchea. In our view, whether one firmly opposes aggression by Viet Nam and demands the withdrawal of its troops is a fundamental test as to whether one gives resolute support to the just struggles of people subjected to aggression, safeguards the independence of sovereign States, works for the maintenance of world peace and security and upholds the basic norms of international relations. We support the legitimate status and authority of the tripartite Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, headed by Prince Norodom Sihanouk. We believe that, after the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops, the various Kampuchean political forces will become united on a broad basis and that the Kampuchean people will be able to decide their own future through a United Nations-supervised general election, free from outside aggression and interference. We hope to see Kampuchea become an independent, peaceful, neutral and non-aligned State.

97. The Chinese Government pursues an independent foreign policy, firmly opposes hegemonism and resolutely stands by all peoples who are subjected to oppression and aggression. China will never attach itself to any big Power or group of Powers, nor yield to any outside pressure. We support the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and will not enter into alliance with any big Power. We do not practise the so-called equidistant diplomacy, or play cards or ally ourselves with one big Power against the other. In our external relations we have always followed the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence initiated jointly by China, India and Burma 30 years ago. They are: "mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence". In accordance with these principles, China has improved relations with neighbouring countries, concluded a number of boundary treaties and treaties of peace, friendship and co-operation, and developed friendly relations with many countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America, Europe, North America and Oceania. The Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence have long been written into China's Constitution and are the basic norms China follows in handling its relations with all countries.

98. We want to live in peace and to develop normal relations with all countries. Even though some countries have differences of one kind or another with us for this or that reason, we are ready to seek a settlement of the differences in a spirit of mutual understanding and consultation so that our relations with them may gradually improve.

99. Over the past three decades, the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence have stood the test of international vicissitudes and have shown great vitality. Experience shows that they are the basic norms governing relations between States and that they constitute an important weapon against hegemonist interference and aggression. In line with the trend of history and in response to the call of our time, they reflect the aspirations and interests of the people of all countries and have thus won their appreciation and support. Whether relations between countries are good or bad depends on whether or not those countries adhere to the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. If those Principles are adhered to, countries with different social systems can live in amity and engage in friendly co-operation. But if they are not adhered to, even countries with similar social systems may fall out and enter into confrontation or even conflict. We stress the importance of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence here because they are in accord with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. So long as all countries strictly adhere to the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence in their mutual relations—whether between big Powers, or between big and small countries, or between small countries—it will not be difficult to have international tensions relaxed, and world peace will surely be preserved.

100. The peace and stability of the world depend on the sustained growth of national and international economies. The development of the third world has become one of the biggest challenges mankind faces today.

101. This year marks the tenth anniversary of the Declaration and the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order, which were adopted by the General Assembly on 1 May 1974, at its sixth special session [*resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)*]. At that session 10 years ago [*2209th meeting*], Deng Xiaoping, Chairman of the Chinese delegation, pledged China's support for the just position of the third world countries calling for the restructuring of the inequitable and irrational international economic order. Despite the persistent efforts made by the developing countries to remove external constraints imposed on their economic development and improve North-South relations, the actual results are far from satisfactory. Up to now, global negotiations have not been launched, and the immediate measures for

solving the current urgent problems affecting the developing countries have failed to materialize. That this is still a far cry from the objectives set forth in the Declaration and the Programme of Action adopted at the sixth special session of the General Assembly is the result of international obstacles from certain quarters.

102. At present, economic recovery in the West is still very unsteady, and the economic prospects in developing countries remain grim. These countries are faced with such difficulties as economic stagnation, lack of funds, export restrictions and a heavy debt burden. Their development is being seriously hindered.

103. The grave difficulties of the least developed countries, particularly the desperate plight of many such countries in Africa, ought to receive close attention and deep sympathy from the whole world. In the areas south of the Sahara, more than 100 million people are plagued by famine, with vast numbers of women and children on the verge of death, as a result of long years of economic stagnation and a drop in per capita income for years running, coupled with the threat of continued drought and reduction of grain output. It is urgent that the international community take concerted action in response to their appeal for help in coping with the difficulties. All developed countries have the obligation to give them adequate aid of all kinds and to help them to overcome their economic difficulties and alleviate the people's sufferings.

104. The grave debt problem is an urgent issue facing developing countries, Latin American countries in particular. The total volume of external debt incurred by the third world as a whole has reached a staggering figure. Recently, the continued rise in the interest rates of United States banks has further increased the burden on debtor countries. In our view, settlement of the debt problem is a responsibility which the creditor countries, commercial banks and international financial agencies should shoulder together with the debtor countries. The principle for settling this problem should be the promotion of debt service through development. The debtor countries should be asked to adopt readjustment policies aimed at promoting their economic growth, and not to impose a recessionist policy. The creditor countries should take such measures as lowering high interest rates, improving terms of payment, reducing trade restrictions, increasing governmental development aid and providing adequate credits and loans so as to reduce the burden of the debtor countries. We appreciate and support the reasonable proposals put forward by debtor countries for settling the debt problem, and the responsible attitude they adopt. We hope that, through their own sustained efforts and with the attention and help of the international community, the debtor countries will be able gradually to extricate themselves from their difficult position so that the current debt crisis may be eased and overcome.

105. Protectionism is another urgent problem that affects the economic growth of the developing countries. We have noted with concern that, with the gradual recovery of the economies of developed countries, protectionism is on the rise rather than on the decline. This has become a major obstacle to the economic recovery and development of the developing countries. We call on the major developed countries immediately to adopt effective measures to honour their promises made at various international forums and to halt and reverse the trend of increased protectionism against the developing countries so that the latter may increase their export earnings and create conditions for the expansion of their imports and the growth of their economies.

106. The world economy is an integral whole. Its stability and growth cannot be based on the affluence of the few and the impoverishment of the many. Without the economic growth of the developing countries, it will be difficult for the developed countries to achieve sustained economic recovery and expansion. The truth is quite obvious and has come to be appreciated and supported by more and more persons with breadth of vision in the West. It is regrettable that some major developed countries have thus far failed to consider in earnest the practical difficulties and urgent demands of the numerous developing countries. These developed countries have remained indifferent to the North-South dialogue and global negotiations and have opposed a restructuring of the old international economic order. Theirs is a short-sighted policy.

107. The Group of 77 has already put forward a series of practical proposals that have taken into consideration the interests of all countries concerned. In order to remove the obstacles in the way of launching global negotiations, they have time and again made major efforts and proposed that the global negotiations be carried out in two phases. The International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade, adopted by the General Assembly in 1980 [*resolution 35/56, annex*], also gives expression to the common desire of the international community to establish the new international economic order and to revitalize the world economy.

108. The mid-term review and appraisal of the implementation of the Strategy should mainly be aimed at ensuring the full implementation of the series of policy measures set forth in the Strategy. The developing countries have proposed the convening of another international conference on money and finance with the object of promoting development. We hope that all countries concerned will strive to create conditions for the early convocation of that conference. It has been our consistent view that the solution of the immediate problems facing the developing countries should be closely linked with the effort to achieve the long-term objective of establishing the new international economic order. We support all proposals that proceed from the overall interests of the world economy and that help to improve North-South relations and promote development in the third world. We are ready to join the other developing countries in making unremitting efforts to establish the new international economic order.

109. There is great potential for increased co-operation among third world countries with their vast territories and rich resources. While North-South negotiations are at a stalemate, South-South co-operation among developing countries is making further progress. South-South co-operation is not only an effective way for the developing countries to strengthen collective self-reliance in overcoming difficulties and developing their economies, but also an important impetus to the North-South dialogue and a booster to their negotiating positions. The Chinese Government is ready to play its part in promoting

South-South co-operation in accordance with the principles of equality and mutual benefit, stress on practical results, diversity in form and common progress.

110. Peace and development are two major issues in the world today. They also constitute the primary objectives of China's domestic and foreign policies. The Chinese people are now engaged in a large-scale socialist modernization drive. Their goal can be attained only through long years of efforts in a peaceful international environment.

111. This year marks the thirty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China. We have scored great achievements in these 35 years, particularly in the years since 1979, which have witnessed the sustained growth and co-ordinated development of China's economy. True, we made detours and paid our price, but we gained experience as well. It is our basic experience that economic development must be based on the actual conditions of one's own country: there is no ready-made model to copy and one has to blaze one's own trail. A period of 35 years is far too short for us to turn China, with its large population and vast territory, into a modernized, prosperous and strong socialist country. Thirty-five years are not enough, not even another 35 years. China will continue unswervingly to pursue its foreign policy of peace and will make every possible endeavour for the maintenance of world peace.

112. Based on the idea of "one country, two systems", the Chinese Government has decided to resume the exercise of sovereignty over Hong Kong in 1997 and establish a Hong Kong Special Administrative Region. That is to say, in view of the history of Hong Kong and its realities, a special administrative region where the capitalist system will remain unchanged for 50 years is to be established in a socialist country. This idea, based as it is on China's actual conditions, conforms to a common aspiration and the interests of the 1 billion Chinese people, including our compatriots in Hong Kong. Thanks to their joint efforts, the Chinese and British Governments have reached and initialled an agreement on the question of Hong Kong. The settlement of this question will contribute significantly to the lofty cause of the reunification of our great motherland and to stability and peace in Asia.

113. China's foreign policy remains firm and consistent, as it is based on the fundamental interests of the people of China and of the rest of the world. We support the people of all countries in their struggle to safeguard sovereignty and independence and develop their national economy and in their struggle against the arms race and the threat of war and hegemonism and in defence of world peace. China wishes to live in peace and develop normal relations with all other countries in the world, including the United States and the Soviet Union. China stands for the easing of world tensions and the settlement of all international disputes through peaceful consultations and earnest negotiations. China also hopes to see the two super-Powers, the United States and the Soviet Union, end their nuclear arms race and global rivalry and improve their bilateral relations in the interest of world peace and international security.

114. Only with peace can there be development. Without development, there can be no stability; and without stability, peace is out of the question. Peace and development are inseparable. They are the two major objectives which the world's people have most at heart and to which the United Nations is committed. We must march towards these two major objectives, however numerous the difficulties and obstacles may be. We are convinced that with the concerted efforts of the people all over the world these objectives can definitely be attained.

115. It is nearly 40 years since the founding of the United Nations, which, having traversed a path by no means smooth and uneventful, today shoulders an even heavier responsibility for the maintenance of world peace and international security. We appreciate and support the Secretary-General's statement in his report on the work of the Organization [*A/39/1*] expressing the desire and demand to make the United Nations work better. As one of the founders of the United Nations and one of the permanent members of the Security Council, China is determined to make the greatest endeavour possible, together with other countries, to uphold the Charter and strengthen the role of the United Nations.

116. Mr. CHEYSSON (France) (*interpretation from French*): First of all, I should like to pay a tribute to you, Sir, as President of the General Assembly. Your far-sighted opening address [*1st meeting*] matches our own concerns and positions on many points. Through you I should also like to salute the country you represent here, Zambia, and its President, Kenneth Kaunda, a tireless advocate of peaceful evolution in southern Africa.

117. It is an honour for me to lead, for the fifth time, the French delegation to a session of the General Assembly. This session, which welcomes the admission of the 159th Member of the United Nations, Brunei Darussalam, is a noteworthy opportunity also for me to affirm from this rostrum, as did the President of the French Republic at the thirty-eighth session [*9th meeting*] and the Prime Minister at the thirty-seventh session [*12th meeting*], the importance France attaches to the building of an international order defined in terms of law and watched over and nurtured by the organs of the United Nations family: the Security Council, which enjoys permanent decision-making power, as defined in the Charter of the United Nations; the General Assembly, which gives each State the right of political expression; and the specialized agencies, including those of Bretton Woods, whose spheres of jurisdiction have been and will continue to be specified and enlarged as necessity dictates.

118. The duty of the international community, of the United Nations, is to provide a framework, a means of expressing the aspirations of our peoples to justice, security and independence and to try to find answers to the problems that arise among our nations. If the United Nations fails in this task, current conflicts will worsen and others will be added to them; whole regions of the world will become arenas of confrontation. This we know. We also know—and I will return to this point later—that the whole of economic life is threatened by potentially explosive situations that might be catastrophic for some and would spare none.

119. This is another way of saying that my Government once again this year endorses the Secretary-General's report on the work of the Organization [*A/39/1*] and wishes to be associated with that veritable manifesto for the multilateralism and universality of the United Nations. We also note the

frankness and clear-sightedness of the criticisms that he has deemed it necessary to express of the work of the United Nations itself: his condemnation, for example, of the proliferation of resolutions that go unapplied, or his concern at the ever-growing politicization of a great many technical and economic problems.

120. These preliminary remarks are especially important in view of the fact, which we should have the honesty to recognize, that these past 12 months have not brought much satisfaction to most of the world's peoples. The train of poverty has lengthened as a result of economic deterioration and the contraction of world trade. Natural disasters have at times assumed catastrophic proportions. In another forum—the Development Committee of the World Bank—my colleague, the Minister of Co-operation and Development, has described the tragedies of Africa. Think of the legions of refugees driven from their villages, and sometimes their countries, by hunger, fear and the threat of annihilation. Think of the famine and the encroaching desert. It is essential to recognize forthwith that the problems of that continent are priority problems and to underscore the importance of meetings on this subject, from the Second International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa, held at Geneva from 9 to 11 July 1984, to the debate on the World Bank's interesting special report on Africa.

121. Poverty and decline, which seem to many irremediable, are affecting other parts of the third world also. All too often, and almost everywhere, hope of improvement is fading, expectation of a new development is waning, resignation is setting in, despair is becoming more widespread.

122. In short, I repeat, negative trends seem to me to have cast dark shadows the last few months. At best, there has been stagnation; in general, ground has been lost and the overriding feeling is not optimistic among the weak and the poor, which is to say the vast majority of the world.

123. Things are scarcely better on the political level. There is the impression that nothing is being resolved between East and West. For months, the super-Powers have refused to talk with each other. One of them sought to make the resumption of the negotiations which were broken off for more than a year subject to pre-conditions that prejudged the outcome. Advice was given to the closest allies to put their contacts on hold as well. Admittedly, a ray of hope has filtered through at this session—the encouraging news that meetings have finally been scheduled.

124. Elsewhere, wars and the threats of war persist. The bloody conflict between Iran and Iraq continues; the Israeli-Arab confrontation shows no sign of abating; the integrity of Lebanon has not been restored; the independence of Namibia is being continually postponed; Cyprus is torn apart; foreign forces in Afghanistan and Cambodia have not been withdrawn; insecurity and the fear of outside intervention still dominate the scene in Central America. The single bright spot is the decision on the immediate withdrawal of all foreign forces from Chad, a move that should enable the people of that country to shoulder their responsibility fully and to regain their unity, on the initiative of their Head of State.

125. How can we fail to remember, above and beyond the violations of the rights of peoples and States that I have just cited, the increasing attacks on human rights? And we hear growing and swelling the demand of ever-larger numbers of people for justice, freedom and equality. Yes, these past 12 months have been sad and discouraging.

126. In the face of such a situation, which has deteriorated over the years—and I am referring particularly to the world economic disorder, which I shall refer to again—the international community has no right to remain silent. Still less has it the right to remain inactive if it does not wish to dash the hopes of the peoples of the industrialized world, born in the aftermath of the massacres of the Second World War, and the hopes of the developing countries, born in the wake of the great wave of independence.

127. I should now like to review the various items.

128. In the East-West confrontation, no one will deny that primary responsibility in the normal course of events belongs to the two super-Powers. Therefore, we expect those Powers to re-establish contacts and dialogue.

129. The first objective has to be, as the President of the United States said the day before yesterday [*4th meeting*], to reverse the arms build-up, particularly the build-up of nuclear weapons, to avoid unleashing a new arms race triggered by the portentous announcement of imminent progress in new technologies—I am thinking in particular of space technology—and to revitalize and actively pursue the process of bringing about balanced and controlled arms limitation.

130. Concerned members of the international community can and must contribute actively to such progress. France, for its part, attaches great importance to the Conference on Confidence- and Security-building Measures and Disarmament in Europe, meeting at Stockholm, which should make it possible to restore a certain level of confidence among the countries of Europe, from the Atlantic to the Urals, in the field of conventional forces. In any case, my country will be active in the quest for a balance of forces, which is a prerequisite for peace. Its own military nuclear effort will remain exclusively on the level of defensive deterrents. Last year, at the thirty-eighth session, speaking from this rostrum [*9th meeting*], President Mitterrand outlined our position on the various discussions on this subject, namely, the strategic arms reduction talks and the negotiations on intermediate-range nuclear forces, which we hope will be resumed at an early date, and our participation in possible nuclear disarmament negotiations, once existing arsenals have been reduced to quite different and less unreasonable proportions and once other conditions have been met. Our position has not changed since then.

131. France also intends to participate actively in international efforts to prevent, under effective monitoring, particularly serious developments—I would remind members of our active participation in the discussions on chemical weapons—and in the efforts to control the new alarming and destabilizing progress in the most disturbing areas of future technology. That is the reason for the initiative taken by France at the recent meetings of the Conference on Disarmament, at Geneva, regarding the use of space for anti-missile and anti-satellite activities. It is also the reason for our considerable interest in any initiative on this matter.

132. France, a loyal partner in the Atlantic Alliance—need I reaffirm this?—nevertheless retains its freedom of judgement and action. Together with its close partners, it will encourage closer relations among the peoples of Europe, whom history united for centuries and then divided over the course of the last 40 years.

133. The peoples of Europe themselves have indeed the desire, the right and the possibility of contributing decisively to the easing of tensions. Let the right of each to express his own identity and freely to choose his future be recognized and we shall see new ties developing among European countries of different and even opposing ideologies and alliances, because our peoples want to know one another better, to rediscover together the old elements of their common past, to expand economic and cultural ties and to seek occasions for meetings and direct contact among individuals.

134. It is important, moreover, that the differences between the super-Powers, the rivalry between East and West, do not prevent the rest of the world from living its life. We are convinced of the importance of non-alignment when it is in keeping with the national will. True non-alignment can and should strengthen international stability. We are determined to help this. My President underscored this point a year ago when he actively took part in the Meeting of Ministers for Foreign Affairs and Heads of Delegation of the Non-Aligned Countries held in New York from 4 to 7 October 1983 and organized by the President of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India. Members will have noted that relations between my country and the non-aligned countries have increased and gained in trust and depth over the past few years.

135. The desire to affirm the identity of each quite naturally includes systematically encouraging the expansion of relations among neighbours, thus furthering regional co-operation. France, which has known so many wars with its neighbours over the centuries, has rediscovered the close friendship that is only fitting with its great German neighbour. It has embarked irreversibly on the construction of the European Community in all areas—commercial, economic and political. It has found in that entity a greater strength and a better potential for hearing what is happening in the world and for being heard in it. In this way, France confirms and strengthens its capacity for independence.

136. What France wishes and accomplishes for itself and its neighbours it also wishes for all others in the world. Every time a possibility of regional organization appears, my country will support it, regardless of the location. Members should not be surprised, therefore, at our commitment to the Organization of African Unity [*OAU*], the League of Arab States and also, farther from Europe, ASEAN, the Andean Pact countries, and others.

137. Quite naturally also, co-operation among regions should be encouraged. This is one way to advance relations between neighbouring countries while still preserving the real independence of all, even the weakest among them and those experiencing a period of difficulty or needing external aid at this time. Members must not think that the second Lomé Convention[3] linking the 10 member States of the European Community to 65 African, Caribbean and Pacific countries is the result of mere chance, any more than is the meeting to be held at San José the day after tomorrow which is to bring together the 10 member States of the European Community, the two candidates for admission—Spain and Portugal—and the five countries of Central America in the presence of the four countries that are members of the Contadora Group—and I could give many other examples. This is a well-thought-out policy.

138. In the global context, it is possible to trace the main lines of the action that my Government finds desirable in the face of today's major issues.

139. First of all, I should like to refer to the subject of warfare, and above all where there has been the greatest bloodshed in the past two years—I mean, between Iran and Iraq. The repeated appeals of the United Nations, and particularly the resolutions of the Security Council, must be heeded by the two belligerents and not just by one of them.

140. The use of inhumane weapons should be renounced so as to spare the civilian populations. A tribute should be paid to the Secretary-General for his efforts and the initial results he has obtained. Everything possible must be done to bring about a return to the customary freedoms in that region, particularly freedom of navigation. In this way, progress will be made towards ending this terrible conflict, which will cease to have a raison d'être once the parties return to the borders recognized by the international community and once the issues in dispute can, for the most part, be dealt with at the negotiating table.

141. Elsewhere, there are grave tensions that could lead to war: I am referring to Cyprus, for example, whose sovereignty, territorial integrity and unity cannot be called into question. We are encouraging the Secretary-General in his noteworthy efforts.

142. I am also thinking of Central America. The Central American countries should be encouraged to settle their mutual disagreements through a series of discussions and arrangements among themselves, in accordance with the principles set forth in the revised Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America [*see A/39/562*], with all interference in internal affairs and all outside intervention rejected. The political forces should thus be able to voice their own opinions and the republics of Central America should be helped finally to overcome economic and social situations that are a legacy of the past. Threats and aggression are no longer acceptable.

143. I am also referring to peoples that have been divided, the heroic people of Korea, for example. Over the centuries they have asserted their identity and unity only to find themselves subsequently drawn by war into an intolerable division, while in fact they have a right to unity. We hope the Koreans will soon sit among us as other peoples do.

144. Then, there are places where human rights are violated by outside intervention or constraints, by the unwanted occupation of foreign troops: in Afghanistan, where armed intervention by foreign forces increases as resistance by the people increases; in the Middle East, where the Palestinian people are suffering and despair of seeing their rights recognized, of knowing at long last the homeland which will be theirs; where the State of Israel, for lack of guaranteed security—which is its inalienable right—within the borders that have been recognized by the international community, pursues a policy incompatible with the indispensable recognition of the rights

of the other peoples of the region; where Lebanon, which has already suffered so much, is unable to secure respect for the Security Council resolutions concerning the southern part of its territory and to obtain an end to all foreign presence; in southern Africa, where Council resolution 435 (1978), on Namibian independence, continues to be disregarded, even defied, while the war continues in Angola, with the presence and participation on that territory of South Africa's army; in Western Sahara, whose people have a right to self-determination; in Cambodia, that country of a great and ancient civilization, bled white by appalling genocide and now occupied by its neighbours to the east.

145. What horrors these clear violations of the rights of peoples and States have entailed! And all too often these violations go hand in hand with scorn for human rights, with the negation of fundamental values that should be the basis of any society, as the Charter of the United Nations has recognized and affirmed.

146. France will speak out, will voice its condemnation, will take action wherever the lives and dignity of individuals are threatened, wherever people are held in constraint and deprived of their basic freedoms. It will continue to express its reprobation everywhere, with the same words and the same conviction. This pledge holds true for Governments and countries that are very different from one another—from the countries that signed the Helsinki Finn Act[2] to the countries east and south of Africa and on the South American shores of the Pacific. Everywhere we shall strive to alleviate suffering and obtain the freedom of those who are unjustly imprisoned, those whose names are known and stand as symbols, from Shcharansky to Mandela and the countless others who are anonymous expiatory victims.

147. The United Nations deserves support and a tribute on this level: the Commission on Human Rights; conventions that are constantly being refined and improved on; resolutions condemning racism and discrimination. It is also beginning—and I welcome this—to stress the global nature of the problem, by opening debate on economic and social rights and thereby moving, in conditions that France finds right and opportune, towards an enlargement of the definition of fundamental human rights. Such progress of law at the world level deserves constant encouragement.

148. But there are other serious threats to fundamental human rights that have to be considered. We must ask ourselves why the current world economic crisis is so serious and our market economy system powerless to contend with that crisis and resolve the economic disorder that has prevailed in the world for a number of years now.

149. After 1945, a certain economic order governed the industrialized world. There was monetary order, agreed upon at Bretton Woods; although it was, of course, threatened when the dollar left the gold standard, order nevertheless persisted and exchange parities were relatively stable. There was budgetary order; the industrialized countries made every effort to balance their budgets. There was a degree of predictability in the prices of raw materials. There was order in trade—admittedly, largely fueled by the needs of reconstruction after the massive destruction of the war and the population growth that immediately followed it. All these elements of order opened the door to a category of society that in the nineteenth century was called the proletariat—in other words, the most underprivileged in the industrialized countries—and, since then, the developing countries.

150. It seemed that growth was assured and would go on forever. Countries that had untapped or inadequately developed resources in the world decided—quite rightly—to equip themselves to exploit their wealth. They invested in people. Hundreds of thousands of young persons were sent off to receive higher education; infrastructures were developed; business capital was increased.

151. In all our countries, in Europe and in the third world, a larger production apparatus emerged, accompanied by more onerous administrative, economic and social structures. This was achieved at the price of a high level of indebtedness—a level justified, however, in a period of seemingly assured growth and when borrowing was carried out in predictable and reasonable conditions. At the same time, especially in countries that were still largely rural, a trend towards urbanization led to the migration of hundreds of thousands of peasants, who settled in urban communities where the future seemed to lie in industrial production and the service sector. All this seemed rational and reasonable.

152. Then, suddenly, the game changed: the markets of the industrialized countries, having reached the saturation point, closed up. There was no longer any expansion. Countries, including France and others in the industrialized world, which had had a labour shortage for a number of years suddenly had an excess labour force and unemployment.

153. At the same time, disorder had set in: monetary disorder, with its corollary of sizeable fluctuations in exchange rates; budgetary disorder, with huge deficits forcing States to turn to the financial markets; and the dizzying climb of interest rates. The Bretton Woods system had disappeared, and quite naturally the most economically powerful country irresistibly attracted the world's liquidities; its currency, the dollar, soared while its interest rates increased under the effect of the budget deficit.

154. The market economy world became chaotic and unpredictable. At the same time, growth ceased everywhere. The effects of the current remarkable recovery in the United States have still not changed the direction of this development. Markets saturated elsewhere are no longer able to absorb additional purchases; indeed, many markets are actually deteriorating from year to year.

155. For the third world, this development has been—and I shall not mince words—catastrophic: the more a country's economy advanced, the more serious the phenomenon. Such countries had counted on economic growth; they were thus deprived of the whole apparatus needed for amortization, at a time when nothing was generating the necessary resources for this. The surpluses of the oil-producing countries have disappeared. In other developing countries, debt has climbed to its current levels: $700 billion for the third world as a whole, $350 billion for Latin America.

156. Debt-servicing had become an intolerable burden, since there was no longer any growth in revenue. Higher interest rates only exacerbated the situation. Since 1982 in every country in Latin America, debt-servicing, had it been undertaken without any adjust-

ment, would have far exceeded the total liquidity accumulated in the reserves. At that point, a reversal set in. The gross domestic product fell. Imports declined drastically, by 60 per cent in some countries in the space of three years. Consequently, the industrial countries were themselves affected, especially those that depend very much on their relations with the third world, as is the case of France. The negative growth in the third world has thus been an important factor in the increase of unemployment in the industrialized countries. The purchasing power of our countries declined abruptly as a result. The vicious circle of depression and deflation was complete.

157. What, then, have been the responses?

158. International organizations have found palliatives—that is, means of responding immediately to immediate problems, and they deserve great praise for this. They have found answers even as the major international banks have been endangered, with the total of precarious debt far exceeding their capital.

159. *Ad hoc* answers have been found for the short term, and, more rarely, for the medium term. The Paris Club has examined the cases of 25 countries in 18 months. The quid pro quo of this rescheduling had to be the adoption of strict and rigorous policies, which the IMF has defined with the remarkable professionalism that is characteristic of it. It has dealt with 45 countries.

160. The third world countries concerned accepted the measures imposed with great courage. For the most part, they indicated their determination to go ahead with monetary adjustments, to accept realistic pricing for services and foodstuffs, to freeze wages, to increase taxes, to fight capital outflows. In short, they accepted tremendous suffering for their peoples in acknowledgement of pledges that had been made and were to be respected. Shall we recognize sufficiently the courage it took in each country and in meetings such as those at Cartagena in June and at Mar del Plata this month?

161. What has been the price of this? First of all, the creation of a disinflationary phenomenon which reduces singularly an essential element of world growth; secondly, the imposition of the sacrifice of ambitions and the abandonment of policies that leaders considered and presented as the way to ensure greater justice; and, lastly, an increase in the number of the jobless.

162. But the hundreds of thousands of men and women who migrated to towns lost the protection of the rural world without finding a new system of security in exchange. Without jobs, what will become of these uprooted people? Does this not spell hopelessness for generations of young people? It was reasonable to bank on growth and development; yet now this wager has generated trouble, doubt and danger.

163. This approach has settled nothing, for without development why should the future be any improvement on the present? Postponing the due date of a debt in the hope that tomorrow the debtor country will be in a better position to service it is meaningless unless between today and tomorrow there is growth, development, increased income and an improved repayment capacity.

164. But the evolution over the past two years has tended to discourage investment: interest rates are high, exchange rates are unstable, the banks that provided most of the financing have lost confidence. In 1983, for the first time, the net flow of capital towards the South was negative. No further comment is necessary.

165. Meanwhile, the international meetings that have followed one on the heels of another have at best succeeded in providing a timid analysis of the phenomenon—the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held at Belgrade in 1983; the Fourth General Conference of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization, held at Vienna last August. International assistance funds are declining in real value: the replenishment of aid is inadequate; UNDP has had to cut back on its commitments. France stands out as an exception because we have increased official development assistance over the past three years; we are alone or almost alone in this.

166. I know that the description is a bleak one and perhaps it will be considered exaggerated. However, we must look to the future. For the past two years, a favourable line of thought has been emerging; in all the industrialized countries and in all the countries of the third world, the same analysis has appeared.

167. Whatever sets off the concern or the criticism—interest rates, indebtedness, budget deficit, monetary instability, lack of liquidity, difficulties for the banks—the reasoning is global. We know it must encompass all subjects, for they are linked, and it concerns all countries—interdependence is complete. We also know, however—and this was underscored at the London Economic Summit of the seven industrialized countries, held in London last June—that each country, each case, has its own specific characteristics. Thus, a global analysis is coupled with specific ways of utilizing the means. There is now a remarkable community of views as far as the analyses and reasoning are concerned. This should give us a chance to activate and mobilize powerful economic forces.

168. What should be done? Obviously, I shall not give a simple answer. The problem is too serious and too complex for a single answer. Action is called for in several areas.

169. We must first try to replace the current disorder by a more stable and predictable situation, particularly in the areas of currency and raw materials. We must rebuild an international economic order.

170. In the monetary field, as my colleague, the Minister of the Economy and Finance, pointed out once again in Washington a few days ago, we must be able to act on interest rates. This is asserted by everyone in every part of the world. Their level is a major obstacle to recovery. Real interest rates have never been so high; they must return to reasonable levels. Therefore, we must attack the root cause, namely, the excessive deficit in Government spending, which leads to a destabilizing public drain on the financial markets.

171. Actions over a longer term are also called for in order to lay the foundations of genuine international monetary reform, as the President of my country emphasized at length at the 1983 meeting of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development in Paris. This does not mean going back to the Bretton Woods agreements, which reflected another period, but greater stability and reasonable predictability of exchange rates must be ensured.

The European Community has largely succeeded in achieving this with the European Monetary System, and we believe that it is also possible within a triad of the dollar, the yen and the European currency unit [*ECU*].

172. I shall not dwell on the subject of raw materials, although it is an essential one. It is true that prices have experienced a certain upward movement but they remain erratic, and the lack of predictability has awesome consequences for the rationalizing of the supply-demand relationship and for the ability of the producer country to forecast the pace of its development through self-financing. So we must continue to organize these markets by drawing up new agreements in instances where these are economically feasible; by renewing existing agreements and making them more effective; and, lastly, by establishing the Common Fund for Commodities already agreed to by more than 75 countries.

173. Once some order has been re-established, efforts will have to be made to consolidate the financial recovery of the most heavily indebted developing countries, which are also often those with the most promising future, otherwise they would not have found a lender.

174. The emergency solutions so effectively implemented by the IMF must be complemented by and co-ordinated with more far-reaching action. The London Economic Summit of the industrialized countries, like the meeting of Cartagena of Latin American countries, emphasized—correctly, in our view—the need for better integration of debt-rescheduling plans in the medium term. This means defining plans for adjustment over a reasonably long period and co-ordinating them with rescheduling operations over a period of several years. It also means strengthening joint action by the IMF and the World Bank in order to ensure a better relationship between adjustment and development. In this way, austerity and growth will be linked. The economic effects of action of this kind will be coupled with the psychological effects of renewed hope among those bearing the unavoidable burden of the disciplines adjustment imposes.

175. Of course, these organizational efforts will be really valuable only if sufficient resources are channelled to the developing countries to finance economically sound projects and developments, thus giving a new stimulus to growth. This means making use of all sources of financing.

176. Concerning official development assistance, bilateral and multilateral assistance must at last reach the level the United Nations has called for, of which I have already spoken. The funds provided by the international community should approach the volume recommended by those responsible in this area. It is heart-breaking that the seventh replenishment of the IDA is limited to $9 billion, while the big contributors were almost unanimous in accepting $12 billion. The IFAD and the other programmes of the United Nations and its family must be funded, as must the regional development banks, whose activities are worthy of attention. The special fund for Africa, already mentioned, should have priority in this respect. France pledges a special contribution once this fund has been set up.

177. The adoption of such policies by Governments and by the international community should help restore confidence and revive the potential for action by the banking sector. In fact, anything that can encourage public and private investment in the third world is a step in the right direction, it being understood that the recipient countries are entitled to set the main guidelines for such investment.

178. Concerning shorter-term flows, in particular capital from commercial banks, the private sector must be encouraged to maintain and consolidate these flows. This is in their own interest and they must be convinced of this. No pressure, no outside incentive can replace confidence. Private flows will be permanently ensured and consolidated only if confidence is re-established in the determination to build sound bases and in the prospects for debtor-country stability and development. The agreements recently signed with some countries testify to this.

179. Such confidence should also be easier to rebuild if international and governmental public financing institutions, in particular the IMF and the World Bank, are able to assist. In this respect, we must extend and develop co-financing that associates private funds and funds from international organizations. In this way, the international structure can act as a catalyst to mobilize capital brought together by the banking circuit. Private and public funds are closely associated.

180. Let it be quite clear that these arguments are presented—and I say this unashamedly—in the interest of all. Some time ago I spoke of a planetary "New Deal." What was President Roosevelt's gamble when he came to power? He put his money on a recovery stimulated by the weakest elements of society, through the resulting expansion of the market. Time proved him right. Of course, it is always hard, not to say deceptive, to make a transposition when two situations are so different. However, the problem facing us today is similar to the one that faced him. We must inject new hope, or discipline will be painful; we must find means of stimulating recovery that will not condemn the weakest but that will, rather, make use of their capacities for progress. Is a world-wide "New Deal" possible? I want to believe it is.

181. I owed it to representatives here present to provide this very broad overview, for I am standing at the rostrum of an assembly whose responsibility is global, covering the whole world, from north to south and from east to west, dealing with all aspects of human activity—political, economic and social. I have thus outlined some of the principles that guide my country's policy. We have reaffirmed them on many occasions; we will continue to do so with the calm and the confidence that arise from our convictions.

182. France's foreign policy is guided by a few simple underlying principles. It serves essential values, values that since the appearance of the first individual have put mankind at the centre of the efforts of every civilized society and every society aspiring to be civilized, values that consequently acknowledge the rights of peoples and thus the rights of nations, values, lastly, that cry out that peace is possible through the balance of forces in a climate of free expression and through a search for progress for all.

183. France intends to uphold these principles in close co-operation—indeed, in conjunction—with its partners in the European Community, for we believe that the consolidation of that Community is an

important element for our part of the world, a factor in the prosperity and peace of the world as a whole.

184. This hope will have a genuine chance only if, all over the earth, individuals respect each other's diversity, if they examine their difficulties together, if they try to build international order together and, to that end, together adopt appropriate rules of law. Thus, I close as I began, by reaffirming our commitment to the United Nations, our Organization, and by thanking you, Mr. President, and you, Mr. Secretary-General, for the orientations you have given us from the very beginning.

Mr. Helgason (Iceland), Vice-President, took the Chair.

185. Mr. IACOVOU (Cyprus): It is with great pleasure that I congratulate Mr. Lusaka on his election to the presidency of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. His election is attributable to the great esteem rightfully enjoyed by his country as well as to his reputation as an experienced and accomplished diplomat proven by years of untiring service to his country, to Africa and to the United Nations. I would be remiss if I were not to stress how much we value the bonds of long friendship that exist between our two countries, Zambia and Cyprus, both of which share the same principles as States Members of the United Nations, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the Commonwealth.

186. I also wish to express high praise and esteem for the President of Panama, Mr. Jorge Illueca, who presided over the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly with great wisdom and unparalleled diplomatic skills, honouring his own country and Latin America. On this occasion, I wish to state again the importance that we attach to our strong bonds of friendship with Panama, a country that has always championed the rights of small nations.

187. I would also like to extend a warm welcome to the newest Member State, Brunei Darussalam, and to wish its Government and people happiness, peace and prosperity. We are looking forward to close co-operation with Brunei Darussalam in both the bilateral and multilateral fields.

188. As the United Nations approaches its fortieth anniversary we cannot but think of the high principles and purposes which inspired its founding. We are also conscious of the acceptance of such principles and the responsibilities undertaken by every Member State on its accession to membership of the Organization. We trust that Member States, collectively and individually, will implement the noble aims of the United Nations. As we prepare and plan for this anniversary it is of paramount importance for States Members, jointly and severally, to take a searching look at both the achievements and the shortcomings of the United Nations in the four decades since it was founded.

189. The current range of activities of the United Nations goes far beyond that envisaged nearly 40 years ago in San Francisco by the representatives of the nations that signed the Charter of the United Nations. Today, the United Nations encompasses a system of specialized agencies elaborating and carrying out economic and social programmes and promoting human rights and fundamental freedoms and humanitarian policies and programmes. All these activities and concerns have been of great help, particularly to the developing world.

190. Again we can take pride in the fact that because of the struggles of our peoples and our concrete actions in the United Nations we have been able, by and large, to eliminate colonialism. Our solidarity here at the United Nations guarantees the successful defeat of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations.

191. It is of course true that over this period we have escaped the scourge of another global war. The cataclysmic effects of such a war leave us in no doubt that this is no mean achievement.

192. It is to be regretted, however, that regional conflicts have not been eliminated. A gloomy picture is created by situations and factors such as the all too prevalent resort to the threat or use of force, armed intervention and occupation, and human suffering due to denial of basic rights and freedoms, economic inequities, malnutrition and starvation.

193. Numerous United Nations resolutions have repeatedly dealt with such situations, but those resolutions remain unimplemented. Even those adopted unanimously by the Security Council, the principal organ entrusted with the task of maintaining international peace and security, have had the same fate. Indeed, they were often contemptuously ignored or brushed aside by some Governments. The recent Security Council resolutions on Cyprus are such examples.

194. Could it, then, be that the United Nations is going through one of the most difficult periods in its history? Does this arise from its failure to take enforcement action in crisis situations, as envisaged by the Charter? Can we small countries hope that the Security Council will in the future do so?

195. If this situation persists, if it is not ameliorated soon, the very credibility of the United Nations will be questioned. But we must not be cynical or despair. We must persist in seeking peaceful solutions, solutions based on principles, in the hope that justice will prevail and illegality will be defeated. It is high time for all nations to express, not merely with words and ceremonies, but also with policies and actions, their recommitment to the obligations they undertook by signing the Charter.

196. We should aspire to "an extended and tolerable future for all humanity", which, as the Secretary-General states in his report on the work of the Organization [*A/39/1*], "ultimately depends upon our success in making the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations the basis of the day-to-day relations of Governments and peoples".

197. One of our principal concerns is the lack of progress in disarmament, especially nuclear disarmament, because failure to achieve progress on this major issue may lead to confrontation and war, the results of which would affect the very survival of the human race on this planet.

198. As regards the world economic situation today, we are faced with a debilitating and deepening crisis that is most adversely affecting the developing countries. The results are well known and need no elaboration. It is sufficient to mention low growth rates, high unemployment, inflation and ever-mounting external debts.

199. The problems of the world economic system are mainly structural, and the present economic order, based on the striking imbalance between North and South, is characterized by inequality, domination and dependence.

200. The international community has a duty to act urgently and decisively to stimulate the process of global economic negotiations leading to the establishment of a new international economic order. It is therefore imperative for the General Assembly to adopt a wise and constructive stand at the current session in order to launch global negotiations as soon as possible.

201. Let me turn to another matter—that of human rights and fundamental freedoms. There has undoubtedly been significant progress during recent years, especially in the elaboration of international instruments and standards aimed at promoting and protecting human rights and fundamental freedoms, as well as the establishment of international mechanisms for supervising the implementation of the provisions of such instruments. It is disheartening, however, that, despite this progress, there still remains a wide gap between objectives and realities. Mass, flagrant and persistent violations of human rights are to be found in various parts of the world.

202. Another major issue confronting the world today is the population problem. The International Conference on Population, held at Mexico City last August, has identified the need for Governments, various organizations and the United Nations system to implement a new population strategy, as embodied in the Mexico City Declaration on Population and Development.[4] The recommendations for the further implementation of the World Population Plan of Action[5] now provide a framework and guidelines for a well co-ordinated, multidisciplinary plan of action at national and international levels to meet global concerns about population problems and development.

203. As soon as Cyprus broke its colonial bonds and emerged, in 1960, as an independent State, we joined the ever growing Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. We endorsed the principles of non-alignment because we believed, as we do today, that they provide the framework for the fulfilment of the aspirations for peace, prosperity and development of its members and because we believe that the Movement possesses the moral power and political will to work towards the elimination of alien domination, exploitation and inequality and for the establishment of a new system of international relations.

204. Today, in an international context of increasing tensions and bloc confrontation, non-alignment is a positive stabilizing factor in the struggle for international peace and security. In this context, the role of non-aligned countries is particularly important and their responsibility great.

205. I should be remiss if I did not express our gratitude for the warm support and principled position of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries on the Cyprus problem. Particular appreciation is rightly due to the Movement's Contact Group on Cyprus.

206. We are gravely concerned about the critical situation prevailing in the Middle East. The Middle East problem, at the core of which is the question of Palestine, has persisted for decades. Yet we are today as far from a solution to this problem as we were in the more distant past. The human rights of the Palestinian and Arab population in the occupied lands continue to be violated. The Palestinian people are still being denied their legitimate and inalienable rights, including their right to establish an independent State on the basis of General Assembly resolution 3236 (XXIX) of 22 November 1974.

207. We stand by the view that a just and comprehensive peace in the region must be sought urgently. The principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force and the total and unconditional withdrawal of occupation troops from all Palestinian and Arab territories occupied since 1967 must be strictly adhered to.

208. The grave situation in Lebanon, our neighbour, has persisted. We wish to reiterate our full support for the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and unity of that country. We call for the withdrawal of all Israeli forces from its territory. We express the hope that the people of Lebanon will achieve national reconciliation, peace and prosperity and that all human suffering will soon end.

209. Another hotbed of tension in our area is the unfortunate confrontation between the two non-aligned countries, Iran and Iraq. It is with deep concern that we follow the developments in the ongoing war between them, which has resulted in a grave loss of life, human suffering, physical damage and destruction. We express the hope and desire that an end will soon be put to this most unfortunate conflict, and we appeal to both sides to seek a peaceful, just and honourable solution.

210. The situation in southern Africa continues to be dominated by the policies of *apartheid*, racial discrimination and colonial oppression followed by the South African régime and by military aggression, acts of destabilization and sabotage practised by South Africa against neighbouring independent African States.

211. The international community has unanimously and repeatedly denounced the abhorrent policies of *apartheid* as an affront to our civilization and to the human race. Despite this, the South African régime has adopted constitutional ploys, accompanied by a massive propaganda campaign, to deceive the international community. The so-called constitutional reforms have been implemented against the wishes of the overwhelming majority of the population and exclude the 24 million South African blacks from any form of political process.

212. We fully subscribe to General Assembly resolution 38/11, and fully endorse Security Council resolution 554 (1984), which rejects the new Constitution of the Pretoria régime, declaring it null and void.

213. At the same time, we express our solidarity with and support for the struggle being waged by the oppressed people of South Africa. We are deeply concerned at the persistence of South Africa in pursuing its illegal colonial occupation and exploitation of Namibia and at its refusal to implement the United Nations plan embodied in Security Council resolution 435 (1978). We firmly reject the attempts to link the independence of Namibia to extraneous and irrelevant issues.

214. We fully support the inalienable right of the Namibian people to self-determination and national independence in a united Namibia. Within the United Nations, in the United Nations Council for Namibia, and in the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, Cyprus will offer all possible support to the people of Namibia in their heroic struggle waged under the leadership of the South West Africa

People's Organization, their authentic and legitimate representative, for the liberation of their country.

215. Another unresolved problem in the African continent is that of Western Sahara, which has been of serious concern to the international community since 1975. We fervently hope that the Saharan people will be left free to exercise their right to self-determination. The relevant resolutions and decisions of the United Nations, of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and of the OAU should be accepted by all parties concerned so that they may be implemented immediately for the benefit of all.

216. The deteriorating situation in Central America presents a serious threat to peace not only in the region but also internationally. Now, more than ever, there is a pressing need for dialogue and for intensification of efforts for the achievement of political and negotiated solutions to the problems of the region.

217. We wish to express anxiety over the situation concerning Nicaragua, an active member of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. We sincerely hope that the efforts of the Contadora Group will contribute positively to a negotiated settlement of the conflicts in Central America. We hope that these efforts, coupled with a positive political will on the part of all interested parties, will lead to the establishment of peace, so that the States in the region may focus on the urgent task of development.

218. At this point, we wish to reiterate once again our firm stand that the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States must be fully respected and that foreign interference, intervention and covert and overt attempts at destabilization must be abandoned. It is of paramount importance that the sovereign rights of the peoples of the countries of the region to choose freely the political, economic and social systems of their preference be fully respected.

219. The Cyprus problem, a major international problem, is not only well known to this international Organization but is also a question upon which the General Assembly has repeatedly pronounced itself by way of resolutions, in particular resolution 3212 (XXIX), unanimously adopted by the Member States, including Turkey, ending with resolution 37/253. Those resolutions, as well as the resolutions of the Security Council, remain unimplemented; thus, the occupation of part of the territory of the Republic of Cyprus continues, and that is the cause of all illegalities.

220. The question of Cyprus was last debated in the General Assembly in May 1983 and in the Security Council in November 1983 and May 1984. As is well known, the reason for recourse to the Council in November 1983 was the illegal attempt by the Turkish Cypriot leadership unilaterally to declare independent the occupied part of Cyprus. The Council, by its resolution 541 (1983), declared this purported declaration of independence null and void and called for its withdrawal.

221. Between January and March 1984, the Secretary-General launched another initiative to break out of the impasse. This initiative had the same fate as previous ones, and for the same reasons. The Cyprus Government accepted this initiative from the beginning and encouraged the Secretary-General to proceed. Why the initiative failed and who was responsible for this failure were clearly revealed by the Secretary-General in his report to the Security Council of 1 May 1984.[6] While the Secretary-General was proceeding with his initiative, the illegalities were continued and intensified. As a result, the Council was convened, and by resolution 550 (1984) it called for the reversal of all the secessionist acts and for the peaceful settlement of the problem in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations.

222. Last August, the Secretary-General, in a renewed effort to find a solution to the Cyprus problem, began a new initiative in Vienna. The next phase of this initiative was the proximity talks at high level in New York, the first round of which ended last week. The stumbling-blocks and difficulties of the past, well known to all representatives here, continued to persist. It was agreed that a second round of proximity talks would begin on 15 October. In view of the fact that this second round is to take place, little more should be said. We reserve the right, and indeed we have an obligation, to inform the Assembly fully of developments at the appropriate time. It should suffice at this stage to stress that a solution can be found if partitionist concepts are abandoned by the Turkish side and a willingness to conform with the provisions of the United Nations resolutions is exhibited.

223. The Cyprus Government, as always, fully supported and supports this most recent initiative of the Secretary-General and wishes to express to him its gratitude for it.

224. The Government of the Republic of Cyprus is fully committed to a peaceful solution of the Cyprus problem in conformity with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and its resolutions on Cyprus, as well as the high-level agreements of 1977 and 1979.[7] It will also not relent in its efforts to preserve and safeguard the sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and non-alignment of the Republic and to put an end to the occupation of part of its territory.

225. In asking the General Assembly to put its considerable weight behind the new effort for a just solution of the Cyprus problem, we are convinced that this would not only have a beneficial effect for the preservation of the territorial integrity of other small States but would also enhance the credibility and effectiveness of this world Organization.

226. If the partitionist designs against Cyprus were allowed to succeed or even tolerated longer, then the future of all multicommunal, multiracial and multiconfessional States would be in permanent jeopardy. That is why we feel certain that the members of the Assembly will continue and intensify their efforts for Cyprus until it is vindicated. For this we are grateful to all members.

The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.

NOTES

[1] E/CN.4/1984/72.

[2] Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, signed at Helsinki on 1 August 1975.

[3] Second Africa-Caribbean-Pacific—European Economic Community (ACP-EEC) Convention, signed at Lomé on 31 October 1979. For the text, see *The Courier*, ACP-EEC, No. 58, November 1979.

[4] See *Report of the International Conference on Population, 1984* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.84.XIII.8 and corrigenda), chap. I, sect. A.

---

[5] *Ibid.*, sect. B.

[6] *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-ninth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1984*, document S/16519.

[7] *Ibid., Thirty-second Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1977*, document S/12323, para. 5, and *ibid., Thirty-fourth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1979*, document S/13369 and Add. 1, para. 51.

United Nations
GENERAL ASSEMBLY
THIRTY-NINTH SESSION
Official Records

9th
PLENARY MEETING
Wednesday, 26 September 1984, at 3.25 p.m.
NEW YORK

President: Mr. Paul J. F. LUSAKA (Zambia).

In the absence of the President, Mr. Al-Khalifa (Bahrain), Vice-President, took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. van den BROEK (Netherlands): At the outset, allow me to say how happy we are to note that the representative of a nation with which the Netherlands maintains very cordial relations occupies the presidency at this thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. We are confident that the wisdom and considerable experience of the United Nations that made him such an effective President of the Economic and Social Council in 1981 will enable Mr. Lusaka to guide the representatives of the 159 nations represented in this Hall painlessly, if not effortlessly, through the months that lie ahead.

2. Allow me also to extend my country's warmest congratulations to the new Member of the United Nations, Brunei Darussalam.

3. Yesterday [*6th meeting*], my colleague from Ireland, Mr. Barry, addressed the Assembly on behalf of the European Community and its member States. There is therefore no need for me to go over all the ground covered by him in his statement. Let me therefore concentrate on the functioning and future of the Organization to which we continue to attach so much importance. In this context, I should like to make a few remarks on international issues about which we are particularly concerned.

4. The theme for the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations is apparently going to be "United Nations for a better world". Would it not be more appropriate to say "We, the United Nations, for a better world"? Surely it is up to us, its Members, to be truly united in our efforts to shape a better world. After all, the Organization is no more than a tool in our hands and the United Nations can hope to be effective only to the extent that its Members allow it to be so. In the words of the Charter, "We the peoples of the United Nations" resolved to combine our efforts to accomplish our common aims and we therefore agreed to establish this international Organization. Its fundamental objectives are to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights and to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom. The fortieth anniversary of the United Nations should be the occasion for a critical analysis of what we have been able to do in pursuit of those objectives.

5. Having said that, I would not wish to convey the impression that there is little or nothing to be grateful for. In his report on the work of the Organization [*A/39/1*], the Secretary-General rightly points to the credit side of the balance sheet. I recall decolonization, peace-keeping operations, human rights and, last but not least, the large number of occasions on which the Security Council has been able to deal effectively with complicated conflict situations. Furthermore, there is the valuable work of the specialized agencies in the fields of economic development and humanitarian assistance.

6. However, criticism of the United Nations is possibly stronger and more widespread today than at any moment since 1945. I need not enumerate the shortcomings of the Organization, nor would it be very fruitful to try to draw up a catalogue of our failures and disappointments. Most of us are only too familiar with these problems. But what seems to be lacking, in our opinion, is a sense of purpose, the political will to overcome our difficulties by common endeavour. Over the years, this has led to a gradual erosion of confidence in the Organization, which, in turn, has resulted in a retreat from internationalism and multilateralism—a process to which the Secretary-General rightly draws our attention in his report.

7. Indeed, there is growing concern about the effectiveness of the United Nations as a framework for international co-operation, even to the extent that some see only diminishing returns in the search for solutions to the many problems we are facing today. The problem can undoubtedly be attributed in part to factors beyond the control of the United Nations, such as, for instance, the state of bilateral relations between States. The argument cannot stop there, however. The United Nations has an important role to play in the field of international co-operation, and its malfunctioning should be a point of major concern to the world Organization. It would seem to us that a careful examination of what went wrong and of what can be done to enhance the effectiveness of the United Nations could have a salutary effect on its future functioning. I am convinced that the United Nations continues to be indispensable and that it can only emerge from a process of self-examination a stronger and healthier organization.

8. A basic prerequisite for the proper functioning of a world body is respect for the principle of universality. Unfortunately, time and again we are confronted with proposals in various organs of the United Nations which run counter to that principle. If Members continue to lay the axe to the tree, the tree will die. Hence my plea to reflect carefully upon the consequences of our actions. Honestly, I fear that in

that case the very future of the United Nations is at stake.

9. In this context, I should like to express regret that the Republic of Korea has not yet been admitted as a full Member. Membership should be open also to North Korea if and when it desires it. Furthermore, we hope that the time is not far off when North Korea and South Korea will be able to sit down at the conference table so as to solve their outstanding differences.

10. At the end of this year, our term as a non-permanent member of the Security Council will come to a close. A thoughtful observer once remarked that

> "to be elected to the Council is a privilege, and the general corpus of the United Nations would expect a country elected to [the] Council for two years to be fully and continuously worthy of this privilege".

I hope that the Netherlands passed the test successfully.

11. Prompted by the Secretary-General's 1982 report on the work of the Organization,[1] the Security Council has made an effort to reflect upon ways and means to enhance its effectiveness. Much to our regret, however, the Council has been unable to formulate any truly meaningful proposals. Needless to say, we, for our part, shall continue to look for opportunities to attain acceptance of at least some of the valuable suggestions contained in the Secretary-General's report. The best hope of restoring the Council's role as an effective instrument of international diplomacy lies in the readiness of Member States to make use extensively, but also constructively, of the procedures set forth in the Charter of the United Nations.

12. However, the Security Council is frequently bypassed because of a profound distrust of the objectivity of the United Nations. The Council cannot carry out its mandate without the full political support of the major Powers in particular. This requires the serious engagement of those Powers in the work of the Council. United Nations mediation cannot and should not be the panacea in each and every international conflict. Bilateral and regional arrangements have an important role to play in the search for peaceful solutions to problems between nations. This cannot alter the fact that the Security Council continues to bear primary responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security in the world, especially in the case of serious conflicts. It should be self-evident that those who fail to abide by Security Council resolutions contribute by their action to the erosion of the authority of the Council. The gravity of this practice would seem to warrant particular attention's being paid to it.

13. The situation in southern Africa remains on the agenda of the Security Council. South Africa's refusal to implement Council resolution 435 (1978), thereby delaying Namibia's independence, is a clear violation of the commitment of Member States to give effect to Council resolutions. We, for our part, continue to favour the imposition of further selective mandatory sanctions against South Africa as long as the South African Government continues to persist in denying the majority of its citizens their fundamental rights.

14. The Netherlands has consistently advocated an extension of the existing mandatory arms embargo against South Africa. In this respect, I should like to remind the Assembly of our efforts to arrive at a ban on arms imports from South Africa.

15. As far as the problems besetting the Middle East are concerned, my colleague from Ireland has set out the position of the 10 member States of the European Community in detail, but I should like to add a word on the United Nations peace-keeping efforts in the Middle East. Shortly, the Security Council will have to consider the possibility of a revitalization of the role of UNIFIL. Withdrawal of Israeli forces from southern Lebanon will provide the Council with a unique opportunity to re-establish UNIFIL as the guarantor of peace and security in its area of operations. We feel that this opportunity should be exploited to the full.

16. As to the war between Iran and Iraq, we felt encouraged by the acceptance by both sides of United Nations observers to monitor the undertaking of those two countries to refrain from attacks on civilian population centres. The search for peace between Iran and Iraq would be greatly enhanced by the readiness of both parties to make the fullest possible use of the instruments of the United Nations. We, for our part, continue to look with admiration to the Secretary-General's endeavours to try and bring about an end to this conflict.

17. In Central America, the Contadora Group of countries is developing a comprehensive scheme for the establishment of peace and stability in the region. I am heartened by the progress being achieved in finalizing the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America [*see A/39/562*]. When called upon to do so, the United Nations should lend its fullest support to the efforts of the Contadora countries, thereby encouraging the search for regional solutions to regional problems.

18. From the very beginning, nuclear disarmament has figured prominently on the agenda of the General Assembly, and quite rightly so. The destructiveness of these weapons confronts us with unprecedented dilemmas and makes it highly imperative that every effort be made to reduce to a minimum the risk of these weapons being used. Surely, our principal objective remains the achievement of stability at the lowest possible level. This can be achieved only through negotiations. We therefore fully support the appeal made by the President of the United States in his address to the Assembly [*4th meeting*] regarding the need to broaden the East-West dialogue, which in turn should lead to the resumption of negotiations.

19. An aspect of the present situation which is of particular concern to us in the Netherlands is the unacceptable superiority of the Soviet Union in land-based intermediate-range nuclear missiles. We earnestly hope that the United States and the Soviet Union will be able to reach agreement on the substantial reduction—and preferably the complete elimination—of this category of weapons. We attach great importance to the achievement of such an outcome. However, should the Soviet Union continue to expand its SS-20 arsenal, the Netherlands Government would feel obliged to participate in the deployment of such weapons.

Mr. Lusaka (Zambia) took the Chair.

20. The Conference on Disarmament, meeting at Geneva, embodies the vital interests of the world community as a whole in meaningful and verifiable agreements on lower and safer levels of armaments. Much to our regret, the potential of this negotiating forum is largely wasted by protracted procedural disputes. Bearing in mind the pace of technological

development, early agreement on measures to prevent a destabilizing arms race in outer space should be a priority item on our agenda.

21. Recent events have again demonstrated the necessity of a complete ban on chemical weapons. Progress in the negotiations has been made, but not enough. We will continue to promote a ban on chemical weapons within the framework of the negotiations at Geneva.

22. One area in which the United Nations has made particularly relevant contributions is the promotion of human rights.

23. The United Nations has rightfully become a major source of hope for the individual who suffers from discrimination, persecution and degrading treatment. I observe within the United Nations system a growing preparedness to criticize human rights abuses which still occur in widely divergent geographical and political settings. I add that no State should take cover behind its sovereign rights in order to reject all forms of international scrutiny. At this session, the Assembly will be called upon to act on a proposal to further the cause of human rights and to agree on a draft convention against torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.[2] The text of this convention, which was drafted by a working group of the Commission on Human Rights which my country had the honour to chair, will hopefully carry the agreement of all Members of the United Nations.

24. Deliberate cruel or inhuman treatment of other human beings exists in forms other than those covered by traditional or more recent human rights instruments. The world continues to be plagued by the mindless, anonymous violence of terrorism. The most recent example of the ruthlessness of which the terrorists are capable was the bombing last week of the United States Embassy building in Beirut. The Netherlands Government strongly condemns such acts of political violence and calls for intensified international action to stop the scourge of terrorism.

25. In recognition of the need of the developing countries for outside assistance, the Netherlands Government announced a week ago that it will continue to devote 1.5 per cent of its national income to development assistance. A substantial part of this aid will be allocated to the multilateral financial institutions. Indeed, compared with the League of Nations, a major achievement of the Charter of the United Nations has been the recognition of the vital role of international economic co-operation.

26. Looking back, one can point to successes as well as to failures. A United Nations development system has emerged. Today's world would be unthinkable without it. But, at the same time, we have to admit that at present there is a stalemate in the ongoing dialogue between North and South. Many of us look at the state of the North-South dialogue with growing impatience. So far, we have failed to see the launching of a new round of global negotiations where basic issues such as energy, food, money and finance, trade and aid would be discussed in an interrelated way. But we should also ask ourselves whether this concept is not overly ambitious and based on an overestimation of the role Governments can play in shaping world economic and social conditions. To support the continuing process of change, it is imperative that we clarify our often differing conceptions in a frank and constructive dialogue and that we identify common ground and concrete objectives.

27. First, in its approach to development co-operation, my Government is guided by the concept of differentiation, and we have come to recognize that fundamental differences in economic, social, political and cultural outlook call for a wide variety in our programmes, activities and measures. Secondly, I am increasingly hesitant about the effectiveness of world-wide strategies which tend to overlook the diversity of the problems in the various countries.

28. Negotiations in sectoral conferences are also part of the overall dialogue. An important North-South event of this year, the Fourth General Conference of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization, held at Vienna from 2 to 19 August, has been moderately successful. It was possible to agree on a set of resolutions adopted by consensus[3] which contain practical measures and concrete steps to boost United Nations activities in the field of industrialization, which is of paramount importance to the third world. However, the successful implementation of the resolutions will depend largely on the readiness of donor countries to provide the agreed additional financial means. We for our part intend to do so.

29. In another field of particular relevance to the third world, that of population, we have seen the successful outcome of the International Conference on Population, held at Mexico City from 6 to 14 August 1984, although it was unfortunately marred by efforts to politicize it.

30. In a period of limited resources, the United Nations, like its Members, should be governed by rules of budgetary restraint and cost-effectiveness. Severe controls on official spending, proper management and a curb on regulatory activities are inevitable so as to secure the future of the Organization. As an important contributor to the United Nations budget and to the budgets of many specialized agencies and voluntary funds, we feel justified in asking the Organization to make as effective use of the available resources as possible. Budgetary restraint and cost-effectiveness are of equal importance.

31. With regard to efforts to control an expanding bureaucracy, I welcome the Secretary-General's statement, in his report on the work of the Organization [*see A/39/1*], that he will try to improve the efficiency of the Secretariat. We would hope that similar intentions will become manifest in the specialized agencies. UNESCO, of course, is a case in point. Inadequate management and politicization, as well as the pursuance of costly activities which were not supported by all Member States, are largely to blame for the unfortunate derailment of that organization.

32. A point of special concern for my Government is the financing of peace-keeping operations. Owing to the refusal of some important Members to pay their assessed contributions, the accumulated shortfall for UNIFIL will soon reach the figure of $200 million. At this session of the Assembly, the Netherlands delegation will consider what steps could be taken to redress this situation, which is manifestly unfair to the troop-contributing countries and might in the end jeopardize the peace-keeping functions of the United Nations.

33. Within the framework of the United Nations, we pursue both a political and an economic dialogue.

Over the years, we have created a web of organizations which are all engaged in one way or another in helping developing nations to help themselves. The world as it is today cannot do without this system. At the same time, we, the nations of that world, are responsible for the growing inadequacy of the system. The fortieth anniversary of the United Nations would seem to be an appropriate occasion to reflect upon ways and means to improve its functioning, its decision-making processes and its cost-effectiveness.

34. It is in this spirit that the Netherlands delegation intends to submit proposals for streamlining the overburdened agenda of various United Nations bodies in an effort to try to revitalize the decision-making process. Surely it is not necessary for every debate to result in yet another resolution. A consensus can only be meaningful to the extent that we have really—and I repeat "really"—harmonized our views. This is not to say that there are no differences in outlook; of course there are. But these should be discussed in the appropriate political forums. Let us try by all means not to paralyse the work of the technical sub-organs of the United Nations system by the introduction of controversial issues which are more often than not extraneous to the work of those particular bodies. More than in the past, the Netherlands delegation will speak out against those practices, because they seriously undermine the proper functioning and possibly even the very future of the Organization.

35. In his report the Secretary-General asks why there has been a retreat from internationalism and multilateralism precisely at a time when actual developments in the world would seem to call for movement in the opposite direction, and he expresses the hope that political scientists and intellectuals the world over, together with world leaders and diplomats, will reflect on this phenomenon. We certainly feel that positive response to the call of the Secretary-General to engage in an exercise in self-examination could be very useful.

36. At the same time, I want to recall the words of my predecessor when he addressed the first session of the General Assembly. He said:

> "We are firmly convinced that the success of this Organization is not to be found in a multiplication of machinery, of questionnaires and reports, but in deeds" [*41st meeting, p. 825*].

And, may I add, deeds of truly international co-operation. Here lies clearly a common task for the Members of the United Nations.

37. Sir Geoffrey HOWE (United Kingdom): First, may I add my voice to the voices of those who have already congratulated you, Sir, on your election to the presidency of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. I wish you every success in conducting its affairs in the months ahead. To the outgoing President, Mr. Illueca, I extend my thanks for the conscientious way in which he discharged his duties. And it is with great pleasure, and some pride, that I congratulate Brunei Darussalam on becoming, on 21 September, the 159th Member of the United Nations.

38. Let me also, at the outset, pay a warm tribute to the Secretary-General. His unceasing efforts to bring about the solution of the world's problems continue to win our highest esteem and support.

39. Two years ago, the Secretary-General, in his first report on the work of the Organization,[1] pointed to a crisis of multilateralism. He suggested that the world was "perilously near to a new international anarchy". His report this year [*A/39/1*] shows, with customary perceptiveness and honesty, how little progress we have made towards the objectives he set two years ago. The Secretary-General has told us frankly what we, the Member States, can do—indeed, have to do—to overcome the obstacles that have so far prevented our achieving the vision of a better world which inspired those who drew up the Charter of the United Nations now almost 40 years ago.

40. At Fulton, Missouri, only a year after the birth of the United Nations, Winston Churchill spoke of the political will needed to turn the fledgling Organization into a practical force for peace. He said:

> "We must make sure that its work is fruitful, that it is a reality and not a sham, that it is a force for action, and not merely a frothing of words, that it is a true temple of peace . . . and not merely a cockpit in a tower of Babel."

41. Winston Churchill would certainly have endorsed the profoundly practical instinct that is so evident in the Secretary-General's reports. And I, too, strongly support the Secretary-General's latest call [*ibid.*] for us to "ask ourselves what useful steps can be taken in a given situation rather than starting by thinking of all the extraneous reasons why they cannot be taken".

42. For Churchill's insight is as relevant as ever. Effective international co-operation to tackle the world's problems needs more than polished speeches and well-drafted resolutions. It needs courage and imagination; above all, it needs a steadfast commitment on the basis of universality to take practical action in pursuit of realistic objectives.

43. Nowhere is that more necessary than in our approach to the problems of the world economy. The annual economic summit of the seven major industrialized countries is a good example of the kind of pragmatic approach to problem-solving I have in mind. Last June the United Kingdom hosted in London the tenth such meeting. We were able to reach a large measure of agreement on the essentials for world recovery. At the same time, we took real account of the difficulties which many countries still face. Despite those difficulties, the past 12 months have brought substantial improvements. Two years ago, world trade actually fell. Last year, it grew only 2 per cent. This year, the IMF has forecast growth in world trade of 8.5 per cent.

44. This recovery has not been confined to the industrialized world. For many developing countries, too, the outlook has improved and is improving further. The current account deficit of the non-oil developing countries is this year expected to be less than half its level in 1981. And this year the growth rate for developing countries should reach 3.7 per cent. This significant improvement has not been achieved without hardship.

45. I pay a tribute to the successful adjustment policies pursued by many developing countries, often in the face of real social and political difficulties. These policies need to be sustained and more widely adopted if we are to manage and diminish the problem of international indebtedness, and they need the full support of the industrialized countries. This point has been rightly stressed by the Managing

Director of the International Monetary Fund, Mr. de Larosière. In his words:

> "The efforts of developing countries need to be supported by the industrial countries, who have it in their power to create a more robust and dynamic world economy, as well as by concerted action to ensure adequate international financing flows and open trading conditions."

46. A major cause of the problems of developing countries is the high level of international interest rates. The United States economy has shown how real new employment can be created in a society that is open and willing to face the need for change. But the current size of the United States budget deficit and the high interest rates that go with it still pose a threat to world recovery. We welcome the United States Administration's recognition of the need to tackle the problem. We hope that it will be sustained and carried into action. Lower world interest rates would benefit us all. They would ease the burden of debt repayment. That in turn would allow many countries to increase their imports, and a general increase in trade is in everybody's interest.

47. The world's economic problems can only be solved through co-operation in this spirit of interdependence. Certainly my country is determined to work in close co-operation with debtor nations, case by case, to achieve mutually acceptable solutions to their difficulties. The challenge is to implement practical measures which stand a real chance of success.

48. The British Government has put forward a number of proposals. We discussed them at the London Economic Summit in June. My colleague, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Lawson, described them at the IMF meeting in Washington yesterday. He made proposals for the use of multiyear rescheduling, for an enhanced role for the World Bank and its associates, for more private investment in debtor countries and for more stable long-term finance. If carried into practice, these proposals would do much to help the debtor countries. But, without doubt, the greatest contribution would come from sustained and widening recovery.

49. The industrialized countries have a special responsibility for helping to spread this recovery beyond their own frontiers. We must be in earnest in our fight to resist and to reduce protectionism. World trade must be revived through open markets. Here too, given the crucial importance of the dollar exchange rate and so of interest rates, the United States has a unique part to play.

50. We have been disappointed that the resources available to the IDA have not been increased as we hoped. This makes it all the more important to undertake a special effort to help the poorest countries, above all in Africa. We cannot ignore the special conditions that have afflicted much of Africa or the Secretary-General's plea for support. Special measures are needed for special conditions.

51. The truth is that there are no instant solutions. The need is for common determination to work for solid, often unspectacular, progress on all fronts. Solutions to the economic problems I have described need to be rooted firmly in political reality if they are to endure. I am encouraged by the fact that Governments have been willing to identify practical steps that they can and will take together. That is the main reason why prospects for the world economy are better now than they were a year or two ago.

52. The approach that is working in the economic field applies equally to political relations between States. Here too, there is a need for practical measures to solve real problems. Nowhere is that need more urgent than in East-West relations—not because of what is happening but because of what is not happening, because in this area there has not been anything like the same meeting of minds over the way forward as there has been on economic questions. In his report [*ibid.*], the Secretary-General speaks of "great-Power tension accentuated by a lack of progress in disarmament and arms limitation". I share his analysis. That is why we need to make a fresh start. President Reagan this week put forward a series of proposals that could lead us in that direction. We must all reject the temptation to identify difficulties with that approach and instead identify the ideas with which we can agree.

53. In the past year, Mr. Gromyko and I have met on no less than four occasions. On each of those occasions, I have been struck not so much by the differences between us—although these are real and substantial—as by the similarity of what we say are the basic aims of our peoples. This similarity of underlying approach is reflected in the desire of both sides to break the spiral of the arms race, in our shared aim of better relations between East and West, and often in apparently similar words and phrases. I found myself in complete agreement with the statement of the high-level Economic Conference of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, held in Moscow in June [*see A/39/323*], that "no world problems—and that includes the historic dispute between socialism and capitalism—can be solved by force of arms". So what separates us is not so much the words we use as the meaning we attach to them. Our task must be to bridge that gap, to reconcile, in a spirit of mutual understanding, our differing purposes with our underlying interest in our common safety and security.

54. Each side has proclaimed its desire for a more comprehensive dialogue. I refuse to believe that that cannot be achieved. I believe we can find a common way of resolving such issues of supreme importance to us all. In that same speech in Missouri, Churchill called for greater mutual confidence. He said:

> "There is deep sympathy and goodwill in Britain—and I doubt not here also—towards the peoples of all the Russias and a resolve to persevere through many differences and rebuffs in establishing lasting friendships . . . "

Forty years later that remains our hope.

55. During 1984 the West has made far-reaching but practical proposals in every arms control negotiation. At Stockholm we have submitted specific measures which would enhance confidence and security throughout Europe. At Vienna we have made a major new proposal to resolve the long-standing disagreement over the level of Eastern forces. At Geneva, Britain has taken two initiatives on verification of a chemical-weapons ban, while the United States has submitted a new draft treaty.

56. Against that background I deeply regret the Soviet suspension of the nuclear-arms talks. Of all subjects on the East-West agenda, the control and reduction of nuclear weapons is by common consent the most important. And yet it is the one aspect of

arms control which is not at present the subject of negotiation. The United States has offered to resume these talks, anywhere, at any time, without preconditions. The whole world would applaud a positive Soviet response.

57. So, too, on the question of arms control in outer space. On 29 June, the Soviet Government proposed that talks should begin in Vienna in September. It asked for a prompt response. The Americans gave it, constructively and seriously. But so far the Russians seem to have been unable to take "yes" for an answer. Dialogue cannot be a one-way process—still less, negotiations. No one can converse with an empty chair. I hope the Soviet Union will find the political will to take its place at the table. When it does, it will find the West ready and willing to talk.

58. The negotiations on the future of Hong Kong which the British and Chinese Governments have been conducting since 1982 are an excellent illustration of the way in which difficult issues may be resolved. Earlier today, in Beijing, the two Governments initialled a draft agreement on the future of Hong Kong. It is a triumph of good sense. It shows how, in the search for solutions to international problems, agreement is only possible with courage, imagination and political will on all sides. Chairman Deng Xiaoping's idea of "one country, two systems" is an example of such a positive approach. The people of Hong Kong will wish to judge for themselves the outcome of these negotiations. But already I am confident that we have achieved a historic agreement.

59. Britain also has a special relationship with, and a close interest in, the island of Cyprus. I hope that there, too, we may see early progress in the continuing search for a solution. The Secretary-General's current efforts to bring about a resumption of the intercommunal talks must not be allowed to fail. Only thus will a settlement of the wider problem be possible. That is why the British Government supports the Secretary-General in his task. We stand ready to do all we can to assist him.

60. I turn now to three troubled regions of the world where failure to resolve the disputes which divide the parties could have grave consequences.

61. In the Middle East, it is deeply disappointing that once again this year we are no nearer a solution of the Arab-Israel dispute, but with the arrival of a new Israeli Government there is now an opportunity to turn a new page. The outlines of a just settlement have been clear for many years. It must reconcile Israel's right to exist within secure and recognized borders and the Palestinians' right to self-determination. But plans or statements of principle from the international community are in themselves of limited value unless the parties to the dispute have the political courage to take the bold steps necessary for peace.

62. Such steps are possible now without anyone's security being endangered. The new Israeli Government could halt the policy of installing illegal settlements in occupied territory. The Arab countries and the Palestinians could formulate a realistic and a common negotiating stand before it is too late. The United States has a unique position of influence with parties on both sides of the dispute. Its role is indispensable. President Reagan reaffirmed on Monday [*4th meeting*] his commitment to his country's search for a just and lasting peace. I very much welcome that. As the President of the Council of Ministers of the European Community made clear yesterday [*6th meeting*], we and our European partners stand ready to help and to use our influence to work for the peace which has eluded us all so long.

63. In Lebanon, the efforts of the Lebanese Government to bring peace to that country which has suffered so long deserve the support of all of us. The 10 member countries of the European Community have called consistently for the early withdrawal, in agreement with the Lebanese Government, of all foreign forces. The presidency statement yesterday reiterated that plea. In our view, national reconciliation and withdrawal of those forces should go ahead together. UNIFIL has continued to perform a useful role in southern Lebanon, a role which—as the Secretary-General said in April—could with advantage be enlarged.

64. In the Gulf, we shall continue to support any initiatives which offer hope of an end to the long and tragic conflict between Iran and Iraq. We welcomed the decision to send a United Nations team to investigate allegations that chemical weapons had been used. The British Government condemns unequivocally the use of chemical weapons by anyone. We are encouraged that both sides continue to support the Secretary-General's appeal to avoid attacks on civilian centres of population. We hope that they will take further steps to limit the scope of the conflict and that this will prepare the way for an honourable settlement of the dispute.

65. Southern Africa is another area where failure to make progress towards solving disputes could have consequences far beyond the region itself. The events of the past few weeks have amply demonstrated the wider dangers of the present policies of the South African Government. They underline the urgent need for real progress towards a system of government supported by all South Africans. This can be achieved only by dialogue within South Africa and between South Africa and the world at large.

66. Even so, there has been some progress towards reducing tension in the region. In particular, I welcome the wide-ranging contacts between Mozambique and South Africa following the Agreement on Non-Aggression and Good Neighbourliness, signed at Nkomati on 16 March 1984 [*see A/39/159, annex I*]. We have also welcomed the agreement between Angola and South Africa, reached at Lusaka on 16 February 1984, on the withdrawal of South African forces from southern Angola. We shall continue to work for further steps towards an early settlement of the Namibian question.

67. In Central America, too, there is a need for concerted action if we are to check the trend towards instability and foster social and political development. The roots of the conflict and political turmoil racking the region are indigenous, but the problems have been exploited and exacerbated by those who care little for regional stability and democratic evolution, preferring to pursue their own political objectives.

68. That is why we were encouraged by the democratic elections in El Salvador this year and why we, like our partners in the European Community, strongly support the Contadora initiative. I much look forward to the meeting at San José next weekend between the Foreign Ministers of the 10 member countries of the Community and Spain and

Portugal, and of the Central American and Contadora countries. This will be an important opportunity for us to underline our active interest in promoting and encouraging peace. Our purpose is to make a practical contribution to democracy and development in the region.

69. I must now turn to the relationship between my country and Argentina, whose newly elected President addressed the Assembly on Monday [*5th meeting*]. Let me stress again that we welcome wholeheartedly Argentina's return to democratic government. We are ready, from that new basis, to try to work towards more normal relations between us after the tragic events of two years ago. We firmly believe that this would be in the interests of Britain, of Argentina, of all our friends in Latin America and of the Falkland Islanders themselves.

70. Of course Britain and Argentina have different—and deeply held—positions on the question of sovereignty over the Falkland Islands. No one should forget that we were negotiating on that very subject in 1982 when Argentina launched its brutal invasion of the islands. The present Argentine Government was not responsible for that disastrous action, but its consequences cannot just be brushed aside.

71. As I have said, we attach great importance to improving our relations with Argentina, and we have made a genuine and sustained effort to reach agreement with the Argentine Government on a basis for direct talks. It was clear that, if those talks were not to founder at the outset on the very issue that divides us, the question of sovereignty could not be addressed. We therefore needed to find a way of meeting the legitimate requirements of both sides. With the help of the Swiss and Brazilian Governments as protecting Powers and after a great deal of detailed work, a clear and satisfactory basis for talks was achieved and agreed by all.

72. When the talks began at Berne in July, Argentina took a position at variance with this agreed basis. Their representatives insisted that no progress could be made towards normalization without the certainty that a mechanism would be established to permit negotiations over sovereignty. This overturned the very basis on which talks between us had been agreed. The talks therefore came to an end. This was an important opportunity missed. I think that many people will have been disappointed, as I was, that President Alfonsín, in his speech to the Assembly two days ago, presented the same position once again explicitly as a pre-condition of any talks between us.

73. Let me also underline that there is a further fundamental principle involved in this dispute which cannot be overlooked—the principle of self-determination. It is a principle which is jealously guarded by the people of Great Britain and, indeed, by every Member of the United Nations. The Falkland Islanders, like any other people, have the right to self-determination. We had hoped that the new Argentine Government, with its attachment to democracy and human rights, would be ready to recognize this fundamental human right of the Falkland Islanders.

74. Those who call on us to negotiate on the sovereignty of the islands should think what exactly it is that they are asking us to do. For Argentina, such negotiations could only have one outcome: the transfer of sovereignty over the islands irrespective of the wishes of the Falkland Islanders. To ask us to do that is to ask us to overturn the principle of self-determination enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations.

75. We shall continue with the economic and constitutional development of the Falkland Islands. We shall maintain the minimum level of forces required to defend the islands. Let me emphasize those words, "defend the islands". Our military dispositions are designed solely for that purpose.

76. We have sought ways of improving relations with Argentina by tackling practical issues where real progress is possible to the benefit of both sides. It is still my profound belief that, in the difficult circumstances I have described, the only way forward is to find a way of taking such practical steps as will enable confidence to be re-established between our two peoples.

77. The right of peoples to choose their own Government is also at issue in Afghanistan and Cambodia. The outside world has little idea of the suffering which the Afghan people endure. We cannot ignore the harsh realities of the problem, which my Irish colleague, Mr. Barry, has already described [*6th meeting*]. We give our full support to the efforts of the Secretary-General, which are seeking to ensure that the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and successive United Nations resolutions shall be applied to restore an independent and non-aligned Afghanistan. This cannot happen until Soviet forces are withdrawn.

78. In Cambodia, the Vietnamese occupying force remains, despite the resolutions passed by an overwhelming majority in recent years calling for a complete withdrawal. The British Government continues to support the Cambodian people's right to determine their own destiny, free from outside interference.

79. The continued division of the Korean peninsula has been a matter of concern much longer than the occupation of Afghanistan and of Cambodia. My visit to Panmunjom earlier this year reminded me of this sad fact. The British Government remains convinced that the suggestions put forward by the Republic of Korea for direct talks between the two sides represent the best prospect for a peaceful solution.

80. There is one final region of the world I should mention, although it is not one much visited by Foreign Ministers. This year is the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Antarctic Treaty.[4] The Treaty is a remarkable example of political foresight. It provides an excellent model of practical co-operation achieved through international agreement. The fact that a further four States have acceded to the Treaty in this anniversary year shows its continuing value. The British Government would not wish to see any development that would undermine this important Treaty.

81. We discuss many global and regional political issues in this Hall. But when we do so it is easy to forget the fundamental reality of the freedom and well-being of the individual. The architects of the Charter of the United Nations were quite clear about this. They set down, as a major purpose of the Organization, to achieve co-operation "in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion". The gulf between this intention and the gross abuses of human rights which still occur in so many parts of the world appals

me. These abuses are sometimes carried out in the name of political, social or religious ideologies, and indeed by some of the leading signatories of the Helsinki Final Act.[5] Sometimes such abuses result from conditions of anarchy and chaos. My Government deplores them all, wherever they occur and whatever the reason with which their perpetrators may attempt to justify them.

82. A particularly gross form of abuse of the most fundamental human rights of all—the rights to life and liberty—is terrorism. The horrifying events in Beirut last week served as a grim reminder of this growing evil. Terrorist acts may often be the work of small groups of crazed fanatics. But more and more they have had the material backing of a few misguided Governments. As the Secretary-General's report [*A/39/1*] makes clear, there has been a steady increase in politically motivated violence in all its baleful forms. Few areas of the world have been spared. As so often, it is innocent men and women who pay the price for this assault on the basic values of civilized society. Indiscriminate murder for the furtherance of political ends is wholly unacceptable. We must resist it with every legitimate means available to the international community.

83. The growing involvement in terrorism by Governments and their representatives abroad has brought to light another urgent problem: the abuse of diplomatic immunity. This is something which must deeply concern us all. Many representatives know that my Government is reviewing the working of the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations.[6] We are seeking ways to tighten control of unacceptable activities by members of diplomatic missions. The Convention has, generally speaking, performed useful service for over 20 years. Its underlying principles have for centuries stood the test of application between sovereign States of widely differing character. What is lacking is determination on the part of signatory States to apply rigorously enough the safeguards and sanctions it contains. The Declaration on International Terrorism, issued at the London Economic Summit, held from 7 to 9 June 1984 [*see A/39/306*], and the measures agreed by the European Community at Dublin earlier this month are evidence of how, given the political will, States can swiftly take practical action to deal with international problems.

84. Let me in conclusion return to the theme with which I began. In speaking today of all the global and regional problems which confront us, I have many times referred to the need for realistic solutions and for a practical approach. I do so out of profound personal conviction, a conviction that is continually reinforced by my experience in political life in my own country and in international affairs. Put simply, it is this. None of the disputes and disagreements before us is of its essence insoluble. In many cases, we can already envisage the outline of a solution. In almost every case, what is needed, and what is missing, is political will—above all, the political will to work for practical agreement, to have the courage, imagination and dogged determination to negotiate in a rational and realistic fashion. Often, perhaps in most cases, that will mean the pursuit of limited, but attainable, objectives. Such an approach is a gradual one, demanding the steady creation of confidence between the parties. It will imply the breaking down of issues into manageable proportions, and it will require a spirit of understanding which takes account of the political and economic realities on both sides of the argument.

85. Such an approach puts a discount on ringing declarations of intent and on uncompromising statements of minimum objectives. But it places a premium on steady, perhaps unspectacular, negotiation, often in private, and when it pays dividends, it pays handsomely. I said earlier that the British and Chinese Governments had initialled a historic agreement on the future of Hong Kong. But it is more than that. The agreement itself and, perhaps even more, the process by which it was achieved are powerful symbols of the way in which seemingly intractable problems can indeed be susceptible to treatment. And that, Mr. President, is the prescription which I end by offering you this afternoon.

86. Mr. ABE (Japan):* On behalf of the Government and people of Japan, I wish, Sir, to extend to you my heartfelt congratulations on your election to the presidency of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. I am confident that, given the wealth of your experience and the wisdom of your views, this session will prove fruitful indeed. Please be assured that the delegation of Japan will spare no effort in co-operating with you as you carry out your important duties.

87. At the same time, I should like to express my deep appreciation to the President of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly, Mr. Jorge Illueca, for the very capable manner in which he discharged his awesome responsibilities.

88. I should also like to take this opportunity to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General. As we begin this third year under his leadership, I am most encouraged by his determined efforts and capable leadership in the face of the harsh international situation.

89. I am pleased to be able to extend a sincere welcome to Brunei Darussalam as the 159th country to be admitted to United Nations membership. As an Asian country itself, Japan is most happy to welcome this new Member.

90. Nearly 40 years have passed since the end of the Second World War. This has been a period of unprecedented political, economic and social change throughout the world. The scale and gravity of these ever-accelerating changes make it impossible for any one country to respond adequately on its own, yet the urgency of the situation demands that we respond without delay. There is a crying need for fresh perceptions and international co-operation. Nevertheless, the international situation remains tense.

91. East-West relations, especially relations between the United States and the Soviet Union, are languishing, and the arms control and disarmament talks between the two countries are suspended. Regional conflicts and disputes continue to foster instability world-wide.

92. In the world economy, the problems of unemployment and massive governmental deficits remain unsolved and protectionism is firmly entrenched even as the recovery, centred in the industrialized countries, takes hold and gains strength. The developing countries continue to face a myriad of difficulties, as may be seen in their cumulative foreign indebtedness and the critical food situation in Africa.

---

*Mr. Abe spoke in Japanese. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

93. At the same time, however, patient co-operative efforts to bring about the relaxation of tensions and economic recovery are continuing here in the United Nations, as well as in multilateral and bilateral forums, and these efforts are gradually gaining momentum.

94. Looking back, Japan's post-war peace and prosperity were considerably facilitated by the prevailing international situation. Today, the changes in the international climate and the growth in the Japanese economy mean that Japan is increasingly expected to fulfil new international responsibilities commensurate with its national strength.

95. Since becoming Minister for Foreign Affairs, I have sought to bring about peace and prosperity in Asia and throughout the world by stepping up Japan's diplomatic efforts to promote disarmament and the relaxation of tensions; seeking to revitalize the economies of the developing countries through economic exchange; strengthening the bonds of co-operation and solidarity within the free world; promoting Japan's relations of friendship and co-operation with the countries of the Asia-Pacific region; and seeking mutual understanding through dialogue with the Eastern bloc. With the international situation becoming increasingly difficult, I am resolved to respond to the hopes which the international community has placed in Japan by developing a creative diplomacy for a more active and more constructive approach in keeping with the five goals just enumerated.

96. From this perspective, I should like to say a few words now on some of the international issues which I regard as especially important and to explain Japan's foreign policy and its efforts on these issues.

97. The first is the creation of a climate conducive to peace. With the world as unstable as it is today, the best and surest way to avert a potentially catastrophic war is to deter expansion and, more important, to prevent escalation of the various regional conflicts that erupt all over the globe, and then to alleviate these conflicts and find some way to resolve the underlying issues.

98. The tense situation surrounding the Iran-Iraq conflict persists. The Secretary-General's initiative last June produced agreement by both sides not to attack civilian population centres.[7] Believing that such agreements are important steps toward inhibiting further escalation, Japan has the highest regard for the Secretary-General for having taken this initiative, as well as for Iran and Iraq for having acceded to his proposal. However, my Government finds it regrettable that attacks were recently made on industrial and economic facilities in both countries.

99. For the future, the issues before us are, first, how to prevent any escalation of the conflict and then how to build upon present efforts to scale down the conflict further. I hope the Secretary-General will continue to play an active role to that end. I am confident that the steady weight of such efforts goes far towards ensuring the success of the peace process. From this perspective, I would hope very much that the following two points would be promptly settled.

100. The first concerns the issue of chemical weapons. Given the present circumstances, it seems to be essential to reach a clear understanding that there will be no future violations of the 1925 Geneva Protocol[8] prohibiting the use of chemical weapons.

101. The second concerns the issue of safe navigation in the Gulf. This is important not only to Iran and Iraq but to all countries. Ensuring safe navigation requires that the principle of free navigation be observed in international waters in the Gulf and also that the safe use of ports and harbours be respected. It is of vital importance that the ports and harbours of both countries should not be subject to attacks of any kind. Past United Nations resolutions may provide reference in defining ports and harbours in this connection.

102. I am confident that the settlement of these two points would contribute to the creation of a climate conducive to the just and honourable settlement of this conflict, now in its fifth year, and I strongly hope that these issues will be accorded comprehensive and serious consideration.

103. I have been very much concerned with the situation in this region throughout my tenure as Foreign Minister. I have met with the leaders of both Iran and Iraq several times, developed a sympathetic understanding of their positions and appealed to both sides for an early peace. In consultation with the Secretary-General and all other countries which seek peace in this region, I intend to continue to make every possible effort to create a climate conducive to peace.

104. Turning to Asia, the problem of Kampuchea remains unresolved. Japan has consistently supported a comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean problem based upon the withdrawal of all foreign military forces from Kampuchea and the exercise of the right of the Kampuchean people to self-determination. At the same time, Japan believes that it is important to continue to explore various means in search of a clue to the solution of this problem, while maintaining its basic position. From this point of view, I made a three-point proposal centring upon financial support to the dialogue partners at the ministerial meeting of the Association of South-East Asian Nations [*ASEAN*] at Jakarta in July.

105. To summarize the proposal: the first point concerns financial co-operation for peace-keeping activities in the event of last September's ASEAN appeal being implemented, with the consent of all the countries concerned; the second concerns co-operation, such as providing personnel, if free elections are held throughout the whole of Kampuchean territory under international supervision; and the third concerns Japan's co-operation in the reconstruction of Indo-China after peace has been restored in Kampuchea.

106. While fully aware that there are many difficulties on the road to peace in Kampuchea, Japan hopes that this proposal will be helpful in creating a climate conducive to peace in Indo-China, and we intend to continue our dialogue with the ASEAN countries as well as with the other countries concerned, including Viet Nam.

107. While the tense situation continues in the Korean peninsula, the Korean question should basically be resolved peacefully through direct dialogue between the authorities of both North and South. Japan strongly hopes that substantive dialogue will be resumed between the two sides as soon as possible.

108. Earlier this month, President Chun Doo-Hwan of the Republic of Korea paid an official visit to Japan. On that occasion, Japan reiterated its wel-

come and support for United Nations membership for both North and South Korea, if both sides would consider such membership as one step on the road to reunification of the Korean peninsula, as contributing to the relaxation of tensions and as enhancing the universality of the United Nations. For its part, Japan will continue to co-operate in every way possible to create a climate conducive to the relaxation of tensions in the Korean peninsula.

109. Elsewhere in the world I find it most regrettable that in the past year no concrete progress has been made in resolving the problems in Afghanistan and the Middle East. In Afghanistan, I call upon all parties concerned for a prompt withdrawal of Soviet troops, the restoration of self-determination for the Afghan people and a safe and honourable return for the refugees. On the issue of peace in the Middle East, I again appeal to all the principals involved to make even greater efforts for the attainment of a just, lasting and comprehensive peace in the Middle East.

110. Despite the implementation of the plan for civil order in Lebanon in July, the United States Embassy annex was brutally bombed just last week. This deplorable incident shows how fragile the peace in Lebanon is. For the sake of stability in Lebanon, I hope that all the parties concerned will redouble their efforts for the withdrawal of all foreign military forces and the attainment of national reconciliation.

111. Japan strongly calls upon the Republic of South Africa to abandon its policy of racial discrimination. Likewise, we hope that the issue of Namibian independence will be promptly resolved through the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and that the United Nations will exercise its leadership on this issue.

112. In Central America, where tensions continue high, Japan strongly supports the efforts being made by the Contadora Group and other intraregional efforts.

113. The Soviet Union being an important neighbour of Japan, I would like again this year to touch upon relations between Japan and the Soviet Union. I find it most regrettable that the Soviet Union has not only refused to sit down to discuss the still unresolved issue of Japan's Northern Territories, but has even deployed and strengthened its military forces in our Northern Territories in recent years. Japan very much hopes to resolve this territorial issue and conclude a peace treaty with the Soviet Union and hence to promote the establishment of a stable relationship based upon true mutual understanding and trust. We therefore intend to continue to expand and strengthen the dialogue with the Soviet Union, and I hope that the Soviet Union will show a similar willingness.

114. I would next like to speak of the search for long-lasting and structural peace—another priority of Japanese foreign policy.

115. The excessive stockpiles of nuclear weapons existing today threaten the very survival of mankind. We must find some way to eliminate this threat.

116. Last June I attended the Conference on Disarmament, at Geneva, the first Japanese Foreign Minister ever to do so, and appealed to the United States, the Soviet Union and all countries of the world to make serious efforts for disarmament. Especially regarding the negotiations on intermediate-range nuclear forces and the strategic arms reduction talks, which are currently suspended between the United States and the Soviet Union, I strongly called upon the Soviet Union to fulfil its grave responsibilities as a nuclear super-Power by returning to the negotiating table as soon as possible and without preconditions, both in response to the global popular demand for peace and to maintain and strengthen the régime of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*].

117. As a means of advancing the goal of a comprehensive nuclear-test ban, I proposed a realistic approach whereby the "threshold" for a nuclear-test ban would be gradually lowered as multilateral capabilities of verification are improved. I very much hope that this proposal will be taken up and discussed in greater detail at next year's meetings of the Conference on Disarmament.

118. In the non-nuclear-weapons field, the world is now more keenly aware than ever before of the need for a ban on chemical weapons.

119. The issue of preventing an arms race in outer space has also become a matter of increasing international concern, and there was recently hope that talks might soon start between the United States and the Soviet Union. These hopes reflected the fervent desire of the people of all countries for the arms control and disarmament negotiations to resume. I earnestly hope that, in response to these wishes, the nuclear disarmament talks will progress and East-West relations will improve.

120. The United Nations, where we are gathered today, is the only institutional foundation for peace agreed upon by the many countries of the world. Having experienced the horror of the Second World War, Japan proclaimed its renunciation of force as a means of settling international disputes and has been working ever since to settle disputes peaceably. Reaffirming this basic policy stance, Japan is resolved to contribute even more actively to the peaceful resolution of conflicts and the preservation and strengthening of peace through the Security Council, the International Court of Justice and other organs of the United Nations.

121. Although some people have recently been critical or scornful of the United Nations, we must never forget that the scale and complexity of the political and economic difficulties facing the global community today are intractable to solution by any one country acting alone and can be resolved only through multilateral co-operation.

122. In his report on the work of the Organization [*A/39/1*], the Secretary-General has written:

> "To make the United Nations work better, what is needed, above all, is a determined and persistent effort to strike a balance between national and international interest.
>
> ". . . therefore, I wish to repeat my call for a multilateral and rational approach to the problems of international peace and development."

I am in complete agreement with the Secretary-General's views, and I intend to continue to seek peace and prosperity for Japan within the context of peace and prosperity for all the world.

123. The United Nations will be 40 years old next year, and I think this is an excellent time for all Member States to give serious consideration to how we can best invigorate the United Nations organization and functions as we look ahead to the twenty-first century. Japan pledges to fulfil its international

responsibilities and to work with other Member countries for the revitalization of this world body.

124. Thirdly, I would like to say a few words about actions which must be taken in order to cope with the new age and which will always be required for the survival and prosperity of mankind.

125. The new nations of Africa, which appeared so youthful and robust in 1960—the "Year of Africa"—face almost unbearable difficulties today. Over 150 million people have been stricken with malnutrition and starvation on the African continent, and more and more unfortunate people are dying every day. This situation is even worse than war—it is an affront to peace. How can we speak of peace while this tragedy continues? I feel it was therefore most timely for the Secretary-General to call early this year for relief for the crisis in Africa. The question before us now is whether or not the world will respond sympathetically to this tragedy, and the very value of the United Nations itself is on the line.

126. This unprecedented crisis does not arise solely from a quirk of nature but is rooted in a variety of structural causes. Accordingly, while the need to relieve starvation is of obvious urgency, it is imperative on a more fundamental level that our reach extend to the complex web of structural factors and that we treat this not with a bewildering array of contradictory policy responses, but with a co-operative and comprehensive solution involving the international community.

127. Allow me to propose that all United Nations agencies be mobilized to draw up a unified plan of action for Africa making effective use of the total range of United Nations capabilities. At the same time, allow me to call upon all United Nations Member States for their support and participation as the Organization moves to implement specific actions in accordance with that plan.

128. As a start, Japan has already pledged over $100 million in food assistance to Africa this year, and we are engaged in candid discussions with African countries to explore what we can do to help promote food production in the region and co-operate effectively with their nation-building. Over the past 10 years, Japan has achieved dramatic increases in its economic co-operation with the countries of Africa, and we are already the second largest non-regional subscriber to the African Development Fund and the African Development Bank. In the field of technical co-operation as well, over 40 per cent of all Japan Overseas Co-operation Volunteers are sent to Africa, where they promote co-operation at the grass-roots level. Within Japan itself, the month beginning 28 September has been declared the "Month of Africa", and we intend to publicize African cultural, social and historical traditions so as to enhance further Japanese understanding of Africa's present plight, to spark a broad-based fund-raising drive and to arouse popular support and co-operation for the countries of Africa.

129. I hope that this session's debate on the problems of Africa will be an opportunity for bringing our various national efforts together and generating the momentum needed to overcome the crisis on that continent.

130. I should like next to turn my attention to the world economy. Today all countries, industrialized and developing, find their economies irrevocably interdependent. Effective co-operation among countries is indispensable to resolving the complex difficulties afflicting the world economy.

131. One of the problems demanding effective international co-operation, one of the most important issues facing many of the developing countries today, is that of their cumulative indebtedness. This problem has the potential of wreaking havoc not only on the debtor countries but also on the entire world economy. It is a problem that we ignore at our own peril.

132. Because there is such great diversity in the economies of the debtor countries, it is necessary that the responses be patiently and carefully crafted to meet each situation. Although the determined co-operation of all the parties concerned has averted collapse so far, we are still considerable time and effort away from a fundamental solution. Looking at the essential elements of the problem from a long-term perspective, I believe we need efforts by the debtor countries to adjust their economic structures for expanded exports and co-operative efforts by the creditor countries to maintain the smooth flow of capital to the debtor countries and to improve further their access to the markets of the industrialized countries.

133. I am, however, encouraged by recent developments. With the Latin American countries emphasizing the urgent need for a solution at this year's meetings of the debtor countries—such as those held at Quito in January and Cartagena in June—the industrialized countries are encouraging multi-year rescheduling for the private-sector debts of countries making effective efforts to help themselves. There is a spirit of co-operation in the air, and Mexico—which I visited just before coming to New York—recently reached a rescheduling agreement that is a model of its kind.

134. Trade expansion is indispensable to any long-term solution of the debt problem and to the sustained development of the world economy. To achieve this we must roll back protectionism and preserve and strengthen the free-trade system. Realizing that, Japan proposed the beginning of preparations for a new round of multilateral trade negotiations last November, and we have been working hard ever since to advance that idea.

135. At the London Economic Summit of industrialized countries, held last June, it was agreed to consult partners in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade with a view to deciding at an early date on a new round of negotiations. Japan intends to continue its efforts to commence a new round in which as broad a range of countries as possible—both industrialized and developing—will participate.

136. Because it views official development assistance as an important international responsibility, Japan has been endeavouring, despite its tight fiscal situation, to expand its official development assistance in line with the medium-term target of doubling the total amount of that assistance in five years. Our official development assistance figure for 1983 represented a 24.4 per cent increase over the figure for the previous year.

137. Japan attaches importance to the development of human resources and has made special efforts in the field of technical co-operation with the developing countries. I believe that technical co-operation is in itself a creative process; it promotes technological progress to meet the actual needs of each developing

country in harmony with its traditional way of life, and we intend to continue such technical co-operation. "Human resources development" has long been an important element in Japan's economic and technical co-operation with the ASEAN countries. When the problems of co-operation in the Pacific region were discussed at ASEAN's ministerial meeting in July with the dialogue partners, I emphasized the need for "human resources development", and I am delighted that this was then accepted and thereafter became a major theme for broad regional co-operation in the Pacific.

138. If we are to achieve a much-needed breakthrough in the North-South problem and, in particular, if we are to promote further economic and technical co-operation between North and South, I believe that, in addition to the efforts for the expansion of development assistance and "human resources development", we need what I would call a concerted effort by both North and South based on a new perspective. For example, closer and more substantive dialogue between donor and recipient countries, if it were conducted in a concerted manner by both sides, would greatly enhance effectiveness and efficiency in economic co-operation. At the same time, positive use should be made of the dynamism of the private sector in tackling the difficult problems of development. In technology, as in capital co-operation, efforts to establish a more organic link between government-level co-operation and private-sector co-operation are certainly of increasing importance to both North and South.

139. We all stand today at an important juncture from which, availing ourselves of the wisdom of both North and South, we can embark upon creative efforts based on a new perspective, for the solution of the North-South problem.

140. Where are we to derive the energy needed to create the new world of the twenty-first century? Obviously, it must come from within ourselves. Of all the forms of life on this earth, only man has the power to shape his own destiny. We must draw upon this power today. When one realizes how the mutual stimulation of differing cultures has sparked new possibilities among peoples, propelling history through the ages, it should be clear that, in drawing together all countries, large and small, to argue their cases on an equal basis, the United Nations is indeed a reactor generating new historical forces. Advances in communications and transportation technologies are bringing people in all parts of the world ever closer together, and contacts among different cultures are on the increase. I believe that this wealth of contacts contributes importantly to realizing the potential of all peoples.

141. The world is admittedly faced with great difficulties. It is for us to overcome those difficulties and go on to a new era. Drawing upon the imagination and vitality of all of our peoples, we must harness the forces of human creativity to generate a new era of hope for all mankind.

142. Mr. DIZDAREVIĆ (Yugoslavia): I congratulate you cordially, Sir, on your election to the high office of President of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. I also take great pleasure in pointing out that the relations between Zambia and Yugoslavia, two non-aligned countries, are characterized by sincere friendship and long-lasting fruitful co-operation. I am confident that your vast experience in the United Nations will greatly contribute to the successful conclusion of the work of this session of the General Assembly.

143. I should like to take this opportunity to express our gratitude to Mr. Jorge Illueca, of non-aligned and friendly Panama, who guided the deliberations of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly with such authority and wisdom.

144. We highly appreciate the persistent endeavours of the Secretary-General aimed at strengthening the role of the United Nations in international relations, as well as his personal involvement in the solution of many important issues.

145. I am also pleased to congratulate Brunei Darussalam on its admission to membership in the United Nations.

146. I regret to say that at this year's session of the General Assembly we cannot but reiterate once again the assessments we have been repeating for a number of years now regarding the grave situation in the world, one which has dangerous implications for the future of mankind. The positive values and achievements built patiently and painstakingly over the years by our joint efforts and endeavours in the struggle for peace, security and equitable international political and economic relations are perhaps more than ever before in jeopardy.

147. No pressing international problem has been solved, or even alleviated, in the period that has elapsed since the thirty-eighth session of the Assembly. One could say that many of these problems have been exacerbated even further. Yet another year has been lost for détente. We are faced with the same phenomena that threaten peace, security, co-operation and development. A new cycle of the arms race is under way, and no one is any longer certain whether this race and the means of destruction it generates can be kept under control. General insecurity and a feeling of growing threat make us increasingly hostage to the fear of self-annihilation.

148. Negotiations and dialogue between the super-Powers and blocs have given way to rivalry and to accusations and counter-accusations. The need to negotiate is far too often approached from the position of gaining advantage and supremacy. The expansion of spheres of interest or influence and growing divisions seem to have become the main preoccupation, instead of efforts to overcome these divisions in the world. Therein lie the root causes that are blocking forums and channels of negotiation and agreement.

149. There are frequent cases of threats to sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and national unity, of interference in the internal affairs and undermining of the internal stability of countries, and of failure to respect the most elementary human right—the right to self-determination and to a free choice of one's own development. Violence and terrorism are continually used as a means of state policy.

150. The crisis in international economic relations is getting worse. The world is facing new forms of economic, financial and technological dependence and neo-colonial exploitation. The position of the developing countries has worsened dramatically, as reflected particularly in the problem of debts. The gap between the developed and the developing, between the rich and the poor, appears to be widening while the readiness of developed countries

to engage in global negotiations and in a joint search for solutions is diminishing.

151. Are we not faced with attempts to block the process of emancipation and democratization of international relations and to contest and repress the principles and practices which have contributed to their positive development? Are we not faced with increased pressures to preserve and expand domination by the rich and the powerful? After a period of relaxation of tensions, greater understanding and upsurge in co-operation, we have found ourselves in a situation reminiscent of the times which, we thought, had been relegated to the past.

152. Is such an international situation actually beneficial to anyone? Do not even the most powerful countries feel more threatened today than at the time when they were negotiating and showing more tolerance for the interests of others? Has the interruption of substantive talks not undermined the positive achievements on which the great Powers themselves have built their mutual relations and respect for a long time? Does the poverty of the majority not threaten the affluence of the minority?

153. If mankind wishes to survive, it can have only one future—a future of peace, co-operation and equality, with the right of all peoples and countries to decide upon their own internal development and foreign policy. Mankind is already well advanced along the road to such a future. However, at present it is faced with efforts to halt such a development. On certain points and on certain issues, this can and does bring about temporary stoppages. If such attempts continue, grave disturbances and disruptions will become inevitable. Is it not obvious from what they have already brought about that these attempts at halting progress in international relations lead to a deterioration of international relations that brings us nearer to serious political, economic and social upheavals with unforeseeable consequences? Is it not obvious that this road could lead to new wars? How many times has it been proved over the past decades since the establishment of the United Nations that peace is indivisible from progress in world relations and that the policy of domination, exploitation and hegemony in international relations constitutes a threat to peace?

154. There is a vast discrepancy between the present unfavourable state of affairs and conditions in the world and the need for and possibility of halting that dangerous and retrogressive trend and turning it towards peace, equitable co-operation and general progress. Peoples throughout the world are opposed to historically outdated concepts aimed at preserving any position of privilege and domination in the world. The policy of non-alignment and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries have offered a vision of and a platform for the transformation of the international order in the interest of all the peoples of the world.

155. The Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi in March 1983, offered the world a comprehensive and concrete programme for overcoming the crisis in international political and economic relations and resolving the problems which create focal-points of crisis, a programme leading to a future in which peace, co-operation and prosperity would prevail. A growing number of proposals aiming at the same objective are being advanced from various quarters. The world is not short of initiatives designed to correct the present state of affairs. It suffers, however, from a lack of the will to act, especially on the part of those who bear the greatest responsibility for the present situation.

156. The development of international relations and the future of mankind cannot be left to chance, subjected to anyone's selfish interests or, for that matter, entrusted to the wealthiest and most powerful, influential and developed group of countries. The fate of all of us depends on the way in which international relations develop. It is therefore natural that we should all make our contribution to shaping that development.

157. However, the greatest responsibility for overcoming the present extremely dangerous international situation is borne by the great Powers. We are all aware of the impact of their mutual relations on overall international development. Thus the entire international community has the natural right and obligation to assist in and contribute to an improvement in their relations. We therefore request the great Powers to sit down at the negotiating table in order to make the contribution expected of them by means of negotiation and accommodation.

158. We cannot accept the imposition of a cold-war ideology on problems and issues of international and bilateral relations. History abounds in lessons learned at great cost which teach us that it is necessary to live together and co-operate regardless of our differing systems and ideologies. We are aware of the implications of attempts to export and impose systems and ideologies, attempts to interfere with a view to influencing internal social and economic development. We are also aware that in this increasingly interdependent world we exert an influence upon each other through our own values and common achievements, that we enrich each other with progress and achievements that have a genuine value. True values, regardless of who contributes them to the treasury of world progress, know no frontiers and do not need to be exported.

159. I would recall that we have asserted in the Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention and Interference in the Internal Affairs of States, adopted by the General Assembly at its thirty-sixth session by a large majority, that:

> "No State or group of States has the right to intervene or interfere in any form or for any reason whatsoever in the internal and external affairs of other States." [*Resolution 36/103, annex, para. 1.*]

The Declaration also states that it is the duty of a State to ensure that its territory is not used in any manner which would violate the sovereignty, political independence, territorial integrity and national unity or disrupt the political, economic or social stability of another State.

160. To what extent are these principles actually observed and applied? Unfortunately, we must say that we still witness frequent and flagrant infringements of them rather than their observance. Observance of these principles is precisely the way to a future of international co-operation, understanding, equality and confidence.

161. With each new weapon we fall behind in the race for peace. Is this not endangering the security and disturbing the tranquillity even of those who see their own security in military superiority? Can the security of some be strengthened by constantly

increasing the insecurity of others? Can we reconcile ourselves to the fact that almost $1 trillion a year is being spent for armaments while hundreds of millions of people live in poverty and want and thousands of children die of hunger every day?

162. We have not lost hope that we can arrest the march towards the Slough of Despond, from which there is no return.

163. We recall that, together with non-aligned and other countries, we have constantly advocated from this rostrum the adoption of measures conducive to the start of a process of genuine disarmament. We are in favour of the adoption of all proposals aimed at the prevention of nuclear war; a freeze of the development, production, stockpiling and deployment of nuclear weapons, the early conclusion of a comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty; and the conclusion of an internationally acceptable agreement giving guarantees to non-nuclear States that nuclear weapons will not be used against them and that they will not be threatened with their use. We also support all actions aimed at halting the arms race in outer space and banning the use of chemical and other weapons of mass destruction. We particularly support the elaboration and adoption as a matter of urgency of a comprehensive programme of general and complete disarmament. We consider the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones to be a way of creating a world free of the heavy burden of nuclear armament.

164. Use should be made of every opportunity for negotiations and to seek internationally acceptable solutions.

165. I have already pointed out at the beginning of my statement the gravity and dramatic character of the crisis in international economic relations. This situation is fraught with the danger of great political disruptions and explosions. It seems that we have entered a period in which a new wave of neo-colonialism is affecting a large number of countries. The persistence of the developed countries in their domination is bringing about an ever-deeper economic crisis, as a result of which these countries, too, will inevitably suffer great losses and face unforeseeable consequences.

166. How is it possible to seek solutions acceptable for developing countries in conditions of growing protectionism, reduced commodity prices, huge interest rates, foreign exchange fluctuations and diminished inflow of official development assistance, which hardly exceeds half the agreed target of 0.7 per cent of the gross national product?

167. Is it possible that the alarming plight of the least developed countries cannot arouse solidarity in the international community? Instead of repeating continually that these are the most seriously affected countries, it is high time to take concrete measures aimed at surmounting this critical state of affairs. The exceptionally difficult economic situation in Africa makes this all the more necessary.

168. The debts of the developing countries are the most alarming reflection of the crisis in economic relations. They threaten seriously the economic development of these countries as well as their political, social and economic stability.

169. Debts exceeding $800 billion and the burden of debt-servicing intensified by high interest rates for which the developing countries will have to pay over $75 billion this year alone are unfortunately also being used as a means of exploitation, pressure and interference in internal affairs and to exhaust the economies of the developing countries.

170. The practice of shifting the entire debt burden on the shoulders of debtor countries alone is unacceptable. The creditors should also have their share in this burden. Urgent solutions for this world problem must be sought through the broadest possible engagement of the international community. It is indispensable to reach global agreements not only to facilitate the terms of repayment and to reduce interest rates, but first and foremost to ensure an accelerated economic development of debtor countries. We fully support the efforts of the 11 Latin American countries which are seeking and offering ways in which to surmount the debt crisis in their own interests as well as in the broadest interest of stability and development of the international community.

171. We expect the international monetary and financial institutions, particularly the ones most directly involved in resolving debt problems, to show greater understanding and respect for the real possibilities of developing countries and to abandon the existing practice which is unacceptable and outdated.

172. The international conference on money and finance for development, whose concept will be presented by the Chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, will be an avenue for seeking solutions to these problems.

173. We still firmly believe that lasting and stable solutions to the development problems inevitably call for profound changes in world economic relations aimed at the establishment of the new international economic order through global negotiations.

174. A way out of the crisis does not lie in confrontation between developed and developing countries. The developing countries are not in favour of this and will not accept it. A way out can be found through dialogue and co-operation which would ensure economic stability and diminish the differences in the levels of development. This is in the interest of the entire international community.

175. Time has shown once again that there can be no just, lasting and comprehensive solution to any of the foci of crisis without observance of the Charter of the United Nations and of the principles of self-determination, sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity, equality, non-interference, withdrawal of foreign troops from occupied territories and full respect for the right of peoples to choose their own social system as well as the path of their internal development and involvement in international relations.

176. My country has always seen the possibility of achieving solutions based on these principles to such current crisis situations as: the Middle East crisis and the realization of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization [*PLO*], its sole and legitimate representative; the final accession to independence by the people of Namibia, under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization [*SWAPO*], its sole and authentic representative; the termination of the war between Iran and Iraq; support for the unity and non-aligned status of the Republic of Cyprus; the termination of foreign intervention and interference in Afghanistan, Kampuchea and Grenada, as well as the elimination of the

crisis situation and tension in Central America and the Caribbean with the full support of the efforts of the Contadora Group.

177. Yugoslavia has been actively participating in all the endeavours aimed at restoring the atmosphere of relaxation of tensions and greater understanding in the Mediterranean, a region fraught with many conflicts. With a view to implementing General Assembly resolution 38/189, adopted by consensus on 20 December 1983, the Mediterranean members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, at their recent ministerial meeting, held at Valletta on 10 and 11 September, have identified their joint position and programme of action aimed at strengthening peace, security and co-operation in the Mediterranean.

178. In its entire international activity, Yugoslavia has proceeded from the fact that the United Nations is an irreplaceable forum for safeguarding peace, strengthening security and resolving international problems. We oppose any attempt to undermine the positive results achieved by the United Nations in numerous fields and to exclude the world Organization from the solution of the major problems of the present day.

179. This session of the General Assembly is faced with questions: what are we bringing with us into the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, what have we learned from the experiences gained over the past four decades and what are we expected to do as a result of the great transformations that have taken place in the world and have changed the Organization? Where and how to continue is the question to which an answer should be sought and found precisely on the occasion of this anniversary, and particularly an answer to the question of how to make the United Nations more effective and capable of ensuring respect for and implementation of the principles, norms and decisions that we have adopted and will adopt in the future. This anniversary provides an opportunity for the greatest possible number of heads of State or Government to gather at the United Nations and engage in a useful dialogue on the most important questions related to the functioning of the Organization and to the problems of the present-day world.

180. In the present dangerous international situation, it is difficult to be an optimist, but nor are we pessimists. We do share a common destiny and a common future. We have to defend what we have in common since we made many sacrifices and have invested much effort and hope. Consequently, we should not forsake our common heritage. Furthermore, we must persevere in our effort to make the world of tomorrow better than today's world. Let us therefore respond in thought and action to the message of the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi in March 1983: "The earth belongs to us all—let us cherish it in peace and true brotherhood, based on the dignity and equality of man."[9]

181. Mr. MORÁN (Spain) (*interpretation from Spanish*): First of all, Sir, I wish to convey to you my delegation's congratulations on your election to the presidency of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. Your well-known personal and professional qualities, clearly shown throughout your fruitful work in the United Nations, offer a guarantee that our work will be conducted by firm and expert hands. I can assure you that in the performance of your task you may count on the sincere co-operation of the delegation of Spain.

182. It gives me special satisfaction to recall the praiseworthy work done by the President of the Assembly's thirty-eighth session, Mr. Jorge Illueca, who occupied the highest position in Panama and also devoted himself to the work of that session.

183. On behalf of my delegation, I, too, wish to give a cordial welcome to the new Member of the Organization, Brunei Darussalam, the admission of which adds to the community of sovereign nations. We wish that nation all the best in its new life as an independent State.

184. We are living through particularly difficult times. We are witnessing a recrudescence of violence and terrorism, an exacerbation of old conflicts, a worsening, for most people, of the economic crisis, in brief, the persistence of a climate of insecurity and international tension.

185. However, we have today institutions and multilateral mechanisms with which, despite their imperfections, we can face these challenges. They are, in fact, the appropriate means for solving global problems, assuming there is the political will to use them correctly. I am referring especially to the United Nations. And in this context, the recent appeal by the Secretary-General for multilateralism could not have been more opportune. My delegation supports that fully.

Mr. Fajardo-Maldonado (Guatemala), Vice-President, took the Chair.

186. With idealism, but also with realism, the Government of Spain has inscribed among its priorities for foreign policy the defence of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, and I can assure you, Mr. President, that we will do whatever is within our reach to strengthen the Organization.

187. Peace requires security as a prerequisite, but only with justice can it attain its fullness.

188. Spain today has taken on the moral commitment to contribute to the attainment of a safer and more just international order. Because we wish there to be a safer world, we consider it a priority to make considerable strides in the areas of détente and disarmament. We remain convinced, however, that these strides would be short-lived were we not to make efforts at the same time to attain a more just economic and social order.

189. We continue to experience moments of tension in international relations, made worse by the break in the dialogue between the major Powers and by the arms race. Present levels of weapons are dangerous as well as costly. We cannot disregard the general cry, particularly by the young, who call for us to put an end, without further delay, to such shocking escalation.

190. We are absolutely convinced that it is possible to attain balance at a lower level of armaments without endangering the legitimate security interests of each State.

191. We have made various appeals, which we reiterate at this time, for the United States and the Soviet Union to resume their talks as soon as possible. We believe that at these times of mistrust and uncertainty any proposal aimed at restoring effective dialogue should be welcome. It is in this

spirit that the President of the Government of Spain made a statement in support of the so-called initiative of the five continents, begun last May by the Heads of State or Government of Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Sweden and the United Republic of Tanzania.

192. Some recent indications support our conviction that the doors to dialogue remain open. Today, more than ever, we must expand such avenues of communication towards a rebirth of the spirit and practice of détente.

193. But, together with dialogue between the great Powers, all States, whether nuclear or not, are in duty bound to promote the causes of disarmament and détente. Spain, within the framework of the Western system of security, of which it is a part, as well as through its participation in the various multilateral forums, will spare no efforts to that end.

194. Within the framework of the United Nations, we hope that the Conference on Disarmament may shortly conclude a comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty and that it will achieve the results which everyone desires with regard to the prohibition of chemical weapons. In both areas, existing obstacles, including that of verification, should not prove insoluble. At the same time, we hope that the Conference on Disarmament will pay special attention to the risks of militarization of outer space which, were it to become a reality, would be a new and serious factor of instability and insecurity.

195. While arms reduction and control are essential to the maintenance of international security, we cannot forget the decisive importance which confidence-building measures have for the process of disarmament; these measures are aimed at reducing international tension and at strengthening rationality and stability in international relations. Spain is taking an active part in the Conference on Confidence- and Security-building Measures and Disarmament in Europe, at Stockholm, which followed the Madrid meeting of representatives of the participating States of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, and trusts that the Stockholm Conference will be able to adopt concrete and effective measures. Our delegation, without giving up any of its basic principles, is willing to analyse and take into account the points of view which may be presented by other groups of countries. In keeping with its position at the Madrid meeting, my country will try to bring about a *rapprochement* among the parties and thus safeguard the basic principles that make for coexistence and co-operation.

196. While we wish to build real and lasting peace, we must also endeavour to eliminate the deep causes of conflicts: injustice and oppression.

197. Torture, arbitrary detention and forced disappearances continue to be current practice in many regions of the world. Political persecution still forces citizens of some countries to go into exile. Racial discrimination afflicts many societies; its most odious and intolerable manifestation is the system of *apartheid*.

198. Despite that painful fact, we cannot disregard the important role played by the United Nations and other international organizations in the definition, recognition, protection and promotion of fundamental rights and freedoms. Owing largely to their activities, more and more States are accepting the obligation to report on the status of human rights within their borders, are agreeing to recourse by their citizens to multilateral forums and are agreeing to be investigated. But there is still a long way to go towards perfecting and completing present control mechanisms.

199. The Government of Spain, while it continues to develop its constitutional tenets, is willing to continue co-operating with the international system for the defence of human rights. In the framework of the United Nations, we took part this year, for the first time, in the work of the Commission on Human Rights, whose role we regard as of crucial importance.

200. This session of the General Assembly is to consider a draft convention on torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment, which has been submitted to it by the Commission on Human Rights.[2] We believe that this draft, to which my Government attaches great importance, is ripe for adoption and that, through a negotiating effort, it will be possible to overcome the difficulties that still remain and to adopt the convention at this session.

201. A stable and peaceful world can only be based on a more just and better balanced economic and social order. The improvement and restructuring of international economic relations constitute one of the great challenges faced by the international community.

202. The international economy is suffering one of its deepest crises. Given the global nature of that crisis, the solutions can only be global too.

203. It is true that the picture for some countries is less disquieting than it was last year, owing, among other things, to the increase of the activities in the sphere of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development and to the gradual recovery of international trade. But the effects of the crisis continue to be felt particularly severely and intensely in the less-developed countries.

204. The foreign debt not only is the main hindrance to development for many countries, but also threatens the very survival of the international financial system. Spain is open to any proposals that may include new ideas for solving this difficult problem, without losing sight of the possibilities offered by present avenues for renegotiation, among them the IMF. But we should not forget that we are faced with a question that should not be approached on a strictly financial basis.

205. High interest rates in the United States lead to a massive capital flow into the North American market and press upwards the rates in other countries. That is still another road-block to economic recovery. It hampers international trade and compounds the problems of the debtor countries.

206. Protectionist trends are being reaffirmed in the international market. Thus a vicious circle is created, which prevents developing countries from reconciling economic progress with the servicing of their foreign debt.

207. Many developing countries have had to face an economic crisis while, at the same time, opening new ways to democratic participation by their citizens. It is a tribute to the democratic system that the impact of adjustment measures implemented by those countries has not led in many of them to the social and political turmoil that some had predicted. Nevertheless, maintaining these recession-inducing

policies for too long could lead to a social explosion whose consequences would be felt throughout the international community.

208. As the Secretary-General states in his report on the work of the Organization [*A/39/1*]:

> "If we do not address current economic problems seriously and urgently, we will not be able to confine them to the economic sphere alone. In our world of growing economic interdependence, impoverished people faced perpetually with a variety of overwhelming economic and social crises constitute not only a challenge to international conscience, but a threat to international stability as well."

209. All of us must learn the lesson of this crisis, which is none other than the irreversible economic interdependence of the world and the close interrelationship of economic and political phenomena.

210. Spain, a country that has had to undergo democratic transition and consolidation at a time when adjustments have been required because of the economic crisis, stands in solidarity with the developing countries in the situation they are facing. Thus, my Government has authorized all bilateral and multilateral negotiations designed to alleviate the effects of the crisis on those countries.

211. The United Nations has played an important part in the struggle against underdevelopment through its co-operation programmes for development, emergency aid, training and research, and food aid. We are convinced that in the present circumstances it is called upon to play an even more important part. In this context, the final launching of global negotiations at this session of the General Assembly could be one of the most appropriate means of finding a lasting solution to the present crisis.

212. I have chosen to focus my statement on the three major challenges that the international community faces on its path towards coexistence based on security, respect for human rights, and economic and social development. Now, however, I shall refer to some of the regional problems of special interest to my Government.

213. My country continues to be concerned about developments in Central America, where the living conditions and safety of the citizens continue to deteriorate. We have repeatedly stated that in our view the deep causes of the long-standing crisis in the region are unjust economic and social structures and that the trends we note towards growing militarization merely contribute to a worsening of the situation and could turn the isthmus into an area of endemic confrontation. On the other hand, the tendency to place internal conflicts or differences between States in the context of global confrontation between the major Powers not only is an obstacle to the solution of the present crises and the age-old problems of the countries of Central America, but also threatens world peace.

214. Since the beginning of 1983, Spain has been actively supporting the peace initiative of the countries in the Contadora Group and the tireless efforts made to reach a regional agreement based on the principles of non-intervention, non-interference, non-use of force or the threat of force, and real respect for human rights as enshrined by the United Nations.

215. Spain feels itself closely linked to that region and is especially alive to the aspirations of its inhabitants to peace and well-being. We are pleased, therefore, at the *rapprochement* that seems to be taking place between Western Europe, of which we are a part, and Central America, to which we are joined by fraternal bonds. We believe that Europe should spare no efforts on either the economic or the political level that could contribute to attaining a peace that is possible and a prosperity that is legitimate. In this connection, we regard the initiative taken by President Monge, of Costa Rica, which will bear fruit at the end of this week in the meeting at San José of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the five Central American countries, the four countries of the Contadora Group, the 10 countries members of the European Economic Community, and Spain and Portugal, as an extremely important one, and we hope that it will contribute to the attainment of those goals.

216. In the South Atlantic, the future of the Malvinas Islands continues to be a major source of concern for the international community. In addition, it is a source of tension between the United Kingdom and Argentina. We urge those Governments to resolve their sovereignty dispute through negotiation in such a way that the territorial integrity of Argentina may be restored and due account taken of the interests of the population, in keeping with United Nations resolutions.

217. By historical, political and cultural tradition, nothing that occurs in the Mediterranean area can be alien to Spain. My Government watches with especial attention the problems and developments in the Maghreb region. We trust that the treaties of fraternity between Algeria, Tunisia and Mauritania and the treaty of union between Morocco and the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya will, instead of creating two opposing axes, result in benefits for an increasingly united and peaceful Maghreb. We continue to believe that such a peace can be achieved only if the Saharan conflict is settled. The United Nations and the Organization of African Unity [*OAU*] have set forth quite clearly the principles and means by which that can be done. My Government will spare no effort and will co-operate as called upon by the parties concerned or by the United Nations and the OAU whenever such co-operation can contribute towards a just and stable peace in the region.

218. The question of Cyprus continues to be a source of tension in the eastern Mediterranean. We reiterate our appeal for a compromise that can ensure the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus and promote peaceful coexistence between the two communities settled there.

219. At the thirty-eighth session [*12th meeting*], I tried to set forth clearly the position of the Government of Spain with regard to the tragedy of Lebanon, the question of Palestine and the war between Iran and Iraq. I shall not repeat what I said at that time, but I do feel it opportune briefly to mention some of the most recent events there, since they may have a bearing on the evolution of the problems of the Near and Middle East.

220. In Lebanon we have recently witnessed bloody and painful events that have shocked the conscience of mankind. Nevertheless, even amidst so much grief, the spirit of the Lebanese people, reaffirming its independence, sovereignty and identity, has sur-

vived intact. We must welcome the recent efforts towards reconciliation made by the Lebanese themselves, efforts that have been supported by many Arab countries—notably, by the Syrian Arab Republic and Saudi Arabia.

221. The Palestinian people, although increasingly secure in its identity, continues to be deprived of its rights and its homeland. Of late, in addition to the traditional difficulties inherent in so extremely complex a problem as that of the Middle East, a certain climate of confusion and division has come to prevail within the PLO. Only the security created by unity and cohesion can lead to the creation of the conditions necessary for a negotiated, just and lasting solution.

222. Such a solution, we must repeat, can only be based on withdrawal from all occupied Arab territories, respect for the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, and the security of all States of the region, including Israel. However, it will be difficult to begin to move towards peace if the Israeli Government does not abandon its settlement policy.

223. The war between Iran and Iraq compels us to reissue to its leaders our earlier appeal that they evince the flexibility needed to put an end to a conflict that has for four years now had tragic consequences for the peoples of two friendly countries. We trust that a compromise may be reached that will allow them to coexist in peace and to preserve their sovereignty and territorial integrity. We are aware that the human and material losses caused by the spread of hostilities to the Gulf are not as severe as the death and destruction the belligerents have suffered, but we do ask that the free and peaceful passage of vessels from third countries through those waters be assured.

224. In other geographic areas as well there are problems that continue to be a source of concern to my Government.

225. In keeping with United Nations resolutions on the situation in Afghanistan and in Kampuchea, which we have supported, we believe that the withdrawal of foreign troops is a necessary prerequisite for the peoples of those two countries to be able freely to choose the political system best suited to their interests.

226. With regard to the problems in southern Africa, we would cite with hope and interest such accords as the Agreement on Non-Aggression and Good Neighbourliness between Mozambique and South Africa, signed at Nkomati on 16 March 1984 [*see A/39/159, annex I*], and talks such as those that led to the agreement between Angola and South Africa, reached at Lusaka on 16 February 1984. It is still premature to be optimistic. However, those events, as well as the recent meetings between leaders of South Africa and SWAPO, should impel us to encourage a development that could lead to the rapid independence of Namibia through the implementation, without further delay, of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and the cessation of all aggression against Angola and other African front-line States.

227. I cannot conclude my statement without making reference to a problem that is of very direct concern to my country. My Government is continuing its efforts to find a solution to the anachronistic situation that exists in Gibraltar, the only colony still extant on the continent of Europe. It is a priority objective of Spain's foreign policy to achieve the restoration of its territorial integrity through peaceful means and continued dialogue with the United Kingdom. The Government of Spain reiterates its commitment, in the course of such negotiations and in the future, to respect the legitimate interests of the population of Gibraltar.

228. Last April my country was honoured by the visit of the Secretary-General. My Government wishes to express to him once again its gratitude for the quiet and devoted work he has been conducting. His effective guidance of the Secretariat and his perseverance in the quest for solutions to such thorny and delicate problems as those of Cyprus, Afghanistan or the Iran-Iraq conflict are worthy of our praise as well as of our support and encouragement.

229. The forthcoming fortieth anniversary of the United Nations should be for all of us an occasion for profound reflection on the limitations and also on the opportunities that the multilateral system, as enshrined in the Charter, provides us in facing the challenges of an ever-changing world.

230. In the mean time, let us through our efforts at this session of the General Assembly contribute to making progress, albeit by small steps, in the quest for a safer, more prosperous and freer world.

231. Mr. DHANABALAN (Singapore): Allow me to congratulate Mr. Lusaka on his election to the presidency of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. His abilities and reputation for integrity and goodwill are widely known, as are also his wide experience of the United Nations and his tireless commitment to the Organization. We shall all be well served by his presidency. I am confident that under his leadership the ability of the Assembly to further the objectives of the United Nations will be enhanced.

232. As we approach the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations, the imperative need to strengthen the effectiveness of the Organization and enhance international peace and stability has been underscored by the continuing turbulence in international relations. New conflicts have arisen, while old problems are still unresolved. My delegation finds it difficult to identify any political problems or situations where there are prospects for an early settlement, or even a glimmer of hope that there will be early willingness to enter into negotiations.

233. In the Middle East, the situation remains serious. A resolution of the Palestinian issue is still far off, and the Palestinian people continue to be deprived of a homeland of their own. Lebanon continues to be occupied by foreign forces, and all diplomatic efforts to persuade them to withdraw have proved unsuccessful. The war between Iran and Iraq continues to fester, with no end in sight.

234. The armed forces of the Soviet Union and Viet Nam are still in illegal occupation of Afghanistan and Kampuchea. The nationalist resistance forces, however, have taken a heavy toll of the invaders and, by their vigorous and determined opposition, are ensuring that the occupation forces continue to suffer heavy casualties. We urge the Soviet Union and Viet Nam to heed the calls of the international community to withdraw their occupation forces.

235. The Namibian question is stalemated, owing to the intransigence of South Africa, which continues its illegal occupation of Namibia, in defiance of numerous United Nations resolutions. My Govern-

ment believes that the Namibian question should be solved within the framework of United Nations resolutions—in particular, Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

236. In South Africa, the recent elections to fill the mixed race and Indian chambers of the three-chamber Parliament have, as predicted, attracted little support. Only 20 per cent of those eligible to vote for both groups cast their ballots. This attempt by South Africa to dress up a token political voice in the Parliament as progress towards equality has been a resounding failure. South Africa's 20 million black majority are continuing to be deprived of their legitimate rights to be included in the political process and to determine their own future.

237. In addition to these political problems, the African continent is experiencing a serious economic and social crisis. As a result of widespread and prolonged drought, accelerated desertification and the effects of the world recession of the past three years, these problems have threatened the very survival of millions of Africans. The situation requires a concerted effort by the entire international community, working with relevant international organizations, to reverse a potentially catastrophic situation. The Special Memorandum on Africa's Economic and Social Crisis,[10] adopted by the Conference of Ministers of the Economic Commission for Africa, meeting at Addis Ababa in May of this year, clearly sets out the views and recommendations of the ministers responsible for economic development and planning. These views should be given due attention and proper support in working out programmes and prospects to alleviate the plight of those millions of Africans.

238. This year we welcome Brunei Darussalam into the United Nations. Brunei is the seventh new Member to be admitted in this decade. In the 1970s there were 26 new Members; in the 1960s, there were 43. As more and more States have become independent, the pace of admissions has clearly slowed. Independence for nations is almost universal. To be sure, there are anomalies. The peoples of Palestine and Namibia are still struggling for independence. Cambodia and Afghanistan have become new victims of imperialism. But independence for the majority is part of the new international reality.

239. The experience since independence of most of this majority has not been bright. The future looks no better. The gap between the rich and the poor nations has grown. To the traditional burdens of low technology, weak institutions, disunited peoples and huge populations have been added crippling levels of international debt. They have learned the harsh lesson that freedom from alien domination does not necessarily secure a better life. "Independence" is a misnomer in nations where ordinary people are forced to live on the precarious margin of subsistence, where fratricidal disputes have killed millions and where flood, famine and drought still take thousands of lives.

240. If we want to be honest, we must admit that man-made disasters have taken a greater toll than natural calamities. The withdrawal of colonial authority has opened a Pandora's box of ill-defined boundaries, floating populations, ideological differences, ancient rivalries and vaulting ambitions that have caused a welter of disputes and conflicts among the newly independent.

241. Since the end of the Second World War, there have been more than 100 armed conflicts, including about 40 major wars, which have killed more than 26 million people. Most of these conflicts have been in third-world countries. Such conflicts have been fuelled and complicated by the global contests of the great Powers as well as by the pretensions of smaller Powers.

242. Poverty has made independence a Pyrrhic victory. Without economic development, freedom for many has come to mean no more than having nothing left to lose, political independence reduced to the yearly exercise of the United Nations vote.

243. We are not foredoomed to poverty and conflicts. But the situation will not rectify itself. However justifiable the moral outrage over past wrongs, it is not a sufficient basis for us to build a better life for our peoples. The rich countries, the ex-colonial Powers, are no longer easily moved by our cries. Even the goodwill or guilt that led them to give assistance to the third world has diminished in the light of the recipient countries' failure to help themselves. With the rich countries facing their own economic problems, strong protectionist currents have been generated in those countries, threatening to stifle development in the third-world countries that have achieved some initial success in industrialization.

244. The adoption of thinly disguised protectionist measures, often to protect industries that are inefficient and unproductive by comparison with those in the third world, has exposed the hypocrisy of the rich. The rich seek to assuage their conscience by assurances of concern, but they are obviously not prepared to make any sacrifice in order to enable the third world to succeed. The third world can generate economic growth and development only by production and exports. But the rich are not prepared to trade with the third world on the basis of equity and fair play. They insist on consuming a disproportionate amount of the world's resources by keeping the terms of trade to the disadvantage of the poor.

245. Short-term economic and domestic political interests in the developed countries inevitably take precedence over the long-term interests of all who live in one interdependent world. A classic illustration is the unwillingness of rich countries to adopt policies to reduce rapidly their huge budget deficits which distort international capital flows. At the same time, the poor countries are urged to adopt policies that are tantamount to being asked to commit suicide in order to escape starvation.

246. We have also learned that even appeals to the self-interest of the rich countries is not a successful strategy. That we cannot be consumers of their products unless our production is purchased by them is self-evident. Unless we earn, we cannot buy. The prosperity of the North depends on the viability of the South. But while the poor are sometimes recognized as important consumers, the economic nexus between production and consumption is in itself not enough to ensure a flow of capital and technology from the rich countries.

247. Technological developments have also whittled down the importance of cheap and abundant labour in the competitiveness of production. Production know-how is poised on the brink of new breakthroughs in areas such as robotics and biotechnology of which only the more mature economies of

the North can take full advantage. Products of the new technology also threaten to displace the primary products of third-world countries. The flow of investment from rich to poor is, for these reasons, now less attractive than it used to be. Changing patterns of trade and comparative advantage between the developed countries themselves have made it more expedient for the rich to invest in each other's markets in order to secure access. All these factors mean that the gap between the rich and the poor nations will widen rather than narrow.

248. In order to do anything about this trend, we must face certain realities. The great economic Powers will continue to determine the direction of the international economy. Political independence has not changed the power relationship between big and small, rich and poor. This reality has to be accepted as the starting-point for any action. The world will not change simply because it is unfair. The dilemma which all of us face is how the weak and poor can muster the means of reshaping this international order.

249. There have been, in my opinion, two general approaches by the poorer countries for breaking out of this cycle of weakness and poverty. The first has been reliance on expanding the network of international organizations, a notion inspired by the big Powers themselves when they created the United Nations system after the Second World War. Since the first session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held at Geneva in 1964, we have had five sessions of the Conference, the most recent at Belgrade last year. Over the same period, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries also held their own meetings on economic issues at Dakar, Lima, New Delhi and elsewhere. We have made attempts at United Nations-sponsored global negotiations between North and South on a new international economic order. This year the General Assembly will again adopt resolutions on economic issues. The record of such attempts, with few exceptions, is a failure.

250. A second approach is ideological. There are those who contend that the root cause of the impoverished state of the majority is not merely the structure of the international system, but rather the fact that it is a neo-colonialist and capitalist international system with an exploitative centre sucking wealth from an exploited periphery. Revolution, according to this viewpoint, will set us free. This is a fallacy. The belief that the common interests of the working class would transcend national boundaries and that class struggle could replace the struggle between States and consequently lead to an era of harmony and co-operation has proved to be obviously false.

251. As the peoples of Cambodia and so many other countries have found to their cost, there is no superior virtue in one kind of ideological system or another. Starvation, misery and poverty do not discriminate on the basis of ideology or recognize the class principle. Socialists exploit each other too. The socialist international system is also divided into an exploited periphery and an exploitative centre. All third-world countries, regardless of social system or political belief, must recognize this fact. Not to do so is to invite exploitation by what is just another kind of imperialism. Ideology, no more than moral outrage or wishful thinking, cannot alter the political structure or exorcise economic realities.

252. This is not a philosophy of despair. Realism for the small and the weak does not only consist of accepting constraints but also of recognizing opportunities. We have to accept the existing structure of the international economic and political system. But that structure is a dynamic one in a state of constant evolution. Looking back, it is evident to me that the small and the weak have succeeded when they have had the will, ability and flexibility to take advantage of opportunities thrown up by the changing pattern of relations between the strong. We have to learn to use the existing structure of the international economic system and to change it in order to break the vicious cycle of poverty and to secure a better life for our peoples.

253. How can this be done? Large international organizations that mobilize third-world countries, such as the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the Group of 77, can provide the political strength to achieve tangible results if skilfully guided. Together the third world can do what none of its members has the strength to do individually. But, for the most part, both the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the Group of 77 encompass too many diverse and conflicting interests and irrelevant objectives to act decisively or be constructive. To overcome the weaknesses of such large groupings, we should first organize ourselves into smaller regional groups which share more similar characteristics and common interests. We must create many smaller areas of security and common action on the larger international scene. Such regional groupings can serve as building blocks that would provide a firm foundation for larger international organizations and thus enable those organizations to play a more effective role in furthering the interests of the third world.

254. Secondly, we should not allow the progress of our peoples to be hostage to the vanities of nationalism, the blindness of xenophobia or the seductions of ideology. We have to dare to plug into the international economic system, because that system is the only source of the capital, technology and management skills that we need to pull ourselves out of poverty. We must admit what we do not know, not in a spirit of submission or dependence, but in order to become independent and meet the challenges of a competitive and evolving international economic system. We must participate in that system, learn its rules and use its rules to our best advantage. We can do this without undue risk only if we are first united.

255. The approach I have described is not an academic one. I know this approach can work because it has already worked. The organization to which my country belongs, ASEAN, is in many ways a microcosm of the diversity of the third world. It would be difficult to find a more disparate group than Brunei Darussalam, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand. We are divided by religion, by system of government, by history, by culture, by ethnicity and by language. In the post-war period, all the present members of ASEAN have, at one time or another, been engaged in conflicts and disputes with each other. But we have been able to put the past behind us. Historical rivalries have been set aside. Instead, we have emphasized a positive vision of our common future. We have learned to accept each other as equals on the basis of our real differences as well as our common interests. We do not live in fear of one another.

256. The largest member of ASEAN, Indonesia, has played a special role in this respect. Indonesia has not tried to impose its views on the organization, but has worked with all members on the basis of equality and mutual consultation. We have all adopted export-oriented economic policies essentially based on market forces. We have not been too proud to learn from others and to allow a relatively free inflow of private capital, know-how and personnel. We have not allowed destructive ambitions or sterile ideology to divert us from what we regard to be our common interests.

257. Perhaps most important of all, we have not allowed ASEAN to become a crutch for any of us. Ultimately we all recognize that it is national action that determines national well-being. The basis of collective resilience is national resilience. We do not look to ASEAN as the panacea for our individual problems. The unity and collective action of ASEAN provide a framework within which each member can determine its own future. The stability of relations among member countries of ASEAN provides an environment of confidence that is conducive to development.

258. The hard economic reality is that the way to get ahead is to be more efficient, more competitive and more productive, and thus to enhance the competitiveness of our products on the world market.

259. By combining and directing efforts towards trying to shape as open and as liberal an international economic order as possible, ASEAN's collective economic diplomacy has influenced the political and economic policy decisions in the industrial centres of the North which affect our interests. We would not have been able to do this if we had acted alone.

260. The self-confidence that we have created through collective and pragmatic action has enabled us to resist external pressures, to take our future into our own hands and actively try to influence the environment around us. We have changed the structure of international politics in South-East Asia. We have gained a measure of control over forces that will influence our future. This is the broader significance of the actions we have taken on the Cambodian issue, in our economic relations with the developed countries and the major Powers and on a host of other issues.

261. I have dwelt at some length on the experience of my country and our partners in ASEAN not in a spirit of arrogance or because I believe that our experience is unique. Indeed, I have used ASEAN as an example of what the third world could do, precisely because I do not believe our experience is unique. We have done what some have done and what the majority of the international community can also do, if only they can summon up the will to do it.

262. Mr. HARALAMBOPOULOS (Greece): Let me first of all extend to Mr. Lusaka our warmest congratulations on his election to the high office of President of the General Assembly. At a time when international problems are becoming increasingly acute, his outstanding qualities, great experience and long and distinguished record within the United Nations are the best guarantees that he will carry out his heavy responsibilities with ability and success.

263. I would also like to congratulate the outgoing President, Mr. Illueca, an old and devoted friend of my country, for his excellent performance during the last 12 months.

264. The Secretary-General also deserves our congratulations and gratitude for his unflinching devotion to duty and his noteworthy initiatives in the service of peace and of the good functioning of the United Nations.

265. Lastly, I would like to welcome the latest Member of the United Nations, Brunei Darussalam, and to wish its people and Government happiness and success.

266. The President of the Council of Ministers of the European Community, Mr. Peter Barry, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ireland, has already presented to the Assembly [*6th meeting*] with eloquence and clarity the position of the 10 member States of the Community on the main questions we face today. I will therefore focus my statement on certain specific subjects to which my country attaches particular importance.

267. The Greek Government shares the general concern over the threats to and violations of peace. We have no illusions as to the possibilities of a small country to influence world developments of such magnitude. We believe, however, that every country, no matter what its potential, bears a major responsibility in fostering an international awareness of the need for peace, especially in an age when the nuclear-arms race has assumed alarming proportions. It is in this context that Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou has participated in the common appeal contained in the Joint Declaration of the Presidents of Argentina, Mexico and the United Republic of Tanzania and the Prime Ministers of India and Sweden [*A/39/277*] to freeze the production and development of nuclear weapons.

268. The Greek Government, however, did not limit itself to an appeal to the super-Powers. It seeks firmly and consistently to create, together with Greece's neighbouring countries, a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Balkans. In order to promote the establishment of such a zone, a first conference of experts of the Balkan countries was convened at Athens in January and February 1984. My Government attaches great significance to those efforts and intends to pursue them persistently. It is particularly pleased to see that the inter-Balkan dialogue, which aims at further developing the existing friendly and good-neighbourly relations among Balkan peoples, has been enriched with the security factor. My Government is also firmly convinced that the second meeting of experts due to be held at Bucharest will give new impetus to this worthy endeavour.

269. But nuclear disarmament is only one side of the coin. Conventional weapons have acquired such destructive capabilities that had they been reached during the last war one wonders where humanity would be today. In assessing the importance of conventional disarmament, we should also bear in mind that the imbalances in this field are one of the important reasons why many countries had to resort to nuclear weapons in order either to defend themselves or to gain supremacy.

270. On the other hand, since military build-ups are caused by suspicion and a feeling of insecurity, it is evident that to break this vicious circle all the countries of the world, whether or not they belong to military alliances, should work consistently to promote détente and understanding among them. The

need for universal support of all peace initiatives, whatever their provenance, can hardly be over-emphasized.

271. While on the subject of world peace, I should like to pay a tribute to the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, which, despite the Cassandras who so often predict its extinction, thrives and perseveres in its efforts to instil moderation in a world of confrontation.

272. Another main goal of Greek foreign policy is the consolidation of peace and the promotion of co-operation in the Mediterranean. While not sparing any effort to achieve that goal, we must recognize that developments often seem to move in the opposite direction. The areas of tension in the Mediterranean have not disappeared. Foreign armies continue to occupy territories which do not belong to them, while trying to hide the face of the conqueror behind the mask of the protector. It is a matter of gratification that the international community has the capacity to see through such attempts at deception.

273. One typical problem the solution of which is very much hampered by outside interference is that of Cyprus. I would very much have preferred if circumstances were such that I did not need to raise this question once again. After all, the subject has, for a number of years, been on the agenda of the United Nations, which through its various organs has repeatedly reiterated the unequivocal position of the international community in this respect. However, in spite of the fact that the United Nations, time and again, has pointed the way to a proper solution, the sovereignty of the independent Republic of Cyprus is still being violated by the continued occupation of a large part of its territory by armed forces of Turkey. I cannot but once again draw the Assembly's attention to the fact that its numerous resolutions, as well as those of the Security Council, have not been implemented by Turkey.

274. The Secretary-General recently took new steps to find a fair and viable solution to the Cyprus problem, in accordance with his good offices mission, which was most recently reaffirmed by the Security Council in its resolutions 541 (1983) and 550 (1984).

275. Greece—which maintains a special relationship with the Republic of Cyprus, mainly because of the century-old ethnic and cultural bonds between Greeks and Greek Cypriots—is following with great attention the evolution of this initiative. My Government has repeatedly stated that it is lending the Secretary-General its full support. We wish him every success in his difficult task. The Government of Cyprus has responded most positively in all phases of his initiative. A new round of talks between the two communities of the Republic of Cyprus will begin on 15 October. Our wish is that the Turkish side will respond in that forthcoming round of talks as positively as the Greek Cypriot side, so that progress can be achieved in this international dispute so fraught with danger.

276. The occupation of Cyprus is, however, not the only violation of international law and order in the eastern Mediterranean. The failure as yet to find a solution to the Middle East problem, which in the past so often threatened peace, even today causes dangerous tensions in that sensitive area, which is of particular importance to my country—not only because of its geographical proximity but also because of the traditional ties of friendship that we maintain with the Arab world.

277. The elements of the problem are of course well known. My Government's position, which has often been stated in the past and remains unchanged, is also well known. We consider that a basic precondition for the achievement of a peaceful settlement is the withdrawal of Israel from the Arab territories it has occupied since 1967—contrary, of course, to the wish of the international community as repeatedly expressed in numerous United Nations resolutions. We support the Palestinians' right to self-determination, which includes the right to have their own independent State. We believe that the PLO, as the representative of the Palestinian people, has a significant role to play as a full member in the peace negotiations, which should be undertaken with the participation of all the interested parties.

278. My Government attaches particular importance to the safety of the inhabitants of the occupied territories and to respect for their human rights, which have so often been violated over the past 17 years. At the same time, we believe that actions which would result in changing the legal status, the geographical or natural conditions, and the demographic composition of the occupied territories, including Jerusalem, should be abandoned and all unilateral measures and *faits accomplis* revoked, because they are contrary to international law and are a major obstacle to peace efforts. Together with the Palestinian people's right to self-determination, we support, without reservation, Israel's right to a secure existence within internationally recognized borders.

279. The situation in Lebanon is an important element of the Middle East problem. Recent developments in that war-torn country may permit some optimism as regards its future. In particular, the Government of National Unity has clearly shown its firm willingness to restore the national consensus. We earnestly hope that that fundamental endeavour will be successful.

280. My Government supports all developments which would guarantee the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon and the restoration of the authority of its Government over the whole of the Lebanese territory. In that connection, Israel should, without further delay, withdraw its occupation troops from southern Lebanon.

281. The Greek Government deeply regrets the prolongation of the war between Iran and Iraq. We are particularly concerned because hostilities have spread in such a way as to cause heavy human suffering and material damage for both countries and to endanger significantly the interests of third countries not involved in the conflict, especially owing to the erection of obstacles to free navigation through the Gulf. Greece appeals once more to both parties to cease hostilities and to start negotiations for a just and honourable settlement.

282. Another cause of concern to my Government in Asia is the continuing occupation of Afghanistan and of Kampuchea. We stress the urgent need for the withdrawal of foreign troops from those two countries and for the implementation of the relevant United Nations resolutions, as well as for a negotiated settlement, which would permit Afghanistan and Kampuchea to regain their independence and non-aligned status and at the same time would allow the

Afghans and the Kampucheans freely to choose their social and economic system and their form of government.

283. In South America, there was a very significant development at the end of last year: the restoration of democracy in Argentina. We think that the international community should give President Alfonsín and his Government the support they need to consolidate the rule of law and to overcome the serious economic difficulties inherited from the military dictatorship, and we hope that the example of Argentina will be followed by other countries in that region which are governed by authoritarian and often tyrannical régimes. We are, in particular, worried about the total lack of progress towards the restoration of democracy in Chile, a country which, before the military *coup* of 1973, enjoyed one of the most genuinely democratic régimes in Latin America. My Government vigorously condemns the unrelenting violation of human rights and the repression in Chile and grants its unequivocal support to the political forces which struggle for the return of their country to democracy.

284. The situation in Central America, on the other hand, continues to be very serious. It is our firm conviction that the problems of the area cannot be solved by military means, but only through a political solution stemming from the region itself, without outside interference. Needless to say, we attach the utmost importance to strict respect for human rights and to the establishment of democratic conditions wherever such conditions do not exist. We should like also to underline the importance of the various initiatives undertaken by the Contadora Group, including the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America [*see A/39/562*], which has been approved by the countries of the region and which, if faithfully implemented, could constitute a great step towards the settlement of the crisis in Central America.

285. Next year we shall celebrate the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations. Over the past years, the membership of the Organization has more than trebled as, one after another, various dependent Territories have won their independence. In certain cases, the transition was achieved through comparatively peaceful means. In other cases, the natural desire of the people to obtain their human and political rights was fulfilled only after harsh and bloody struggle. It is our sincere hope that the few Territories remaining under colonial rule will attain independence as soon as possible through peaceful means.

286. I should like to refer more particularly to the problem of Namibia, since the United Nations is actively involved in the efforts for its solution. South Africa continues to keep Namibia under its domination, despite the repeated and unanimous calls of the General Assembly. Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which was accepted by the parties, provides both the framework and the necessary mechanisms for allowing the people of Namibia to gain their independence and to decide on their future through free elections under the supervision of the United Nations. If that resolution has not been implemented so far, the responsibility does not lie solely with South Africa. In the last analysis, it is up to us all to see to it that the will of the international community is not indefinitely ignored with impunity by the Pretoria Government.

287. But South Africa's wrongdoing is not limited to its illegal occupation of Namibia. It also persists in maintaining the inhuman system of *apartheid*, which has given rise to universal indignation and condemnation. Discrimination, racial or otherwise, is unacceptable, in whatever guise it may appear. It is, however, even more unacceptable when it is made an official way of life, depriving the overwhelming majority of a people of its most elementary human and political rights. Equally reprehensible are efforts to perpetuate *apartheid*, either through attempts to create fictional political entities or through granting limited rights to sections of the majority, with the ultimate aim of splitting it. We condemn the homelands policy and the resulting fragmentation of the black population of South Africa.

288. I conclude my reference to Africa by stressing the constructive role played by the OAU in promoting co-operation among African countries and in consolidating the national identity of its member States in the economic and political spheres. That organization has proved to be a very important factor for political stability and progress in Africa, and for world peace.

289. One of the main gains in the area of human rights is the agreement on a draft convention against torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment, which has been submitted to the Assembly for approval.[2] Greece, which actively participated in drawing up this draft convention, welcomes the success of the efforts of the Commission on Human Rights and considers the adoption of the convention to be an important step against the practice of torture. We sincerely hope that it will be fully respected by all and that it will not remain a simple declaration of intent.

290. Speaking more generally about human rights, I should like to stress that our vigilance for their respect should not be governed by expediency. We would, indeed, be rendering a dismal service to the victims if we were to adopt a double standard and limit our interest and our concern to countries or areas where this is politically convenient to each of us.

291. The North-South dialogue has unfortunately not justified the expectations of those who had hoped that it would lead to a more equitable economic order. The difficult international economic situation and the slow rhythm of recovery of most developed economies are probably the main reason for this. In spite of recent efforts, it has not yet been possible to launch global negotiations.

292. Our common efforts should continue until this aim has been achieved. It is evident, however, that the developed countries have a major role to play. For its part, my Government will do all it can to contribute to this.

293. Greek foreign policy as regards relations with other countries, and the international situation in general, has always been characterized by the strictest respect for international law and treaties. The Charter of the United Nations, which is the corner-stone of our policy, is perhaps the finest code of conduct ever devised to govern relations between States. One of its basic principles is the renunciation of force and the peaceful settlement of disputes. The Greek Government is deeply attached to this principle. If only it could be universally accepted, most if not all

of the major problems that beset humanity today could find their solution in dialogue and negotiation.

294. Unfortunately this is not the case. That is why the United Nations is accused by many of failure and inadequacy—even bankruptcy.

295. Greece is fully aware that the Organization has not been able to fulfil all the expectations of the peoples of the earth and that it has failed to satisfy their deep need for peace, freedom and security, especially after the tragic experiences of the Second World War. We are not prepared, however, to go along with unqualified condemnations and sweeping judgements. As no chain is stronger than its weakest link, so the United Nations cannot be more effective than its own Members allow it to be. My Government therefore firmly believes that, as the fortieth anniversary of this international Organization approaches, our common aim should be to find ways of strengthening it rather than reasons to criticize it; to seek means of enforcing the implementation of its principles, instead of attempting to ignore them; in short, to work together with good will in order to make it possible for the United Nations to carry out the task that was entrusted to it by its founding Members.

296. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I call on the representative of Argentina in exercise of his right of reply.

297. Mr. BARBOSA (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Argentine delegation has listened carefully to the comments made by the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs of the United Kingdom on the question of the Malvinas Islands in the course of his address to the General Assembly this afternoon.

298. In exercising my right of reply, I wish to make the following comments. Sir Geoffrey said that the present Argentine Government is not responsible for the warlike episode of 1982 but that the consequences of that episode cannot be set aside. My delegation would like to know what the Secretary of State means by this statement. Does it mean that there is an intention on the part of the United Kingdom to overcome these consequences or does it rather show an intention to go more deeply into the consequences? If the true intention of the Government of the United Kingdom were to try to overcome these consequences, why then does it refuse to negotiate on what constitutes the very marrow of the origin of the situation?

299. The overall process which led to a meeting between the two parties at Berne last July was based on the idea of establishing between them an informal political dialogue with an open agenda. This seemed to be the best way to overcome the contradiction between stated opposing positions. The Argentine representatives found themselves faced with an unexpected rigidity on the part of the British delegation which did not reflect the spirit of an informal dialogue mutually agreed to through both protecting Powers—Brazil and Switzerland. The intention therefore was to hold a dialogue with a view to reaching agreement on a framework for negotiation—a dialogue with an open agenda and following a realistic procedure which would include a discussion of all—I repeat, all—the problems that separated the parties.

300. It was obvious that the question of sovereignty could not be ignored for reasons of logic, for political reasons and because of the need for elementary realism. By denying or refusing to include this issue in the agenda, it is the British party which in fact tried to impose conditions on these conversations.

301. The only tangible result of the Berne meeting is the British refusal to even discuss a method whereby the issue of sovereignty could be discussed in the future. Bearing in mind that it is precisely such negotiation which is called for in the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, what appeared very clear is the British intention not to abide by this appeal of the international community.

302. As to the principle of self-determination, which has been referred to by the United Kingdom Secretary of State, we should ask him, with whom does such a decision lie? Does it fall to the handful of British residents that live there in Argentine territory, occupied by them? They replace the Argentine population which was expelled, and in their case, without any consultation. The General Assembly has already voiced its views on this and it has been embodied in various resolutions.

303. My delegation would like once again to state very clearly that Argentina seeks and wishes to negotiate. It is the only way to resolve the dispute. It is in fact a duty imposed upon us by the Charter of the United Nations and it has been repeatedly stated by the Organization. But if they are to be real negotiations, then these real negotiations must include the very centre-piece of the issue, which is the matter of sovereignty.

The meeting rose at 7.05 p.m.

NOTES

[1] *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 1.*

[2] E/CN.4/1984/72.

[3] See ID/CONF.5/46 and Corr. 1, chap. II, sect. B.

[4] United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 402, No. 5778.

[5] Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, signed at Helsinki on 1 August 1975.

[6] United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 500, No. 7310.

[7] See *Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council, 1984*, p. 11.

[8] Protocol for the Prohibition of the Use in War of Asphyxiating, Poisonous or Other Gases, and of Bacteriological Methods of Warfare, signed at Geneva on 17 June 1925. (League of Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. XCIV (1929), No. 2138.)

[9] A/38/132 and Corr. 1 and 2, annex, chap. II, para. 13.

[10] E/1984/110, annex.

United Nations
GENERAL ASSEMBLY
THIRTY-NINTH SESSION
Official Records

10th PLENARY MEETING

Thursday, 27 September 1984, at 10.15 a.m.

NEW YORK

President: Mr. Paul J. F. LUSAKA (Zambia).

Organization of work

1. The PRESIDENT: Before calling upon the first speaker this morning, I should like to draw the Assembly's attention to a letter addressed to me by the representative of Botswana, dated 26 September 1984 [*A/39/523*]. In that letter the representative of Botswana, on behalf of the Group of African States, requests that the General Assembly consider, under agenda item 31—"Policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa"—the situation in South Africa as a matter of urgency, if possible, not later than Friday, 28 September 1984, in the afternoon.

2. In this connection, a draft resolution has been issued in document A/39/L.2. To permit the orderly conduct of its future work, I suggest that the Assembly consider the scheduling of this item during our meeting this afternoon.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

3. Mr. ORTEGA DURÁN (Panama) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, your election to the Chair at this thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly represents just recognition by the international community of your merits and personal qualifications and of your political and diplomatic experience, amply demonstrated in the United Nations as well as in other international forums which have had the benefit of your participation.

4. Panama highly values your important efforts as President of the United Nations Council for Namibia, a post which you have carried out for the last five years with exemplary dedication and effectiveness and a post in which you have made a most valuable contribution to the complete liberation of Africa and to the struggle to uphold the principles of the self-determination of peoples and national independence.

5. My delegation would like to welcome most warmly Brunei Darussalam, which became a Member of the United Nations last week. We hail its entry into the Organization as a sign of our era, an era in which we are moving steadily along the path of decolonization and towards the goal of the universality of the United Nations.

6. I should like to join the voice of my delegation to the unanimous tribute which delegations have paid to the Secretary-General. His tireless efforts to promote peace and his constant dedication to the achievement of international co-operation deserve the profound recognition of my delegation.

7. I should like to mention with special gratitude the official visit the Secretary-General made to Panama in April of this year, which gave us a greater realization of the dedication with which Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar is carrying out the sensitive responsibilities entrusted to him by the international community.

8. The Secretary-General may rest fully assured that Panama will encourage and support his efforts to turn the United Nations into a more effective Organization for the maintenance of international peace and security as well as the forum for the solution of the grave problems confronting mankind today.

9. Panama is located almost at the very centre of the western hemisphere, where, at the northern end of the Andes, it has a bird's-eye view of Central America and the Caribbean. Having a diversified ethnic, cultural and political make-up, my country has had, from the beginning, pluralistic neighbourly relations. At the same time, it offers the most expeditious route between the Atlantic and the Pacific, and in its settlement it merged men from the four corners of the world. It is precisely because of this geographical and intellectual situation that we at all times identify ourselves with the quest for harmony among the varied peoples of the Americas, who may not be united today but whose destiny is to be united in the future.

10. Inasmuch as it is a country characterized by the national personality of its people, the inter-oceanic and continental communications which are natural to the geographical location of Panama have linked it by culture with South America, the Antilles and the rest of the world. Hence our history, socio-economic structures and culture identify and confirm us as a Bolivarian and Caribbean nation, while at the same time making us aware of our responsibilities as the neighbour of the Central American region.

11. That was indeed the vision of the liberator Simón Bolívar, when he aspired for us to be for the new world what Corinth was for classical antiquity. His dream began to forge a new reality when in 1826 he convened the Amphictyonic Congress in my country "to obtain a system of guarantees which in time of peace or war would mark our new destiny". This has been our mission in the past and it will continue to be our mission. In 1815, a well-known Venezuelan wrote about a republic which, crisscrossed by canals, would shorten distances in the world. Nine decades later, after we became a sovereign and independent Republic, we opened up an artificial waterway, thus speeding up world traffic.

12. These inter-ocean functions very early linked my country with the international community as a multilateral centre for trade and communication.

Since the days of its discovery, after Balboa divided the southern sea in 1513, Panama has become the centre of geographic explorations through the Central and South American shores of the Pacific. During the three centuries of Spanish domination, we had the responsibility of being the meeting-point for communications and trade of the metropolitan country and its overseas possessions. In time, this continued through rivers and over land, by means of a rail network, the canal, inter-oceanic pipelines, port systems, telecommunications and air navigation, the trade and banking complex, among others.

13. Although these physical structures imply worldwide functions, they are merely temporary means to enable us to utilize certain of our country's territorial attributes, which are part of the national Panamanian heritage. This is a very simple concept; yet paradoxically some have refused to understand it. The strategic geographical location of my country has time and again been the object of the greed of foreign Powers, which have exploited that part of our territory for their own benefit.

14. Nevertheless, my country has throughout history demonstrated its vocation to serve the international community, providing universal, effective, neutral, peaceful and safe access to the use of this natural attribute through various means of communication and exchange. We Panamanians ask only that our country should be used with respect for our sovereignty, integrity and national interests and that it should benefit in a suitable way the full development and the peace and security of our people and of our Latin American brothers.

15. The issues we wish to mention here before the international community are closely related to compliance with what I have just said.

16. First of all, it is our duty to inform the General Assembly about the implementation of the 1977 Panama Canal Treaties[1] because of the importance of their proper implementation for world trade and communications and the very significant role of international solidarity and the United Nations in making it possible for the Treaties to be concluded and because of what compliance with those Treaties will bring to good relations and peace in the region.

17. The 1977 Canal Treaties were far from satisfying all the legitimate aspirations of the Panamanian nation. Nevertheless, we must emphasize the fact that they demonstrated the feasibility of finding a viable solution to a dangerous and complex colonial conflict between a small developing country and a major Power by means of a long and difficult process of negotiations, where both parties demonstrated the political will to make mutual and reasonable concessions on the basis of mutual respect for their sovereignty as nations.

18. This spared both peoples and all the users of the Canal inestimable damage and suffering and offered the entire international community an extremely valuable precedent. We are all morally bound to recall with constant gratitude the two courageous and visionary statesmen who were responsible for the Treaties, General Omar Torrijos and President Jimmy Carter.

19. Contrary to what was maintained by the opponents of the Treaties, ever since the colonial régime in the Canal Zone was abolished and the binational régime and the joint administration were set up, the Canal has become much more efficient. When the Treaties came into force in 1979, the Canal was saturated with traffic and could service 13,000 vessels a year; today it can take 15,000. In five years its daily capacity has grown from 37 to 42 vessels; waiting and transit time has been cut from 40 to an average of 23 hours. At the same time, the number of accidents to vessels in transit has diminished, despite the increase in their size.

20. With respect to the historic requirements of Panama, an important part of them has been completely or partially satisfied. On 1 October 1979, Panama regained jurisdiction over two thirds of the land and water under colonial occupation; it also regained control over its natural ports at both ends of the Canal. Many installations and infrastructure and service facilities were returned to Panama. The Canal itself and the most vital areas and installations remained under a binational régime of joint administration. On 31 March 1982, when the first stage of the transition period ended, the foreign police, courts and judges disappeared from the area and Panama gained full jurisdiction over its entire territory.

21. Following ratification of the Treaties, Panama has received payment of $352,419,000 for Canal operations. This is considerably less than the direct and indirect benefits received by its foreign counterpart and of course much less than my country legally deserves. Nevertheless, if the Treaties had not been agreed upon, Panama would have obtained only $9,800,000, the ridiculous sum paid to it under the colonial régime.

22. What is more important is that the Panamanian flag now flies throughout the former Canal Zone as the symbol of our full sovereignty, and in the areas still under temporary military occupation and where the United States flag still flies, the Panamanian national flag always has pride of place. Thus the words of General Omar Torrijos, who said that "there is no colonialism that will last 100 years, nor Latin American who will put up with it", are all the more relevant.

23. At the proper time, in compliance with the subsequent stages of the decolonization timetable agreed upon in the Treaties, on 1 October 1984 Panama will finally regain control of the areas and installations under military occupation at Fort Gullick and the so-called School of the Americas and, more important, on 1 January 1990, the post of administrator of the Canal will be filled by a Panamanian. Panama is most determined that each stage should be complied with on time.

24. Progress with respect to the use of Panamanian workers in the administration, operations and maintenance of the Canal is much less satisfactory. The Treaties provide for a gradual increase in the proportion of Panamanian workers until, by 1999, there are no longer any foreign officials. However, already in 1979 more than 69 per cent of the labour force was Panamanian, and that figure has since increased only to 77 per cent despite the fact that there are many sufficiently qualified Panamanians. Those remaining from the colonial administration have been reluctant to give up the higher bureaucratic posts and so-called positions of trust, in particular, although such posts do not call for sophisticated technical knowledge.

25. The situation has been aggravated unjustifiably by the unilateral decision imposed by the United States majority which still exists in the Board of Directors of the binational Panama Canal Commis-

sion, which directs the administration of the Canal. As a result of this, a number of privileges have been given to the United States officials working in the Canal administration, thus openly and directly discriminating against the Panamanian officials doing exactly the same jobs. This is a clear and direct violation of the 1977 Treaties, which explicitly prohibit all forms of discrimination on the basis of nationality and make no provision for the granting of such privileges.

26. To make matters worse, this measure, which was introduced in spite of the many earlier objections and protests by Panama, results in a heavy financial loss, which is being deducted from the earnings from the operation of the Canal, part of which belongs to the Panamanian side. Thus Panama is in the humiliating position of having to subsidize the cost of a measure which was adopted against its own better judgement and which constitutes an act of discrimination against its own citizens.

27. This is one more case of violations of the letter and the spirit of the Treaties, which have been scrupulously observed by the Panamanian side. As in the majority of the other cases, these violations are based on the Murphy Law, Law 96-70, which was adopted unilaterally by the United States Congress, on 27 September 1979, as internal legislation designed to govern the conduct of the United States Government in the process of the implementation of the Canal Treaties. This is a typical case of an illegal law which establishes provisions for one of the parties to a binational Treaty, contradicting what was ratified by both parties to that Treaty.

28. We refer only to the most flagrant and harmful aspects of the situation, and should give a few examples.

29. First, the Treaty clearly establishes that the rights and responsibilities of each of the two countries will be exercised through the Panama Canal Commission, which is a binational body, rather than directly by the respective Governments. It also states that the Board of Directors of that Commission, composed of representatives of both parties, is the supreme governing body. In accordance with the Treaty itself, the United States has a majority membership of the Board—five representatives as compared with four Panamanians. Following the ratification of the Treaties in both countries, Law 96-70 attempts to turn the Canal Commission into a branch of the United States Executive, placing its leadership in the hands of the Secretary of Defense of that country and attempting to turn the Board of Directors into a mere supervisory board presided over by a representative of the Secretary of Defense. Thus it denies the essentially binational spirit of the Canal administration.

30. Secondly, the Treaties from the very beginning gave a slight numerical advantage to the United States side in the composition of the Board of Directors. Law 96-70 further attempts to establish that there should be a quorum at the meetings of the Board only if there is present a majority of United States representatives, irrespective of the total number of members attending a particular sitting. In this manner, the presence of the Panamanian members is not taken into account for the determination of a quorum, and this places us in an inferior position.

31. Thirdly, this United States majority has imposed a so-called code of conduct on all the employees of the Canal, including the Panamanian representatives on the Board of Directors—despite the fact that they voted to the contrary—and also the deputy administrator of the Canal, who is a Panamanian. Under this "code" the Panamanian representatives and the deputy administrator are assigned the status of United States employees, subject to the federal laws of that country, contrary to the Treaty, which defines them as Panamanian officials. This is contrary to the Treaty itself, which states that all the officials of the Canal must act in accordance with Panamanian labour laws.

32. Fourthly, Law 96-70 attempts to apply on Panamanian territory United States federal laws and rules, giving the United States jurisdiction in our country even over Panamanian citizens and unions, contrary to what is contained in the Treaties ratified by both parties.

33. That is not all, but I have given sufficient examples to demonstrate the gravity of the situation and the consequences deriving from it. They are important not only because they are so many further violations of the letter and the spirit of the Treaties freely entered into between both parties, but also because they impose onerous conditions which are harmful to the dignity and the interests of Panama. Thus, new, unnecessary conflicts are brought about, to the detriment of the good relations, understanding and co-operation envisaged in the Treaties, the proper development of which is thus impeded.

34. The other aspect of the discrepancies is that relating to the conditions of the protection and security of the Canal. The Panamanian attitude on this subject has always been based on the recognition that this is a sensitive Canal, whose best defence is neutrality and the universality of its services and whose best protection is the sympathy of the people residing in the area. As a sovereign nation Panama has a traditional vocation of neutrality and non-alignment in all matters relating to East-West tensions and more particularly to its well-known decision to participate in actions of conciliation and peace-making in the Central American region. There is no need to elaborate on this, since everyone is aware that my country has taken an active part in the various efforts leading up to the Contadora process, is part of that process and provides the headquarters for its activities. Therefore, those who are friends and partners of Panama, particularly those friends carrying out activities on Panamanian territory, have the moral, political and legal duty to respect that stated vocation of my country.

35. The 1977 Canal Treaties authorize the temporary prolongation of the presence of United States bases and troops on Panamanian national territory until the last day of this century, with the sole purpose of contributing to the protection of the Canal as it exists at present. Any activity of these bases and troops going beyond their exclusive mission of protecting the Canal runs counter to the Treaties allowing for their presence on the territory of my country. Hence we reiterate our protest against and rejection of the logistics, intelligence, planning or military training activities which are being carried out on Panamanian territory aimed against other countries in any region. Similarly, we repeat that such actions not only violate the letter of the Treaties and undermine Panamanian policies and sovereignty but also harm the interests of the other nations using the Canal.

36. The international community and the United Nations made a significant contribution to the process that led to the 1977 Panama Canal Treaties, which have made and continue to make an effective contribution to mutual understanding and international peace and security and are a laudable precedent appreciated by all countries and organizations wishing to defuse disputes and foster peace and security. The proper implementation of the Treaties in all their aspects and at all stages meets the aspirations of all peoples, particularly the Latin American nations.

37. When Law 96-70 was adopted, President Jimmy Carter engaged the word of the Chief Executive of the United States that the text would be revised jointly with Panama in order to bring it in line with the Treaties and with the interests of both countries. One of the Law's articles stipulates that the Law should be revised periodically. Nevertheless, in the last five years the protests of the Panamanian Government and its demands that the revision be conducted immediately have been constantly ignored and this has led to an accumulation of further violations, discrepancies and problems.

38. We should like once again to appeal, in the General Assembly, to international solidarity and understanding to ensure that the process of implementation of the 1977 Treaties be followed more closely and that nations friendly to Panama and to the United States seek their strict application. This appeal must consist in demanding the speedy revision of Law 96-70 so as to bring it in line with the spirit and the letter of the Canal Treaties.

39. We would not wish this appeal to cloud the good relations existing between Panama and the United States. My country repeats this call precisely because we want to continue to improve these relations, and these violations are an obstacle to our aspirations. The United States introduced this law which is the source of the current problems, and it is therefore up to that country to take the appropriate steps. We trust that the good intentions of the United States authorities will be sensitive to this unanimous international appeal we are making here today.

40. Under the leadership of General Omar Torrijos, my country began important social and economic reforms which went hand in hand with a strengthening of national sovereignty and independence, and we are happy to say that there is no political violence in Panama at this time. However, such violence does exist in neighbouring countries which are still suffering from many structural injustices the effects of which are further exacerbated by the international economic crisis and the imbalances in the trade and financial relations existing between rich and poor countries.

41. The fact that there is an area of conflict nearby has given rise in Panama to a foreign policy basically aimed at contributing to the peaceful solution of the problems in the area by means of dialogue and political negotiations between all the parties to the conflict and at avoiding the exacerbation or generalization of conflict situations. This faith in genuine understanding among peoples has been confirmed throughout history, and we trust that it offers the best hope of hemispheric brotherhood in the future.

42. Thus, we consistently uphold the principle of Panamanian neutrality with regard to disputes between other countries in the area or between the great Powers. For this reason also, we endeavour to develop good relations with all nations of the area without exception, even though they may have political systems different from our own. As our experience has shown, dialogue and agreements jointly arrived at with all countries are the best way to protect the security and stability of each and of the international community as a whole.

43. In the face of the dangerous deterioration of the regional situation, and in keeping with our experience, we prefer Panama to be a centre of understanding and conciliation rather than a party to confrontations. This basic principle has made my country one of the main sites for discussions to achieve peace in the world; the same principle animates the Contadora initiative.

44. We can say today that Contadora has become one of the most important expressions of international political solidarity and an effective means for dialogue in the region. I need not repeat here the readjustment this initiative has accomplished through the Contadora declaration,[2] the Cancún Declaration on Peace in Central America,[3] the Document of Objectives,[4] and the document on measures to be taken to fulfil the commitments entered into in the Document of Objectives [*see A/39/71*], and the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America [*see A/39/562*]. But it is worth recalling that this process has brought to the fore the fundamental principles which have inspired and given purpose to the initiative, that dialogue has become possible and that that dialogue has led to the identification of specific problems and many consensus understandings on the way to a solution. At the same time, it has been possible to contain the trend towards generalization of the state of war which a few years ago threatened the region. What has already been achieved makes it possible to envisage that the necessary agreements will be arrived at shortly to implement the Contadora objectives.

45. At a time of grave peril the world placed great hopes in Contadora. The complexity and very nature of the problem required a process that was both patient and bold, laborious and painstaking, and that also required discretion, despite demands for spectacular action which would not have truly helped. As is well known, the revised version of the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America, handed over to the five Central American Governments on 7 September 1984, reflects the observations which those Governments had formulated earlier with respect to the original version of that document following an extensive exchange of views.

46. This has made it possible to arrive at viable formulas of understanding which express the many points of agreement necessary to guarantee respect for sovereignty, mutual security and mutual respect and neighbourly relations between all countries in the area—pre-conditions to ensure the political stability and social and economic development required by the people of Central America. Therefore, it is now up to the five Governments to make their final comments on the revised Contadora Act, before 15 October, in order that they may sign it soon, at a forthcoming meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the countries of Central America and of the Contadora Group.

47. When that has been done, it is above all the responsibility of the Central American Governments

themselves to bring about an honourable and lasting peace. It is their duty to show the political will that they have repeatedly spoken about, by speedily adopting the legal commitments in the Contadora Act. Similarly, it is the duty of other Governments with interests in the region and links with it unequivocally to support the adoption and implementation of this agreement, with full respect for the self-determination and sovereignty of the Central American nations.

48. To state here that Contadora has played its role and that the Central Americans themselves now bear the main responsibility in no way means that Contadora's responsibilities are over, or that it has relinquished them, as some seem to think. Contadora's role will continue through its co-operation in orchestrating the agreement, but above all it must maintain an effective presence as long as peace continues to be threatened.

49. From now on the international community will have to redouble the solidarity that it has always given to these negotiating efforts. Its support is today more important than ever in calling on the Governments of all the countries concerned to sign and fully to implement the Contadora Act, and in asking those countries with interests in and links with the region speedily to subscribe to the Additional Protocol, thus committing themselves to contribute to peace and co-operation in Central America. In that way, everyone can contribute to bringing about the peace which the people of Central America, the continent and mankind deserve.

50. The amphictyonic vocation which Simón Bolívar gave to my country forms an indelible part of the national consciousness of Panamanians. Like the other Latin American countries, Panama is closely linked with its sisters in America, not only by our historic and cultural traditions but also by the present similarity and interrelationship of our structures, problems and aspirations, because of which nothing that affects other Latin Americans can be a matter of indifference to us. Moreover, since we share similar difficulties and goals, it is of course of necessity the duty of our nations to act together in ever more effective ways, so that we may save ourselves and develop together, for otherwise we shall sink separately.

51. As is well known, very serious trade and financial difficulties are part of the current problems of Latin America. The main causes of these problems are to be found beyond our borders and outside the control of our countries. There is a wise Japanese saying that the first thing a good businessman must desire is the prosperity of his customers. Indeed, that is the only thing that can develop the market, and only equity in the terms of trade can guarantee it. However, mistaken economic strategies by certain industrialized countries have resulted in turning their partners into debtors, stifling the market instead of contributing to its prosperity.

52. It is well known that the unjust and disorderly structure of international economic relations no longer corresponds to contemporary reality, resulting in harm to all the developing countries. To make matters worse, there is a growing deterioration in the terms of trade between the poor countries and the industrialized countries, the effects of which are worsened by the protectionist and restrictive measures imposed by the major economic Powers, and particularly by the artificial and unreasonable increase in interest rates.

53. Nevertheless, the major economic Powers still do not listen to our warnings. They have continued to ignore the urgent call for a North-South dialogue, global negotiations and other initiatives. At the same time, they continue to overlook the fact that the freeze in the East-West dialogue and the escalation of the arms race, with their inevitable budgetary and financial effects, are costly to the developing countries and are daily speeding up the deterioration of our economic situation, presenting the world with new threats.

54. Confronted with this situation, Latin America continues to show its political maturity, the best demonstrations of which are the Quito Declaration issued by the Heads of State or Government of the Latin American and Caribbean countries at the Latin American Economic Conference, held from 9 to 13 January this year [*see A/39/118*], and the Cartagena Consensus of 22 June [*see A/39/331*].

55. Since it is the mistaken economic policies of certain industrialized nations and their financial organizations that have brought about this situation for the Latin American countries, those nations and creditor institutions can do no less than to accept that they share the responsibility for the present level of indebtedness. Furthermore, in view of the great social and political upheavals that the situation could cause, it is impossible to claim that the problem is exclusively financial or that the Latin American Governments should accept forced insolvency to please creditors who have forgotten their share of the responsibility. The problem requires serious political consideration, and there must be a joint solution, bearing in mind the interests of both sides, since the only answer is the structural improvement and the development of the Latin American economies.

56. The Government of the Republic of Panama, through me, thanks the United Nations for its efforts for peace and mankind. We are convinced that not only our country but the whole international community will solve our problems on the basis of dialogue, political negotiation and mutual respect between States. That is the best contribution we can make for the benefit of our peoples.

57. Mr. GROMYKO (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): Mr. Lusaka, I congratulate you on your election to the office of President of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. Our congratulations also go to the representatives of Brunei Darussalam, a State which has become the 159th Member of the United Nations.

58. For almost 40 years now, the words "the United Nations" have been firmly established in the world's political vocabulary. There is virtually no major international problem in connection with which those words would not be spoken in different languages, both in this Hall and outside it.

59. The extensive involvement of the United Nations in world affairs and developments is determined by the very mission of this forum, which was brought into being in order to unite the political will and potential of States for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security.

60. The conclusion reached by the founding Members of the United Nations was very simple indeed. It was born of the experience of the most bloody and destructive war that has ever befallen mankind.

Indeed, it was precisely through united efforts that the aggressor was crushed. High was the cost of the great victory whose fortieth anniversary will be observed next year. All the peoples who fought against fascism contributed to that victory, but the Soviet Union's decisive role in it is indisputable.

61. United efforts were and are still needed today in order to build the post-war world. For it is the main lesson of the Second World War that States must stand together in the fight against war.

62. It is common knowledge, however, that as the war-ravaged earth was still smouldering and thousands of towns and villages were in ruins, the international atmosphere once again began to deteriorate and ultimately to become critical. This happened through the fault of those who, in their quest for world hegemony, began to behave contrary to their obligations as allies in the anti-Hitlerite coalition, oblivious to the lessons of the past.

63. In disregard of the lofty purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, which they too had just signed, a group of States set out to escalate their military preparations by putting together a system of aggressive military blocs with the North Atlantic Alliance as its pivot. Those States pledged themselves to a policy based on a position of strength, a policy of brinkmanship. They are responsible for the advent of the cold war, which for a long time froze the normal flow of international life for which the peoples of the world yearned.

64. As a result, in the post-war years the world has been in a state of fever. And whenever international relations were marked—as was the case during the period of détente—by budding co-operation between States with different social systems, no effort was spared to undermine those positive processes, which is exactly what happened at the whim of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [*NATO*] military bloc. It is precisely this trend in world politics that is the source of the situation that characterizes the international climate today. The threat of war has grown and the foundations of world peace have become more shaky.

65. This course, which is manifest as never before in the current policies of the United States and of those who choose to be its accomplices, is opposed by a broad front of peace-loving States and forces.

66. The Soviet Union is in the vanguard of active champions of peace. It has been and remains faithful to its solemn pledge taken right after the criminal Fascist swastika was crushed and the Hitlerite war machine smashed. The essence of that pledge has not faded with the years; it is to fight resolutely to ensure that the flames of world war never flare up again. The fact that it has been possible for almost 40 years to ward it off is largely to the credit of the countries which pursue a policy of peace among nations and frustrate—by their international prestige and influence—aggressive and adventuristic designs wherever they originate. The Soviet Union is one of them.

67. Together with other socialist countries, we shall continue to work in the interest of improving international relations. This is precisely the thrust of the documents of the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty, held at Prague on 4 and 5 January 1983,[5] and of the high-level Economic Conference of the member countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, held in Moscow from 12 to 14 June 1984 [*see A/39/323*].

68. The Soviet Union and the States of the socialist community are concentrating their efforts on attaining the key objective of preventing a nuclear disaster. For if the destructive potential currently amassed in the world were unleashed the human race would probably cease to exist. To prevent that from happening is a goal of overriding importance. All States represented in the United Nations should contribute to its achievement. No one and nothing can relieve them of the responsibility they have assumed under the Charter of the United Nations for the destiny of present and succeeding generations.

69. As was stressed recently by Mr. Chernenko, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics: "The world has radically changed. Its problems cannot be solved by force . . . it is imperative to adopt a policy of realism, reason and business-like co-operation in solving the problems that face mankind."

70. Those who truly hold dear the interests of peace cannot confine themselves merely to stating that there exists a threat of nuclear war. It is necessary to pin-point the source of that threat. Clarity in this regard is not merely a matter of historical fairness. An understanding of the factors that are pushing mankind towards a nuclear abyss also determines the answer to the question whether or not this calamitous process can be stopped, and how.

71. It is of fundamental importance to compare the two political trends and the two approaches to the problem of nuclear weapons.

72. Right after Hiroshima and Nagasaki the world witnessed the inception of a policy of ever-greater stockpiles of nuclear weapons and nuclear blackmail. The Soviet Union forcefully called for the outlawing of these most deadly and destructive weapons. Indeed, as early as 1946 the Soviet Union submitted at the United Nations a draft international convention on the prohibition for all time of the production and use of nuclear weapons and on the destruction of their stockpiles. I am sure there are some present here in this Hall who witnessed the discussion of this item at that time.

73. Yet our former allies in the struggle against fascism did not have the heart to vote for that proposal. Their reaction then was bound to make the peoples apprehensive and it did cause serious apprehension.

74. And what is the situation today? Statements are being openly made at the highest official levels that the United States has the right to deliver a first nuclear strike, that is to say, to unleash a nuclear war.

75. Our country sought a ban on nuclear weapons both when it did not possess them and after it developed them. Today, as before, the Soviet Union favours prompt measures to reduce and eventually eliminate nuclear weapons altogether. This is the aim of a comprehensive set of initiatives advanced by the Soviet Union.

76. Whenever the United States side showed realism and the will to come to agreement on the basis of the principle of equality and equal security—something that did happen before—it proved possible to reach important accords. Thus, a major step forward was taken with the conclusion in 1972 by the Soviet

Union and the United States of the Interim Agreement on Certain Measures with respect to the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms[6] and the Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems.[7]

77. However, in the years that followed, our attempts to reduce or at least to limit nuclear arms failed to produce concrete results. The tug of war between the groups that determine United States foreign policy has been won by the militaristically minded. They attempt to devalue the existing Soviet-American accords by wrecking what was achieved earlier through long and painstaking work on both sides, as was done with the SALT II Treaty.[8]

78. They broke off and refuse to resume the trilateral talks between the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and the United States on the complete and general prohibition of nuclear-weapons tests. They stalled the ratification of the Soviet-United States treaties on the limitation of underground nuclear-weapons tests and on peaceful nuclear explosions that had been signed a long time ago. And what tremendous efforts were required to arrive at those treaties and agreements!

79. Those and other similar actions are but a few examples of the policy of the United States, whose central objective is to try to secure military superiority for itself.

80. Stories intended to mislead people are being churned out in profusion. Not that they are particularly reticent about saying that, should they eventually feel like negotiating, they would do so only from strength. To that end—they claim—the United States must first build up its military muscle.

81. It took Washington a long time to send its team to the negotiating table at Geneva. However, at the talks the United States side followed a scenario that was not designed to lead to agreement. How else can one describe the fact that while negotiating the limitation of nuclear arms in Europe our partners did exactly the opposite? Beforehand—I repeat, beforehand—they set the date for deploying new United States medium-range missiles on the territories of several Western European States. We were told to accept the United States position or else there would be no agreement. So there is no agreement.

82. As to the Soviet proposals paving the way to agreements, they were rejected out of hand. Anything aimed at reaching agreement on the basis of equality was opposed with hostility.

83. It was Washington's deliberate intention to wreck the negotiations on nuclear arms—both medium-range and strategic. And it succeeded in this. Juggling with words ostensibly in favour of negotiations is a false propaganda ploy. Its purpose is obvious.

84. Now they rejoice that they were able to keep the timetable and begin the deployment of their missiles in Europe, as planned. Even here in the course of the General Assembly one can meet representatives of Western European States who are rubbing their hands with pleasure over the fact that the plan for deployment is being implemented.

85. It makes no difference whether deception is crude or cleverly packaged. A good idea is being exploited for unsavoury purposes.

86. We have noticed that there are realistically minded politicians and statesmen in the West, including the United States, who realize that it is precisely in this way that the issue of negotiations is being used.

87. No, the path of stockpiling of nuclear weapons is not the right path to follow. The movement must be in the opposite direction, leading to the removal of these weapons and to their subsequent elimination both in Europe and throughout the world. This is the course of our policy.

88. The Soviet Union is in favour of serious talks. Not only are we prepared for such talks, but we are insisting on them. Our proposals on the limitation and reduction of strategic arms and on the limitation of nuclear arms in Europe remain valid. They neither offer advantages nor do any harm to either side. The United States must remove the obstacles it has put in the way of the talks. Unless these obstacles are removed, of course, these talks will not take place, and this is what the United States has in mind.

89. It is often asked: since it is difficult for the time being to arrive at a radical solution to the problem of nuclear arms, would it not be possible to take steps that would create a favourable atmosphere for that, raise the level of trust among States and ease international tension?

90. We are convinced that such steps are both possible and necessary. An effective measure of this kind would be the implementation of our proposal, endorsed by the United Nations, for a quantitative and qualitative freeze of nuclear weapon arsenals by all States which possess them. This could be done in the first place by the Soviet Union and the United States on a bilateral basis to set an example for other nuclear Powers to follow. Could we not do this? We propose to Washington: let us set such an example.

91. For the time being it is necessary at least to suspend the nuclear-arms race. The world has crossed the line beyond which any further buildup and improvement of these arms is not only dangerous but senseless.

92. In the present circumstances it is futile and hopeless for anyone to expect to get ahead and gain military superiority. It is absolutely illusory to hope to win a nuclear war: whether global or limited, blitzkrieg or protracted—whatever the nuclear war doctrines.

93. Such is the authoritative and unanimous conclusion of scientists and competent military and civilian experts of world renown, with the exception of those, of course, who have lost their honour and conscience or those who were not at all endowed by nature with either.

94. What kind of people can fail to see that peace today is fragile? In spite of the obvious, they once again proclaim a policy of "peace through strength". Moreover, they are trying to elevate this policy to the level of statesmanship. All we hear is that strength, strength and, above all, strength is the guarantee of international peace. In other words—weapons, weapons and still more weapons. But does not the experience of the past—both recent and remote—show otherwise?

95. In the face of the currently aggravated dangerous military and political confrontation it is extremely important not to miss the chance. Agreement should be reached on freezing nuclear weapons and prospects opened up for a subsequent reduction of arsenals of these weapons.

96. Sentiments in favour of such a solution have become widespread in the world. As is well known, the broadest sections of the population in the United States and other Western countries spontaneously come out in favour of this solution, and we fully understand their aspirations.

97. Only ill will can guide those who spawn all kinds of insinuations that the Soviet Union all but manipulates or is behind this movement. Let them ask what it is that the people who take to the streets in mass marches of protest are fighting for. Let them ask those people themselves. Let them ask those people, not us. They will give only one answer: they are fighting for life. What kind of people can assume that the Americans or the British, the French or the Italians, the Germans or the Dutch wish to perish in the flames of nuclear war? We think that those who hope to crush the anti-nuclear movement by punitive measures realize it full well.

98. In this light, what is the value of the human rights rhetoric in which they just love to indulge in their speeches, statements before various commissions and committees, in articles and voluminous reports to parliaments. In fact, the proponents of the arms race do not care a bit about these rights, including the paramount human right—the right to life.

99. There can be no justification for any action that pushes the world to nuclear war. It is only natural that last year the General Assembly adopted—at the Soviet initiative—by an overwhelming majority of its Members resolution 38/75 condemning nuclear war as the most hideous crime that could be committed against peoples.

100. A nuclear age requires that political thinking be consonant with its realities. Where categories such as "strength", "deterrence" and "superiority" still prevail in this thinking, they must be replaced by concepts of the non-use of force and of trust, equality and mutual regard for security interests.

101. It would be of fundamental importance if nuclear Powers observed, in relations between themselves, certain norms that were formulated by Mr. Chernenko in his statement last March. It is proposed that these Powers: regard the prevention of nuclear war as the primary objective of their foreign policy, preclude situations fraught with the risk of nuclear conflict and, should such a risk arise, hold urgent consultations in order to prevent a nuclear conflagration; renounce the propaganda of any nuclear war scenario, whether global or limited; assume an obligation to forgo the first use of nuclear weapons; under no circumstances use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear countries which have no such weapons on their territory, respect the status of the existing nuclear-free zone and encourage the establishment of new such zones in various parts of the world; prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons in any form; not transfer to any recipient whatsoever such weapons or control over them, not deploy them on the territory of countries where there are no such weapons and not extend the nuclear-arms race to new environments, including outer space; seek, step by step, on the basis of the principle of equal security, the reduction of nuclear armaments up to and including the complete elimination of all types of such weapons.

102. The Soviet Union is in favour of reaching agreement at any time with other nuclear Powers on the mutual recognition of such norms and making them binding. This would serve to reduce the risk of the outbreak of a nuclear conflict.

103. In view of its special urgency, it is necessary to single out the question of preventing the race in nuclear and other weapons in outer space, which some want to turn into a staging area for war. We all know who is seeking this.

104. The extension of the arms race to outer space, unless checked in time, could become an irreversible process. Effective measures are needed to keep outer space peaceful.

105. No one country should believe that this is for others, not for it, to decide. Such an attitude would be a big mistake.

106. A major step has been our initiative in calling for Soviet-United States talks on preventing the militarization of outer space [*see A/39/335*]. We believe that the Soviet Union and the United States, as the leading Powers in the field of outer space exploration, should do all they can to keep outer space peaceful and in particular, with a view to accomplishing this task, to lay the foundations for multilateral agreement. This idea seems to be alive among many States. Full responsibility for the failure to hold the talks rests with the United States side. Washington is unwilling to engage in the talks.

107. Ask any man in the street in any town in the United States, in the Soviet Union or in any other country whether he believes that nuclear weapons should be stationed in space, beyond the Earth's atmosphere, at an altitude of hundreds of kilometres, and that outer space should become a springboard for war preparations, or whether he feels that this should not be allowed to happen. There is no doubt that the answer will be unequivocal: this cannot be allowed.

108. We urge the United States Government to recognize that the militarization of outer space threatens the whole of mankind, including the American people themselves. We express the hope that the United States will refrain from actions which would make irreversible the process of turning outer space into an arena of military rivalry and that it will be willing to engage in talks with a view to reaching an agreement. For its part, the Soviet Union continues to be in favour of starting such talks as soon as possible.

109. The General Assembly would be doing a good thing if it forcefully voiced its concerted opinion that the militarization of outer space should not be allowed to take place and that outer space must be used solely for the good of peoples and not for sowing death and destruction on Earth. We hope that every member of every delegation in this Hall will give serious thought to this.

110. In seeking to promote this goal in every possible way, the Soviet Union proposes the inclusion in the agenda of the current session of the Assembly of an important and urgent item entitled "Use of outer space exclusively for peaceful purposes for the benefit of mankind". What we are talking about is, in the first place, the banning, without delay and for all time, of the use of force in and from outer space against the Earth, as well as from the Earth against objects in outer space. In other words, agreement must be reached on the prohibition and elimination of space attack weapons of all systems, whatever their mode of basing, designed to destroy objects in space. This applies above all to States with major space capabilities.

111. The United Nations should speak out emphatically and with all its authority in favour of achieving reliably verifiable agreements on a bilateral and a multilateral basis. The way must be opened for concerted and constructive efforts by States which could eventually lead to the creation of a world organization for the use of outer space exclusively for peaceful purposes.

112. Among those present here there are bound to be people who in 1982 witnessed the Soviet Union solemnly assume in this Hall a unilateral obligation not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. That decision—which was not an easy one to take—is of exceptional importance.

113. Our country continues to urge the other nuclear Powers, which have not yet done so, to assume a similar obligation. This would also be a tangible historic contribution to international confidence-building. Much is said about trust and confidence, but by no means is everything done to bring it about.

114. Surely the implementation of the proposal of the socialist countries to conclude a treaty on the mutual non-use of military force in relations between the States of the Warsaw Treaty and the North Atlantic Alliance would help to dissipate mutual apprehensions. It would be a welcome decision if an obligation not to be the first to use either nuclear or conventional weapons against one another—in other words, not to use force—were undertaken by States whether or not they belong to military alliances or have a neutral or non-aligned status.

115. We have also submitted these and some other major proposals at the Conference on Confidence- and Security-building Measures and Disarmament in Europe, meeting at Stockholm. They have been submitted in combination with certain confidence-building measures in the military field.

116. Representatives of NATO countries, on the other hand, take what is actually an obstructionist position with regard to these proposals. What is proposed under the guise of military and technical measures is a programme, which they have drawn up, of poorly disguised espionage. The measures they are trying to sell do not, of course, affect a single inch of the territory of the United States—that is, the country in which the foundations of the military machine of the NATO bloc are to be found. It is on Soviet territory that they are proposing to carry out these measures.

117. The same can be said about the prospects of the Vienna Talks on Mutual Reduction of Forces and Armaments and Associated Measures in Central Europe. The fruitless "data" discussion started by the Western participants has long been stalling those talks.

118. The NATO countries are evading the business-like discussion of cardinal questions, above all those dealing with arms reduction, although without such discussions there can be no real strengthening of security and stability on the European continent. At the Vienna talks too, there should be no place for any of the kind of political manoeuvring in which our negotiating partners like so much to indulge.

119. Some two years ago at Geneva the Soviet Union introduced at the Conference on Disarmament draft basic provisions for a convention on the prohibition of chemical weapons.[9] That draft constitutes a well-balanced basis for agreement. Some of its provisions were subsequently revised and amended to accommodate the positions of the other participants in the talks.

120. Not everyone wants to see a successful completion of those talks. Some would rather see them fail. It would seem that the ostensible interest of certain States serves to conceal their plans for a build-up of chemical weapons. Such tactics should be strongly condemned. We may presume that certain War Departments are doing this. But where are the statesmen? Where are true sobriety and far-sightedness, a wide-angle look at peace and the fate of the world?

121. The drafting of an international convention on the prohibition and elimination of chemical weapons should be speeded up, and the United Nations could contribute to this in no small measure. With time this problem will become even more intractable.

122. Our country expresses its readiness to take part in multilateral negotiations on the limitation of naval activities and naval armaments and on the extension of confidence-building measures to seas and oceans, especially to regions with the busiest sea lanes or with the highest likelihood of conflict situations. We have already put forward a proposal—and this is worth recalling—for an agreement on appropriate measures, including those applicable to particular regions, such as the Indian, Atlantic or Pacific Oceans, the Mediterranean Sea or the Persian Gulf.

123. The convening of an international conference on the Indian Ocean is being inadmissibly delayed. The United States and some of its allies disregard the will of the littoral States that wish to see a peaceful Indian Ocean and clear skies above it. As before, the Soviet Union continues actively to advocate the turning of this ocean into a zone of peace, something that would be a major step towards preventing the militarization of the world's oceans.

124. The arms race is seriously damaging to people even when the guns are silent, for it is increasingly consuming intellectual and material wealth and impedes the solution of global problems such as the elimination of hunger and disease, the search for new sources of energy, and the preservation of the environment.

125. These tasks will not be accomplished either by declaratory statements or by attempts to make assistance to other countries contingent on their acceptance of a particular model of socio-economic development. Something else is required, namely, the renunciation of all forms of exploitation and of the use of trade and economic ties as tools of political pressure, and a restructuring of international economic relations on a just and democratic basis.

126. By pressing for the implementation of tangible measures for curbing the arms race and achieving disarmament in close connection with the solution of world economic and social development problems, we consider that reduction of military budgets in either percentage or absolute terms is a promising way to achieve such a goal. And yes, I am talking about military budgets.

127. Together with the other States signatories of the Warsaw Treaty, the Soviet Union has submitted a proposal to the countries of the North Atlantic bloc to begin talks on the question of the mutual non-increase of military expenditures and their subsequent reduction. In our view, there should be no obstacles to the participation of States that do not

belong to these military and political groupings in implementing the proposed measures.

128. However, so far there has been no response from the NATO countries, and that is no accident. If a picture were taken today using the most sophisticated modern technology to show on a planetary scale the magnitude of the world-wide military preparations by the United States and its allies, it would reveal a view that would stun any thinking person: a palisade of missiles; strategic bombers; naval armadas plying the waters of the seas and oceans; hundreds of military bases scattered all over the globe; and colossal stockpiles of weapons of every type.

129. Some may say that the Soviet Union too has weapons on land, in the air and on and under water. Our answer is: Yes, we do have them, but not by our choice. The objective facts of post-war history irrefutably show that it was not the Soviet Union, not socialism, but rather the other side that initiated the arms race and each of its new spirals. That is where the truth lies.

130. Forced to take countermeasures, our country did so only in response to, and to the extent commensurate with, the protection of its own security and that of its friends and allies. We have never sought, nor are we seeking, superiority. We stand for maintaining military equilibrium, and at the lowest possible level at that.

131. We have put forward no less than 100 constructive initiatives from the rostrum of the United Nations alone. The whole world knows that it was the Soviet Union that came forward with the most radical proposal—general and complete disarmament combined with general and complete control. No one else has proposed this.

132. Numerous proposals have been made by the Soviet Union to curb the arms race in some of its areas. We have proposed—and our proposal still stands—that agreement be reached on the complete prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests and on the prohibition of the development and manufacture of new types of weapons of mass destruction and of new systems of such weapons.

133. The Soviet Union has also been making sustained efforts to reduce conventional armaments and armed forces by proposing that this problem be solved on both a global and a regional basis.

134. The world community welcomed the Soviet initiatives that brought forth major international treaties and agreements—the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, the Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and under Water, the Treaty on the Prohibition of the Emplacement of Nuclear Weapons and Other Weapons of Mass Destruction on the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor and in the Subsoil Thereof, the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on Their Destruction, and so on. They continue to serve their purpose to this day and serve it well.

135. We have voluntarily and unilaterally assumed a number of obligations ranging from no-first-use of nuclear weapons to practical steps limiting our armed forces and armaments in Central Europe.

136. While making its own constructive contributions, the Soviet Union reacts favourably to proposals made by other countries. We support the idea of establishing nuclear-free zones and zones of peace in various parts of the globe. We have responded positively to the recent initiative by Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Sweden and the United Republic of Tanzania, contained in their Joint Declaration [*see A/39/277*], which urged all nuclear Powers to stop the build-up of nuclear weapons and begin to reduce their stockpiles.

137. The proposals that we have made constitute an impressive list of initiatives aimed at easing international tensions and developing peaceful co-operation among States.

138. Yet no matter what proposals or arguments we advance, our counterparts say "no"—they are not acceptable.

139. They swear that they favour a halt in the arms race, but only through modernization of arms and through improvement and stockpiling of weapons. Is it not absurd? It is absurd, indeed, and it underlies the entire policy. They would have people believe that they favour a reduction in world tensions, but only by establishing more and more military bases, by intensifying military preparations, by militarizing outer space and by deploying new kinds of United States nuclear weapons in Europe.

140. What is needed to prevent hunger and disease from claiming the lives of countless millions of people? According to the logic of NATO countries, this can be achieved by throwing as much money and resources as possible down the insatiable maw of the war industry.

141. It would appear that there is no other path towards ensuring peace than war preparations. This is twisted logic, a logic of frenzied militarism.

142. All States must have a clear understanding of why none of the important and acute international problems is being solved at present. This applies first and foremost to nuclear weapons and the arms race.

143. They are not being solved because the NATO States do not want it. The instigator of this policy is, of course, Washington. It has firmly linked its foreign policy plans with the further stockpiling of nuclear weapons as well as other types of weapons of mass destruction. It has put up an insurmountable wall on the path to agreement.

144. Even elementary decency is lacking in cases where representatives of the two Powers—the Soviet Union and the United States—meet to discuss one thing or another. Everything the United States side says is intended to secure unilateral advantages for the United States. Therefore, from the very outset things are doomed to failure. If there are political genes, then failure is genetically inevitable.

145. If you read closely the documents setting out the policy of the United States Administration for the future—and there are quite a lot of them—you will see that these documents, which are imbued with the spirit of imperial ambitions and enmity towards the Soviet Union and other peace-loving States, glorify the course aimed at United States domination in the world and extol arms and strength. Thus, they set the stage for deadlocks in the solution of all the acute problems of today.

146. We are convinced that each State, irrespective of its social system, whether big or small, will realize that this is a course that leads to a further aggravation of tensions in the world, to an increased risk of a nuclear catastrophe.

147. The Soviet delegation is authorized to state before this high forum that the Soviet Union will follow the same policy course it has pursued up to now, namely, the course aimed at peace, disarmament, limitation and subsequent elimination of nuclear armaments, and the solution of other acute problems of today.

148. One should face the truth squarely. It is precisely the current United States policy that has made the gap between these two courses in world politics wider and deeper than ever before and has virtually blocked the paths leading to agreement.

149. Today, many people are wondering anxiously if everything has been lost and the only thing left is to acknowledge that international relations have plunged into total darkness.

150. We do not accept such a view of the situation in the world. A feeling of doom is alien to our world outlook. An insurmountable barrier must be erected against war. An end must be put to the stockpiling of weapons in the world.

151. It is understandable that prevention of war is a difficult task. The flywheel of military production is revolving continuously, and influential forces—which place the interests of dominating the world above everything else—will not stop it.

152. Examples are readily available; they are at hand—all you have to do is reach for them. In defiance of the elementary norms of international law and morality, an act of banditry was committed against tiny Grenada, which dared to assert its sovereignty. It was occupied and robbed of its independence.

153. We are witnessing gross interference in the internal affairs of El Salvador. No effort is being spared to prop up the régime of the stooges who are committing brutal crimes against the Salvadorian people.

154. A real siege—military, political and economic—has been mounted against Nicaragua, whose people, defending their national freedom, independence and democratic achievements, are heroically resisting in the face of the undeclared war organized against it by Washington. But the Nicaraguan people want just one thing: they want their independence and they want to resolve their internal affairs as they themselves see fit.

155. The United States still cannot reconcile itself to the existence of socialist Cuba. Threats are being made against Cuba to force that country off the course to which it has been committed in both words and deeds.

156. The situation in Central America—where a dangerous pocket of tension has been created—should be settled by peaceful means on the basis of an unconditional cessation of United States interference in the internal affairs of the countries of the region. Possibilities for such a settlement have been opened up thanks to the constructive approach of Nicaragua and Cuba and to the initiative of the States of the Contadora Group. The Soviet Union supports the efforts to reach a political settlement of the problem.

157. Turning now to the Middle East, here again we can see what the imperialist policies mean for peoples and countries. Still fresh in our memories are the barbaric acts in Lebanon undertaken in an attempt to force upon it a capitulation agreement with Israel, and these acts are still going on today.

158. Yet the facts show that the United States, which relies upon "strategic co-operation" with Israel, has no intention of establishing lasting peace in that region.

159. The Soviet Union has recently put forward a proposal on the principles of a Middle East settlement. That proposal is well known and has evoked a broad response. We call upon all parties to the conflict to act with sober-minded regard for each other's legitimate rights and interests, and upon all other States to facilitate the search for a just settlement in the Middle East.

160. Provocative intrigues continue against sovereign and non-aligned Afghanistan. The foes of the Afghan people will stop at nothing and will not abandon their hope of plunging it back into medieval darkness. To this end, military incursions from outside are being organized. Is it possible to solve the foreign policy aspect of this problem? Yes, it is. The way to do that is to stop forming, arming and infiltrating into the country from outside gangs of anti-Government bandits and saboteurs and not to interfere in the internal affairs of Afghanistan. There can be no doubt that Afghanistan has followed, and will continue to follow, the path it has chosen—the path of independence, freedom, social progress, peace and non-alignment.

161. In South-East Asia the situation is being exacerbated by the policy pursued by outside forces. Acts of provocation against Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea are going on unabated. Attempts are being made to pit their neighbours, the members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations [*ASEAN*], against those countries. We regard the initiative of the three countries of Indo-China on turning South-East Asia into a zone of peace, good-neighbourliness and co-operation, as also their efforts to start a political dialogue among the States of the region, as constructive.

162. The Soviet leadership has repeatedly stated its positions on the question of its relations with the People's Republic of China. Those positions are well known. The Soviet Union favours normal, good-neighbourly relations between these two great States.

163. Obstacles are being put in the way of the normalization of the situation in the Korean peninsula, thus increasing tension in the Far East. The Soviet Union has consistently affirmed its solidarity with the Korean people in their struggle for the withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea and for the peaceful reunification of their homeland, without any outside interference. The proposals of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea provide a positive basis for a settlement of the Korean question.

164. The racist régime of Pretoria has all but been formally named a "historical ally" of the United States. In defiance of the decisions of the United Nations, that régime is trying to keep Namibia under the colonial yoke for as long as possible and is threatening—in particular by overt interventionist actions—the independence of Angola and other neighbouring African States. That régime could not engage in such lawlessness were it not for the complicity of some major Powers.

165. There can be no doubt, however, that the Namibian people will win their freedom and independence. In the present-day world, the colonial

policy of South Africa and its patrons is a historically doomed anomaly.

166. The economically weak countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America are being virtually plundered by industrialized capitalist States. The Soviet Union, like other socialist countries, will continue to render assistance, to the extent of its capabilities, to the newly independent States in their efforts to develop their national economies. International economic relations should be restructured in such a way that all countries of the world can make economic and social progress.

167. Of late, the world has been increasingly confronted with dangerous symptoms in the policy of the United States, such as claims to impunity and licence to do anything it wishes. It does not scruple to declare any criminal ways and means legitimate if these can serve the desired ends. In world affairs, it intends to follow the logic of the idea that one does whatever one's left foot desires. And so it tramples on other peoples' lands with soldiers' iron-heeled boots—left, right, left, right.

168. We are convinced that the time is ripe to take the most serious notice of the fact that certain States, having set out to achieve military superiority and to pursue the policy of terrorism in international affairs, have resorted to actions designed to undermine the socio-political systems of other States.

169. There is a very long list of documents, decisions, resolutions and various provisions to which States have affixed their seals and which specifically provide that it is inadmissible for countries to interfere in the internal affairs of others. Even the United Nations as a whole has no right to intervene in such matters. It is only necessary to look at Article 2 of the Charter of the United Nations, which states precisely that. When that Article was discussed and adopted in the course of the discussion and adoption of the Charter, everyone solemnly and unanimously supported the idea that not even the United Nations should have the right to intervene in the internal affairs of States.

170. Yet, flagrant violations of this international law are being committed today before the eyes of the world, while those responsible say that they are acting in such a way simply because they do not like the social system of some State or other. This destroys the very possibility of ensuring peaceful relations and mutual trust among States and increases the threat of war. Such policies and actions flout the international rules of conduct. They cannot be tolerated and must be terminated. The United Nations, in our view, should speak out emphatically in support of the rule of law in international relations.

171. In the light of what I have said, the Soviet Union is submitting to the General Assembly for its consideration an important and urgent item entitled "Inadmissibility of the policy of State terrorism and any actions by States aimed at undermining the socio-political system of other sovereign States".

172. We propose that the United Nations resolutely condemn the policy and practice of State terrorism as a method of dealing with other countries and peoples. It is necessary to renounce any action aimed at changing or undermining by force the social systems of sovereign States, destabilizing and overthrowing their legitimate Governments, or initiating military action to that end or any pretext whatsoever, and to halt any such action already in progress.

173. All States are duty-bound to respect the inalienable right of the peoples of the world to decide for themselves their own destinies and to pursue independently their own political or any other kind of development.

174. Our proposal stems from the Soviet Union's approach of principle. The adoption of this proposal would contribute greatly to preventing and eliminating international conflicts and to consolidating moral and political barriers against aggression and war.

175. There is much truth in the statement that the international situation is directly dependent on the state of Soviet-United States relations. Today, as always, our country believes in the maintenance of normal relations with the United States—and there has been much talk about this. Until the recent past, that is precisely how these relations were developing, although not without certain vicissitudes, whereas in the years of the Second World War they were relations of allies.

176. In recent years these relations have been disrupted through the efforts of Washington. They have spared no effort to destroy all the gains accomplished together and to undermine the trust that had been built up earlier. What is more, they all but flaunt their indifference to the reputation of the United States side as a partner in international affairs. Yet, that is not something to flaunt.

177. History does not begin on the day when a particular United States Administration comes into office. The periods when the two Powers combined their efforts to defeat fascism will stand out as the best pages in the history of Soviet-United States relations; and those who determine United States policy today have a great deal to do if they wish their words and the obligations they assume to be trusted. No attempts to substitute modifications in form for the substance of a policy and for the need to move away from militarism towards a policy of peace can be meaningful. That is nothing but an empty vessel. What is required is the determination to make such a move if one is truly guided by good intentions in United States-Soviet relations and is really working towards peace. That alone can carry some weight on the political scales.

178. The Soviet Union believes that it is precisely concrete deeds, not verbal assurances, that can lead to normalizing the situation in our relations with the United States. The Soviet Union will not be found wanting. Every American, every American family, should know that the Soviet Union wants peace—and only peace—with the United States.

179. We have developed normal and, in a number of cases, good and fruitful relations with the countries of Western Europe, but we cannot disregard the fact that some of them have permitted the deployment on their territories of new United States nuclear missiles intended for use as first-strike weapons.

180. Nor can one overlook the fact that in some quarters hopes have not yet been abandoned of revising the post-war realities in Europe. Recently such revanchist sentiments have been fuelled by statements which seek to question the commitments assumed by the members of the anti-Hitler coalition. We would caution against yielding to that dangerous frenzy and we appeal for sober-mindedness. No one has the right to disrupt what has not merely become a

pillar of international law but was born of the innumerable sacrifices of the last world war.

181. We regard the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, which make up the majority of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries—an influential force in the world today—as our fellow fighters in the struggle between those who work for peace and those who work against it. It is the intention of the Soviet Union to continue to do everything in its power to deepen and develop friendly ties with those countries.

182. It is our firm conviction that it is possible to correct the current alarming tilt in international developments, to halt the arms race and to set it on a downward spiral, to reduce and then totally eliminate the threat of war. This requires the combined efforts of States, nuclear and non-nuclear, big and small, regardless of their social systems.

183. As Mr. Chernenko has stressed, "the Soviet Union will co-operate fully with all States which are prepared, by practical deeds, to help to ease international tensions and to create an atmosphere of trust in the world—in other words, with all those who genuinely seek to consolidate the foundations of peace and not to prepare for war."

184. The future of mankind is the common responsibility of all countries and all peoples, and the peoples of the world are entitled to expect that the United Nations and all its activities will be imbued with a sense of that responsibility.

185. Mr. MIRDHA (India): Allow me to congratulate you, Sir, on your unanimous election to the presidency of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. We are particularly gratified to see you, a distinguished son of Africa and an eminent representative of a country with which India has traditionally close and cordial relations, preside over the proceedings of this Assembly. We are confident that under your able stewardship we shall be able to deal effectively with the many important questions on our agenda.

186. I should like to take this opportunity also to place on record our appreciation of the effective and statesmanlike leadership provided to the Assembly's thirty-eighth session by your distinguished predecessor, Mr. Illueca, of Panama.

187. I wish to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General for the indefatigable energy and quiet competence he has displayed in his stewardship of the United Nations during the past year. His patience and perseverance are characteristic of a style of functioning that has added much prestige and honour to the office of the Secretary-General. He has won our admiration for his skilful handling of several crisis situations. We wish him every success in the future.

188. We welcome to the United Nations family its newest member, Brunei Darussalam. Its admission as the 159th Member is a reaffirmation of the principle of universality of membership of the Organization. We look forward to working in close co-operation with that country's delegation in the United Nations.

189. We are at the threshold of the fifth decade of the United Nations. As the United Nations approaches its fortieth anniversary it is but appropriate that we pause to review the historic role the Organization has been playing. This is also a time for introspection and reflection so that we can improve our own performance and make the Organization more effective.

190. In November 1948, the first Prime Minister of India, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, addressing the General Assembly[10] on behalf of newly independent India, stated that the Charter of the United Nations, in noble language, had laid down the principles and purposes of that great Organization, and he thought it would not be possible to improve upon that language. The objectives were clear, he said, and yet it had often happened that the main objectives had been lost sight of amid matters of secondary importance. He further stated that he was convinced that the best of objectives could not be reached if men's eyes were bloodshot and men's minds clouded with passion. The lesson of history, he noted, and more especially the lesson of the last two great wars, which had devastated humanity, was that out of hatred and violence could come only hatred and violence. The Assembly was in the midst of a cycle of hatred and violence, he said, and it was obvious that if that cycle persisted and war, which the Assembly was specially intended to prevent, broke out, not only would there be tremendous devastation all over the world, but no individual Power or group of Powers would achieve its objective.

191. The words of Jawaharlal Nehru are valid even today. The optimism that was generated in the early years of the United Nations has in recent years been sadly dissipated. We are facing not only an acute and troubled international situation but, more important, a period when faith in the world Organization appears to be weakening. There is today in some quarters a cynical disregard of the role and contribution of the United Nations, as, indeed, a profound suspicion of all multilateral approaches where these do not coincide with or directly promote the interests of these countries. We are facing the danger of a retreat from multilateralism which can only adversely affect the prospects of international peace and security and undermine the very foundations of this unique Organization. India and other non-aligned countries are determined to reverse this trend. As India did at the outset of the establishment of the United Nations, I would like now once again to reaffirm, on behalf of the Government and people of India, our undiminished faith in the United Nations and our continued commitment to the purposes and principles enshrined in the Charter.

192. In his thought-provoking report on the work of the Organization [*A/39/1*], the Secretary-General has reiterated the need to preserve and strengthen the Organization for harmonizing the actions of nations and to enhance the concept of multilaterialism, which is a basic premise of our activity in the United Nations. He has rightly asserted that the realization of the full potential of the United Nations depends upon a willingness to take active steps to experiment with new approaches on the assumption that our common and agreed objective is human survival in reasonably decent conditions. We need to ponder over this issue. The fortieth anniversary of the United Nations should provide us with a unique opportunity for rededication, but also for a reassessment, some soul-searching and, above all, concrete remedial action. Our commitment to the multilateral approach is important and must be strengthened if we want the vision of the founding fathers to be realized.

193. Throughout the years of our freedom struggle, India's leaders viewed independence not merely in national terms but as a part of the struggle of

oppressed peoples everywhere for justice—political, economic and social. In the course of its transformation, India has built up a vast industrial infrastructure which has enabled it to keep pace with the scientific and technological advancements taking place in the world. Our democratic institutions, evolved over the years, have given the people of India a deep sense of participation and commitment in determining the nation's economic, social and political priorities. India's economy envisages a predominant role for the public sector in areas of basic industry as well as a flourishing private sector consistent with our socio-economic philosophy, which aims at prosperity and growth with social justice. The planning process adopted by India as an indispensable instrument for the development of all sectors of our economy involves the full participation of our people.

194. In our international relationships, adherence to the policy of non-alignment has been both instinctive and inevitable. Even before the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries held its first summit in 1961, the essential principles of non-alignment had become the basis for the conduct of our foreign policy.

195. Today the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, with its membership of 101 countries, constitutes the vast majority of the membership of the United Nations. It is an indication of the intrinsic appeal and relevance of this Movement, as well as its significance and its achievements to date, that almost every newly independent nation seeks membership.

196. As Prime Minister Indira Gandhi said in her address[11] to the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi from 7 to 12 March 1983:

> "Its significance is not to be measured by the number of divisions or the megatons of destructive power we command, but by the intensity with which we desire peace and freedom, development and international justice.
>
> "Other Governments may have conflicting opinions on right and wrong. We the non-aligned have chosen peace, which surely is the right and inevitable choice. We have sought and continue to seek friendship with all, except Governments which are racist or threaten the hard-earned freedom of others. Non-alignment is not vague, not negative, not neutral.
>
> "Non-alignment is national independence and freedom. It stands for peace and the avoidance of confrontation. It aims at keeping away from military alliances. It means equality among nations and the democratization of international relations, economic and political. It wants global co-operation for development on the basis of mutual benefit. It is a strategy for the recognition and preservation of the world's diversity."

197. The question of disarmament has always remained a basic concern of India and other countries of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. Governments and peoples all over the world are becoming increasingly aware of the grave threat posed to the very survival of mankind by the development, accumulation and deployment of nuclear weapons and their delivery systems. Two special sessions of the General Assembly have been devoted exclusively to this question. Yet new weapons of mass destruction and their delivery systems are continuously being researched, tested, produced and deployed. A new arms race has begun in the chemical weapons field. New technologies are being developed which would make space, which has hitherto remained largely peaceful, a dangerous arena of military confrontation. Striking advances are also being made in conventional weaponry, giving it a versatility and lethal quality unknown in previous years.

198. The escalating arms race, the rise in international tensions and the absence of willingness for constructive dialogue among the major nuclear-weapon Powers have increased the risks of the outbreak of a nuclear war. Clearly, the dangers of the total annihilation of mankind, indeed, of any life on this planet, are so great and increasing with such inexorable rapidity that we cannot permit ourselves the luxury of either indifference or despair. Dangerous doctrines, such as those of nuclear deterrence and of limited nuclear warfare, are being propounded. No country will remain unaffected by the horror of nuclear conflict once it is unleashed. By the same token, none of us can remain indifferent to the need to speed up disarmament negotiations. It is ironical that the principal justification for adding new and costly weapon systems to the arsenals of the great Powers has been that it provides better negotiating positions for those countries in any arms limitation talks. The logic of this position is that disarmament can commence only after countries have armed themselves fully. Such bizarre logic cannot be expected to serve as a basis for any serious arms limitation exercise.

199. A fresh and concerted world-wide effort must therefore be made to halt the arms race. Nuclear-weapon States bear the greatest responsibility and must adopt urgent, practical measures to prevent a nuclear war. Specific proposals have been made by India and other non-aligned countries for a convention under United Nations aegis prohibiting the use of nuclear weapons under any circumstances. The idea of a freeze on the production and deployment of nuclear weapons is gaining popular support and needs to be given a practical shape in order to break the present impasse in arms negotiations. Efforts for a comprehensive nuclear-weapons-test-ban treaty must be expedited. Existing arms limitation agreements must be observed and new ones negotiated. At the same time, a concerted effort ought to be made to prevent a new and potentially more dangerous and destabilizing round of the arms race in the area of space-based systems. Diplomats and experts engaged in arms limitation and disarmament negotiations must now take due note of the mass popular upsurge in the world against nuclear weapons.

200. A major peace initiative in this regard was taken recently by the Prime Minister of India, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, together with the Heads of State or Government of Argentina, Greece, Mexico, Sweden and the United Republic of Tanzania. This five-continent initiative, launched on 22 May 1984, states, *inter alia,* in the Joint Declaration [*A/39/277*]:

> "As leaders of nations, States Members of the United Nations, we have a commitment to take constructive action towards halting and reversing the nuclear-arms race. The people we represent are no less threatened by nuclear war than the citizens of the nuclear-weapons States. It is primarily the responsibility of the nuclear-weapons States to prevent a nuclear catastrophe, but this problem is too important to be left to those States alone."

201. The Joint Declaration urges, as a necessary first step, the five nuclear-weapon States to halt all testing, production and deployment of nuclear weapons and their delivery systems, to be immediately followed by a substantial reduction in nuclear forces. This first step must be followed by a continuing programme of arms reduction leading to general and complete disarmament, accompanied by measures to strengthen the United Nations system and to ensure an urgently needed transfer of substantial resources from the arms race into social and economic development. The essential goal must be to reduce and then eliminate the risk of war between nations. The six-Power peace appeal has received the overwhelming support of the international community. People all over the world have an overriding interest in collective security and the avoidance of nuclear war. The appeal represents a significant step in mobilizing wider world support for the objectives of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries on disarmament, as set out by the New Delhi Conference.

202. Non-aligned and like-minded nations must now think of other forms of action. The bulk of the global military expenditure of $1 trillion a year is accounted for by a handful of industrialized countries. A significant reduction in this enormously wasteful expenditure would not only help ease tensions the world over but also contribute to recovery and growth in the world economy and could be used to augment the currently decreasing levels of assistance to developing nations. The proposal for a world conference on disarmament and development deserves to be taken up seriously by Member States.

203. India attaches great importance to general and complete disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament, and the prevention of nuclear war. A number of proposals submitted by my delegation to begin a serious nuclear disarmament programme are already before the General Assembly. It is our earnest hope that during this session our proposals, as well as others in this field, will be considered in all seriousness and that meaningful decisions will be taken.

204. In our own neighbourhood, the Indian Ocean continues to be an area of competitive attention and mounting great-Power military presence, posing a direct threat to the security and integrity of the littoral and hinterland States. The increasing militarization of the Indian Ocean and its use as an arena for strategic power-play is a matter of immense concern to us. The establishment of new command structures has been accompanied by the introduction of sophisticated weaponry into the area. The 1971 Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace [*resolution 2832 (XXVI)*] remains unimplemented.

205. Ever since the expansion of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Indian Ocean in 1979, it has been the earnest hope of the littoral and hinterland States that the permanent members of the Security Council and the major maritime users of the Indian Ocean would contribute towards the early convening of the Conference on the Indian Ocean and to the early realization of the objectives of the 1971 Declaration. The evidence of the last few years has belied this expectation. On the contrary, efforts are afoot to distort the fundamental structure and elements of the 1971 Declaration. We believe that the Conference, to be held at Colombo, should be convened urgently to begin the process of elimination of great-Power military presence from the Indian Ocean in realization of the objectives of the Declaration. During the current year, the non-aligned countries have made serious efforts to complete necessary preparatory work for the Conference and have submitted a framework for its agenda. We hope all members of the *Ad Hoc* Committee will display the necessary political will and address themselves to this question in a constructive manner.

206. The countries of South Asia are currently engaged in an active search for regional co-operation on the basis of mutual benefit. This is in consonance with our own policies over the years of reinforcing the fabric of understanding and co-operation among the countries of the region. At the South Asian Regional Co-operation Meeting of Foreign Ministers, held at Male on 10 and 11 July of this year, a detailed review of the implementation of programmes was undertaken. We recognize that this will be a long process and will call for much patience and perseverance. Even now the induction of sophisticated arms in our neighborhood serves external strategic interests and is complicating the task of peaceful co-operation in our region. Notwithstanding that, we have no doubt that the process of regional co-operation will continue to gain strength in the months and years ahead and will not only assist the economic and social development of the countries of South Asia but also ultimately promote good-neighbourliness and harmony in the whole area.

207. While on the subject of South Asia, it is with considerable regret that I find it necessary to refer to recent developments in Sri Lanka which have taken a turn for the worse, have caused us deep anguish and have aroused global concern. There has been a recrudescence of indiscriminate violence and killing by the armed forces on a scale which recalls the tragedy of July 1983. Reports indicate that the armed forces in that country have conducted large-scale operations in areas where the Tamils constitute the overwhelming majority of the population, resulting in heavy loss of life and property of the innocent Tamil population. If the spate of violence in the northern province continues, it is bound to have serious repercussions in other parts of Sri Lanka and precipitate an influx of refugees into our country. We already have 40,000 Sri Lankan refugees in Tamil Nadu.

208. The ethnic problem in Sri Lanka cannot be solved by military action. It is a political problem involving the just rights of the Tamil minority, and only the determined pursuit of the political process of consultation and mutual accommodation can lead to a constructive way out.

209. After the communal violence of 1983, the Prime Minister of India offered her good offices to help find a political solution to the problem. President Jayawardene of Sri Lanka accepted that offer, and the efforts of our special envoy to promote the process of dialogue have been undertaken with the full concurrence of the Government of Sri Lanka. While talks within the framework of the All Party Conference are continuing, innuendos and insinuations are repeatedly being made against India.

210. We have reaffirmed our stand in favour of Sri Lanka's integrity and unity and have expressed opposition to all forms of violence and separatism. Because of the large number of Tamil refugees from Sri Lanka in the Indian state of Tamil Nadu and because of the many age-old links between the Tamil populations of the two countries, the repression and

2

denial of human and political rights of the Tamils in Sri Lanka give rise to repercussions in our country with which we are trying to deal as best we can. But it is a travesty of facts to suggest that we are in any way responsible for Sri Lanka's problems. The problem exists right there in Sri Lanka and it has to be resolved there. For our part, we do not and will not permit any activities directed against Sri Lanka from our soil. It is therefore regrettable that leaders of Sri Lanka continue to make baseless allegations against India that it is providing sanctuary and support to Tamil militants. India is doing no such thing. I should like to reiterate that such false and unfounded allegations can only create unnecessary and avoidable difficulties and misunderstanding in the relations between the two countries.

211. The Prime Minister of India has categorically stated that India does not intervene in the internal affairs of Sri Lanka or, indeed, of any other country. India does not support any separatist movement; it does not support or condone resort to violence of any kind. It is our sincere hope that, through consultations, a viable political solution will soon be found assuring the safety and legitimate rights of the Tamils as full and equal citizens, so that the people of Sri Lanka can live together in peace and harmony.

212. I cannot over-emphasize the necessity for the utmost restraint on the part of all concerned and a determined pursuit of the political process to find a viable and acceptable solution in which the fundamental human and civic rights of the Tamil population of Sri Lanka will be safeguarded.

213. The efforts for a political settlement in Afghanistan are continuing, though progress has been slow. While there is universal reaffirmation of the inadmissibility of interference in the internal affairs of States, as also of the induction of foreign troops in any country, there is no doubt that the situation in South-West Asia can be resolved only through an overall political settlement based on principles set out in the Political Declaration adopted at the New Delhi Conference.[11] The efforts of the Personal Representative of the Secretary-General in past months have sought to impart momentum to this process and deserve our support.

214. Of equal concern to us are the continuing difficulties that have come in the way of peace in South-East Asia. The events of the past year have made us only more conscious of the opportunities, as well as the pitfalls, that lie in the search for a solution of the problems afflicting that region. India is convinced that there can be no military solution to this question. What is needed is a balanced approach that takes into account the security and other considerations of all the countries in the region and eliminates outside interference. We are hopeful that the new processes of dialogue opening up between the countries of Indo-China and ASEAN will yield positive results in coming months and make for a much-needed sense of trust and reconciliation among the countries of the region.

215. The futility of war as a means of settling disputes has been highlighted in the tragic fratricidal conflict between Iran and Iraq. The continuing war has involved great sacrifices by both sides, resulting in enormous losses not only of material wealth but also of precious and irreplaceable human lives. The critical situation in the region threatens not only the security of the Gulf but also the safety and economic well-being of much of the world. As Chairman of the Movement of the Non-Aligned Countries, India has remained in touch with both sides to bring an end to this conflict which weakens the Movement's unity and solidarity. We are heartened that the Secretary-General's call for a halt to bombings in the civilian areas has met with a positive response from both sides. We hope that the two sides will continue to show restraint and see the inevitability of getting down to negotiations for the settlement of their differences. We are convinced that there can be no victor or vanquished in a conflict of this nature. Its continuation will only weaken the ability of the two countries to meet the challenges that face them as developing countries.

216. The events in West Asia continue to arouse our anguish and indignation. The continued denial to the Palestinian people of their basic and inherent right to self-determination and nationhood, Israel's arrogant defiance of the will of the international community, the critical situation in Lebanon, the consolidation by Israel of its stranglehold over the occupied territories, including its settlements policy—all constitute sordid chapters in a seemingly endless tragedy.

217. The turmoil in West Asia remains a most serious threat to world peace today. Recent months have witnessed a deterioration in the situation, resulting in further acts of aggression and intimidation by Israel against the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples. We remain firm in our support for the brave, homeless and harassed Palestinian people, led by the Palestine Liberation Organization, their sole authentic representative. Occupation of the territory of neighbouring States will not guarantee Israel security; it can, if anything, only have the opposite effect. A comprehensive solution comprising the total and unconditional withdrawal of Israel from all Arab territories occupied since 1967, the exercise by the Palestinian people of their inalienable national and human rights, including the right to establish an independent State in their homeland, and mutual guarantees of security among States of the region must be achieved.

218. We support the convening of an international peace conference on the Middle East under United Nations auspices for finding a comprehensive, just and lasting solution in accordance with well-established principles laid down in United Nations resolutions. The situation in the region does not brook any delay, and urgent preparatory measures should be undertaken so that the conference can be convened at the earliest possible time. In this context, India is appreciative of the efforts being made by the Secretary-General towards the convening of the conference and the process of consultations initiated by him with the parties concerned to find a comprehensive solution. We stand ready to extend our full support and co-operation in this connection.

219. It is now a century since Namibia fell prey to colonialism at the Berlin Conference of 1884-1885. For the larger part of the period and up to the present day, this Territory and this valiant people have suffered a particularly brutal and repressive colonial presence, an extension of the abhorrent system of *apartheid*. Eighteen years of direct United Nations jurisdiction over Namibia have brought the Territory closer to independence only in theory, as the United Nations plan for Namibian independence remains unimplemented in spite of its universal acceptance as

the basis for a peaceful settlement. Sadly, the question of Namibia has become embroiled in the web of East-West tensions, with entirely irrelevant and extraneous considerations being introduced into what is, and must essentially remain, a question of decolonization. The South West Africa People's Organization [*SWAPO*], the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people, has shown admirable restraint, flexibility and statesmanship. South Africa's answer has always been characterized by arrogance, defiance of world opinion, and prevarication. The non-aligned believe that only sanctions can force Pretoria to pay heed.

220. We believe that Security Council resolution 435 (1978) remains the only basis for a peaceful settlement of the Namibian question. India, along with other non-aligned countries, rejects any kind of linkage or parallelism in regard to the implementation of this resolution. The Security Council must consider more resolute action in the exercise of United Nations responsibility over Namibia to ensure the implementation of its own resolutions. Meanwhile, we remain steadfast in our support for the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO, their sole and authentic representative, and in our resolve to assist them in all possible ways in their valiant struggle for liberation.

221. We are being increasingly confronted with the proposition that racist South Africa is moving towards reform of its policy of *apartheid*. Mr. Botha found platforms to proclaim this to the world during his visits to several Western European countries, visits that should never have been permitted to take place and have had the effect of undermining the international campaign to isolate Pretoria. The charade of elections on the basis of a "new dispensation" was organized in an attempt to confirm this impression. A country known for its indiscriminate and repeated acts of aggression against neighbouring independent States is projecting itself as a votary of peaceful coexistence. This propaganda, which emanates from Pretoria and finds an echo in capitals of some of South Africa's powerful friends and allies, will deceive no one. South Africa's attempts to hoodwink the world will not succeed.

222. The root cause of all the problems in southern Africa is the policy and practice of *apartheid*. The international community must not let flag its vigilance against *apartheid* or its efforts to counter it by every possible means. In this context, we are happy to note the clear-sightedness shown by the Coloured and Asian communities in rejecting, despite pressures of all kinds, the so-called constitutional reforms mooted by the racist régime. As the Prime Minister of India, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, stated in a recent message: "*Apartheid* cannot be reformed; it must be ended."

223. The front-line States of southern Africa have long been a bastion of resistance against racist South Africa, though it has meant great suffering and sacrifice on the part of the peoples of those countries. The world must take urgent and resolute action to fortify the front-line States and strengthen the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference so that those States could better withstand Pretoria's repeated acts of aggression and destabilization and its threats and blandishments.

224. The adoption of a resolution on Central America by consensus in the Assembly last year [*resolution 38/10*] augured well for peace and reconciliation in that troubled region. So also have the untiring endeavours of the Contadora Group of nations. The non-aligned countries have pledged full support to the Contadora exercise. We commend the Contadora countries for their perseverance and dedication and for the progress so far achieved.

225. Nevertheless, the situation in Central America remains tense and delicate, capable of explosion at the next spark. Again this year, Nicaragua felt compelled to take recourse to the Security Council following continuing hostile acts directed against it, in particular the mining of its ports and harbours. We would like to see the endemic problem of the region resolved by its own peoples without meddling from outside quarters. We hope that accord will be achieved before long on a comprehensive agreement along the lines contained in the draft Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America [*see A/39/562*].

226. Efforts to resolve the vexed question of Cyprus have received a serious set-back in the last year following the proclamation of a so-called Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus and subsequent steps taken with a view to consolidating that unilateral declaration of independence. The Government and people of India have deplored the unilateral declaration of independence and firmly support the unity, territorial integrity, sovereignty, independence and non-alignment of Cyprus, a country with which we have traditionally had friendly and co-operative relations. We believe that the unilateral declaration of independence must be rescinded and intercommunal talks resumed under the auspices of the Secretary-General with a view to arriving at a lasting settlement, taking due account of the rights and aspirations of both the Greek and the Turkish Cypriot communities. In this context, we welcome the steps recently taken by the Secretary-General aimed at a resumption of the intercommunal dialogue as well as the positive response of both sides to the call of the Secretary-General.

227. The international economic situation continues to cause great concern. When we met here in 1983 there were claims that respite from the severest recession in post-war history was in sight. The industrialized countries may be experiencing some recovery, but it remains uneven in its spread and there are doubts about its durability. The vast majority of the developing countries have not experienced any improvement. As a group, their gross national product has remained stagnant and many of them have experienced declining growth rates. Falling commodity prices, adverse terms of trade, rising debt burdens, barriers to trade and declining financial flows continue to affect them adversely.

228. These conditions have resulted in sharp reductions in imports and postponement of investment in projects and human resources development programmes which may have set back their growth prospects for years to come. Austerity measures compelled by circumstances over which they have had little control have precipitated social disruption and political instability in a number of countries. The net effect of these measures has been to attract a transfer of resources from these countries to the financial institutions of the developed countries. The appalling costs in terms of human misery and destitution that these measures have implied are not brought out in the adjustment figures put out by

international agencies. These adjustments, as the Committee for Development Planning has put it, have taken place "at the margin of life and death".

229. The gravity of the economic situation in Africa is a cause of particular concern to the international community. The critical conditions there have been further aggravated by adverse climatic factors leading to widespread hunger and malnutrition. In the clearest sense, this represents a test of the will and ability of the international community to meet this challenge through international co-operative endeavour and to make it a part of the overall struggle of developing countries against hunger and poverty.

230. It is common wisdom to say today that, in an interdependent world, the progress of the rich cannot be achieved at the cost of the poor. This interdependence was again acknowledged and emphasized at the London Economic Summit of the industrialized countries in June this year.

231. The test of the faith in interdependence lies in the willingness to take co-operative action. As a group, developing countries are larger markets of the European Economic Community, the United States and Japan than each of these three is for the other two. When import volumes have had to be reduced by as much as 50 per cent in many developing countries, its dampening effect on recovery in some industrialized countries should be evident. Sustained economic recovery of the developed countries is dependent on the reactivation of the economic development of the developing countries. But the actual policies pursued by many developed countries seem frequently to reflect a rejection of the concept of interdependence and the policy measures that this would entail.

232. At a time when financial resources for development are needed by developing countries, net private flows of resources to them have in several cases become negative. Official development assistance has declined in real terms, as is evident from the fact that, in the case of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development countries, aid as a share of their gross national product has fallen from an average of 0.38 per cent to 0.36 per cent in 1983. Multilateral financial institutions are facing the worst crisis of resources since they were created. A case in point is the IDA, which is of paramount importance to the poorest countries. The level at which it has been possible to agree on its seventh replenishment is 20 per cent less in nominal terms and 40 per cent lower in real terms over that of its sixth replenishment.

233. Protectionism is steadily on the increase. The United Nations *World Economic Survey 1984*[12] estimates that over half of world trade is now subject to some form of non-tariff barrier. The practical effect of protectionist measures is particularly intense in sectors like textiles, in which developing countries are the most efficient producers. We are thus blamed for our alleged inefficiency and penalized when we are efficient.

234. We cannot but express our disappointment at the attitude demonstrated by some developed countries during meetings of the Economic and Social Council and at the Fourth General Conference of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization, held at Vienna from 2 to 19 August 1984, in their approach both to substantive issues and to the conduct of negotiations. It is difficult to avoid the impression that this was part of the systematic and persistent efforts by certain countries to make the United Nations system the scapegoat for their lack of political will. We strongly urge the developed countries to reconsider their positions and to work to restore the norms and consensus on the basis of which the United Nations system can continue to play its rightful role as a central forum for joint action for mutual benefit.

235. It is legitimate to expect that now that recovery in developed countries has started, even though in an uneven and limited way, Governments in developed countries will deal in a more comprehensive and co-operative manner with the deeper structural problems of the world economy. It is necessary to adopt and implement a comprehensive set of measures for reactivating growth in developing countries. We must recognize the realities of the situation and work towards the establishment of a real dialogue between the North and the South. Policies which are recognized to stand in the way of the resumption of the development momentum in the developing countries need to be rectified. The ultimate objective of any good policy must be the contribution it can make towards the removal of existing inequalities and in achieving better growth rates for all.

236. Deliberate measures have to be taken now to attain more normal levels of growth. This cannot be achieved merely by the trickle-down effect. The agenda for global economic recovery and development suggested in the Economic Declaration of the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries[11] provides a balanced set of actions. Intensive consultations have taken place on the two-phase approach towards global negotiations put forward by the non-aligned and developing countries, but agreement on its launching has been impossible to obtain. While this matter is being pursued, we propose in the meantime that at this session of the General Assembly serious negotiations take place to provide action-oriented content to the Programme of Immediate Measures contained in the Declaration. Particular attention would have to be given to an improvement in the terms of trade of the developing countries and to a roll-back of protectionism. We have to tackle the crushing debt burden of developing countries in its global context and in a comprehensive manner, dealing with both the financial and the developmental aspects. Agreement needs to be reached for a substantial increase in the net flow of financial resources, particularly official development assistance, to developing countries. The resource position of multilateral development institutions would need to be considerably strengthened to meet the growing needs of developing countries.

237. This session of the General Assembly has several other important tasks ahead of it. In its most fundamental sense, development has to be achieved in human terms. The prevailing imbalance in which 47 per cent of the world's population has only 5 per cent of the world's share of resources has grave implications for the future of humanity. The close link between population policies and economic and social development has been long recognized. The International Conference on Population, held at Mexico City from 6 to 14 August 1984, adopted useful recommendations for the further implementation of the World Population Plan of Action.[13] My

delegation attaches great importance to its quick and effective implementation, and we urge the international community to give full support to the national efforts of the countries in attaining its objectives. Similarly, in a related field, we welcome the support extended by the child survival and development strategy of UNICEF to national efforts, including those of my own country.

238. Access and acquisition of modern scientific and technological knowledge is essential to carry out the economic and social transformation of developing countries. Because of our colonial past, many of our countries missed out on the industrial revolution. We have no intention of being left out of the technological revolution. We think that the area of science and technology is particularly suitable to devise new and imaginative mechanisms of international co-operation for mutual benefit. In this respect, we attach great importance to the establishment of the long-term financing system for science and technology for development. My own country is fully prepared to meet its responsibilities in this regard, and we urge all other countries, particularly the developed countries, urgently to finalize the financial arrangements which would enable the launching of the United Nations Financing System for Science and Technology for Development.

239. It is more than a year and a half since the Heads of State or Government of the non-aligned countries, at their New Delhi Conference, called for the convening of an international conference on money and finance for development. Since then, the idea has gathered further momentum and gained wider support. It has been pursued in a number of forums both within and outside the United Nations system, such as the Economic and Social Council; the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development at its sixth session, held at Belgrade from 6 June to 2 July 1983; the General Assembly; the Conference of the Heads of Government of Commonwealth Countries, held at New Delhi in November 1983; and the Williamsburg and London Economic Summit Conferences of the major industrial countries, held in May 1983 and June 1984. Recently, a group of five eminent experts appointed by the Chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, the Prime Minister of India, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, completed a detailed study of the substantive and procedural issues that would arise in the context of convening such a conference. This report has been made available to the member Governments of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, as well as those of other countries. The need for improvement in the system, whether it be described as evolution or adaptation, reform or restructuring, is now widely recognized. It is now time to set in motion the preparatory process, with the participation of all interested parties, for moving towards serious negotiations on the subject. We sincerely hope that a consensus in this direction will soon evolve. It would be in keeping with the urgency of the situation and the international community's commitment to the multilateral process for these consultations to conclude in a preparatory process to coincide with the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations.

240. India's commitment to the purposes and principles of the United Nations is firmly grounded in the traditions of our foreign policy. As the Prime Minister of India said at the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly on behalf of the non-aligned countries: "Firm faith in the United Nations is central to the non-aligned" [*9th meeting, para. 5*]. The observance of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations next year should provide us all with an opportunity for rededication to the ideals that have animated the founders of this Organization.

241. The non-aligned countries will be in the forefront of preparations for the commemoration of that anniversary. It would be fitting if participation in the commemorative session by Member States was at the highest level, in order to enhance the significance of the occasion.

242. The non-aligned countries also suggested at the New Delhi Conference that 1985 should be observed as the Year of the United Nations. Such an anniversary should not become an occasion for mere celebration. Member countries and their peoples need to consider carefully the contribution of the United Nations system over the past four decades, its continuing relevance in the current international situation, and the ways and means by which the Organization can be strengthened in order to meet more effectively the challenges facing contemporary society. Its procedures and methods of work should be improved in order to enhance its overall performance.

243. Human institutions may and do face temporary set-backs. Rather than give way to despair and allow things to drift, we should make relentless efforts to reinvigorate the United Nations. In this endeavour, the abiding faith in it of the peoples of the world remains its strongest support, and we should do all we can to mobilize it.

244. The year 1985 will also mark the silver jubilee of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, enshrined in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). That the membership of the United Nations has grown so impressively in recent decades is due in no small measure to the endeavours of the Organization in the field of decolonization. We hope that the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Declaration will be appropriately observed. As a country with a deep and abiding commitment to decolonization, India looks forward to participating in that exercise.

245. The year 1985 will also be observed as International Youth Year. Youth, which constitutes a crucial segment of the population, can make a valuable contribution to the development process and to the promotion of international understanding, co-operation and peace. It is therefore imperative that the younger generation be provided with all the necessary conditions for participating in national development activities and in the study and resolution of major national, regional and international problems. The observance in 1985 of International Youth Year is indeed timely, as it will serve to draw attention to the specific needs and aspirations of the future generation.

246. In her address to the General Assembly last year, at its thirty-eighth session, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi referred to a new order struggling to be born amidst the upheavals of the present-day world:

> "For us, the non-aligned, and for all who are deeply concerned with the future of humanity, the question is whether we help the birth of this new creation or throttle it before it can draw breath. The matter is not simple, because history has

proved time and again that ideas and movements can be obstructed, but not stopped. How long can a few pockets of affluence continue to exert influence on the large populations, the natural resources, the cultural strength of the others? How long can allies and supporters, who may not have a base in their own countries and who are not in tune with the changing times, be perpetuated? You cannot kill an idea by killing its adherents. The newborn will not die; the birth can be delayed but the cost will be much higher and the affluent will have to pay. When peaceful change is thwarted, violent upheaval occurs. Previously, the end of a civilization brought destruction and trauma in its trail. If we keep to past trends, we too will be engulfed by circumstances. But today we have the opportunity, which may well be the first in human history, for humankind to bridge the transition from the old to the new in a conscious way, to build a new era, to move together to a new future." [*Ibid., para. 28.*]

The meeting rose at 1.25 p.m.

NOTES

[1] Panama Canal Treaty and Treaty concerning the Permanent Neutrality and Operation of the Panama Canal, signed in Washington on 7 September 1977 (*The Department of State Bulletin*, vol. LXXVII, No. 1999, Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1977).

[2] See A/38/68, annex.

[3] See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-eighth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1983*, document S/15877, annex.

[4] *Ibid., Supplement for October, November and December 1983*, document S/16041, annex.

[5] *Ibid., Supplement for January, February and March 1983*, document S/15556.

[6] United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 944, No. 13445.

[7] *Ibid.*, No. 13446.

[8] Treaty between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms (see CD/53/Appendix III/Vol. I, document CD/28).

[9] See CD/335/Appendix II/Vol. III, document CD/294.

[10] *Official Records of the General Assembly, Third Session, Part I, Plenary Meetings*, 154th meeting, para. 49.

[11] See A/38/132 and Corr.1 and 2, annex.

[12] United Nations publication, Sales No.E.84.II.C.1.

[13] See *Report of the International Conference on Population, 1984* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.84.XIII.8 and corrigenda), chap. I, sect. B.

READEX FICHE

United Nations

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

THIRTY-NINTH SESSION

Official Records

11th PLENARY MEETING

Thursday, 27 September 1984, at 3.20 p.m.

NEW YORK

President: Mr. Paul J. F. LUSAKA (Zambia).

In the absence of the President, Mr. Farah Dirir (Djibouti), Vice-President, took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. NDINGA-OBA (Congo) (*interpretation from French*): As I speak in the General Assembly, the people of the People's Republic of the Congo is in the course of giving effect to the directives of the third regular congress of the Congolese Labour Party, which was held at Brazzaville from 27 to 31 July 1984. The meetings of that Congress constitute a historic turning-point for the Congolese revolution. The results of the Congress have enabled our people to acquire new institutions and to embark on dynamic action in all areas of national life, in particular the area of international policy.

2. While welcoming the outstanding successes achieved during the Congress, the Congolese people is more than ever concerned by an international situation of insecurity, injustice and underdevelopment, whose consequences for the future of mankind demand the attention of the entire international community.

3. On behalf of our Government and of the President, Denis Sassou-Nguesso, the delegation of the Congo is pleased to make, through me, its modest contribution to consideration of the problems that face the United Nations and the international community as a whole.

4. In entrusting Mr. Lusaka with the task of presiding over the work of its thirty-ninth session, the General Assembly has recognized that he is not only one of the most experienced African ambassadors, but also the outstanding President of the United Nations Council for Namibia, a man whose dynamism and devotion have always been commensurate with the cause championed by that important United Nations body. I congratulate him whole-heartedly; the delegation of the Congo, which I have the honour to lead, is very gratified at this choice and assures him of its full co-operation. The People's Republic of the Congo and Zambia have very friendly relations, recently reaffirmed by an exchange of visits between our two heads of State and by the election of President Kenneth David Kaunda as honorary President of the third regular congress of the Congolese Labour Party.

5. I pay a well-deserved tribute, also, to Mr. Lusaka's illustrious predecessor, Mr. Jorge Illueca, President of the Republic of Panama, a distinguished Latin American statesman and an ardent champion of the inalienable rights of exploited nations. We are particularly grateful to him for the calm and efficient way in which he conducted the meetings of the thirty-eighth session.

6. In considering the report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization [*A/39/1*], we are pleased to note that he quite appropriately reminds the international community of the urgency of the tasks and the weight of the responsibilities that devolve upon us pursuant to our adherence to the Charter of the United Nations. We are most grateful to the Secretary-General for all the efforts and all the means described in that report. Their aim is constantly to renew the spirit of our shared ideals through the application of appropriate solutions to the ills plaguing the world.

7. When we commemorate, next year, the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, the time will be ripe for mankind to take stock and to envisage, in a new, global and, we trust, optimistic context, the outlines of the world of tomorrow, whose features still seem so vague to us today.

8. In the mean time, we are obliged to note that the eloquent and benevolent statements of intention made here do not always reflect the political practice of certain Member States. In fact, it has in no way been proved that those who speak the most about peace and freedom are the best craftsmen of those noble ideals in their own countries and throughout the world. Quite often, on the contrary, the warmongers, who are responsible for the most blatant social injustices and the most serious manifestations of the exploitation of man by man, could very easily be mistaken for the staunchest champions of human rights.

9. Tried and tested couriers of dubious policies or mere links in a chain of selfish interests, the major instigators of policies opposed to the fundamental interests of mankind no longer hide their intentions. They are the grave-diggers of peace; they are the ones who are truly starving the world through the debt of the third world and the deterioration of raw material prices—to sum up, through the relations between the industrialized and the developing countries, relations characterized by the thirst for profit at any cost: the primary motivation of the behaviour of the countries of the North, even if it be to the detriment of the countries of the South. Finally, it is these countries which persist in voluntarily supporting colonialist and neo-colonialist desires designed to enslave peoples weakened by exploitation by the imperialist Powers.

10. That reference to reality suffices to bring us to the core of the true problems on whose solution true peace and freedom as well as solidarity among peoples depend. Unfortunately, those problems confront all continents, particularly the African continent. The United Nations must analyse the underlying causes and propose effective cures. Otherwise, our meetings will have few concrete results, given the real problems undermining our societies.

11. If one really needs an illustration of the problems whose persistence and deterioration jeopardize the present approach to questions of universal importance, one can begin by referring to the social and economic situation of the African continent. Under the joint effect of natural disasters, such as drought, and temporary factors of the moment, a considerable part of our continent is moving dangerously towards economic uncertainty; it is at the brink of stagnation. Despite the courageous actions of States involved, such as those in the Sahel, desertification continues to increase inexorably, bringing with it hunger, starvation and a rising death rate, and severely affecting plant, animal and human life.

12. On the initiative of the Secretary-General and of the Director-General of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, Mr. Edouard Saouma, the problem has received particular attention this year from the international community. But a solution to it has been blocked by insufficient mobilization of the necessary means and resources as well as by the emergence of other social and political problems, such as that of refugees, the seriousness of which was highlighted by the Second International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa, held at Geneva from 9 to 11 July of this year.

13. Such a concatenation of tragic circumstances requires, at the least, an overall review of the criteria for granting assistance and for programming action. Only in that way can we hope to alleviate, fairly soon, the most immediate effects of these scourges.

14. In the same context, the effective implementation of the Lagos Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Monrovia Strategy for the Economic Development of Africa, adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity [*OAU*] at its second extraordinary session, held at Lagos on 28 and 29 April 1980,[1] seems more than ever before to be the essential reference point for all those, be they Africans or not, who wish to bring an end to the spectre of underdevelopment in Africa.

15. During the second regular session this year of the Economic and Social Council, held at Geneva from 4 to 27 July, the particularly critical economic situation of the African continent was given priority consideration. My delegation, however, cannot hide its concern about the specific results of those discussions: the Council was not able even to adopt a simple declaration on the subject by consensus.

16. Clearly, given the lack of genuine, self-generated development, which alone can create the bases for true economic complementarity between developed and developing countries, it is always inadvisable to subscribe to actions that are not consistent and that, in fact, support an ideology of alleged economic freedom, of which, however, underdevelopment is unfortunately one of the fundamental elements.

17. Moreover, 1984 is the tenth anniversary of the adoption by the General Assembly of the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [*resolution 3281 (XXIX)*], an instrument of great scope which is rightly considered by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries as the indispensable complement to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

18. The new international economic order, for which that Charter laid the bases, seems to us to be the basic pivot around which should turn all policies that are truly aimed at improving the lot of many States and communities throughout the world. Seen in that light, the new international economic order is a moral imperative that can serve to organize the world's economy equitably and rationally.

19. To be sure, aware of the stakes, we have no illusion regarding the readiness of the developed countries to accept changes for the sake of justice, in existing situations which guarantee them power, domination and exploitation of the weakest countries. The rejection by certain countries of the launching of global negotiations irrefutably demonstrates the extent of the cynicism governing the acts of many powerful States designed to distract international opinion and to set up a smoke-screen against those who are determined to eliminate all types of suffering with which the peoples are faced today.

20. For our part, we believe that it is high time to establish true relations of solidarity in each country and on the international level. This is the price for the coming of peace, freedom and prosperity. These are the concerns which must determine the activities of the United Nations and of Member States and which guide the People's Republic of the Congo and the actions carried out by the Congolese Labour Party and its head, President Denis Sassou-Nguesso, to protect the interests of the various social strata of our country.

21. Our political objectives and our social practice are designed to make the Congolese people the master of its destiny and to assist it in acquiring the means which it now lacks to consolidate its political independence and to hasten its economic and cultural liberation.

22. Thanks to these commitments, the Congolese people today is able to exercise political power through the systems of the Party and the State, which have been democratically set up and inspired by the country itself in order to solve the problems on which its existence and the future of the country depend. It is in this context today that our people has achieved outstanding progress in the economic and sociocultural spheres.

23. On the economic level, our programme aims at the mastery and rational utilization of natural resources for the benefit of the people, a reorganization of the national territory, which was disorganized by the colonial system and its follow-up, the unification of the national territory through the building of a road network which can help revitalize the rural areas and ensure the complementarity that is so badly needed between the economic activities in the urban areas and in the countryside. We wish to improve the living conditions of the people by rationally organizing a system, based on the interests of the people, to ensure food self-sufficiency, which is an objective to be achieved by the year 2000, with, of course, the assistance of all those who, in the context of bilateral and multilateral co-operation, are ready to participate with us in building a free and prosperous nation in the Congo.

24. The aim of our social policy is to resolve the problem of unemployment by organizing a centralized and dynamic national economic system.

25. In the field of education, the democratization of the teaching system has resulted today in a 100 per cent enrolment rate, and now we require vigorous action in order to improve the quality of school education, to expand literacy programmes for adults and to integrate into national socio-economic sectors high-school and other students at the end of their training programmes.

26. Aware of the importance of these questions, we have established a climate of peace and harmony in the country favourable to ensuring the consolidation of unity and national construction. Thus, we shall be able to achieve the national solidarity and prosperity which our people needs in order to enjoy the fruits of its labour and to profit from the resources of its country.

27. These concerns are well known and their implementation has been verified by all those who follow the internal and foreign policy of the People's Republic of the Congo, and particularly by those of our friends and brothers who have followed the work of the third regular Congress of our Party.

28. It can be noted that, rather than a fragmented approach to the problems of mankind, we prefer an approach which looks at man as a whole in his natural environment and in the world and which makes it possible to envisage and implement global policies aimed at ensuring harmonious relations among Governments and peoples, for without such relationships it would be impossible to establish peace and freedom throughout the world.

29. In thus expressing our faith in solidarity and international co-operation built on an equitable and just basis, we, the people of the Congo, proclaim our conviction that peace and the conditions for maintaining peace deserve the better part of our energies and our resources.

30. The foreign policy of the People's Republic of the Congo as laid down by the Congolese Labour Party, inspired and championed by the President, Denis Sassou-Nguesso, bears ample witness to that. For my country has always had with all peace- and freedom-loving countries, regardless of socio-economic distinctions, relations based on mutual respect and a policy of mutual advantage. We are also involved in establishing and continuing, on the regional level, peaceful and good-neighbourly relations with other countries.

31. It is within this context that we see the efforts of the Congolese Government to restore peace and harmony to Chad. In fact, my Government has for several months now proposed bringing together at Brazzaville all of our Chad brothers, who for too long have been divided by a fratricidal struggle.

32. We sincerely appreciate the readiness which the various parties to the conflict have demonstrated up to now regarding the principle of their return to the fold, and we urge them to avoid any behaviour which would have discussion depend on prerequisites of no crucial importance.

33. From this rostrum we reaffirm the determination of the Congolese Government to do all in its power, with the valuable assistance of other Governments, and in particular those of central Africa, to ensure the success of the conference on Chad to be held at Brazzaville.

34. This is the place also to express the satisfaction of the Congolese Government at the announcement of the imminent withdrawal of the French and Libyan forces from Chad. That withdrawal of foreign forces is, in our view, a positive factor that may facilitate the process that will lead to reunion and reconciliation at Brazzaville.

35. Along similar lines, we have been following the situation in Western Sahara, which continues to deteriorate, despite the appeal made to Morocco and to the Frente POLISARIO[2] by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU at its nineteenth ordinary session, held at Addis Ababa from 6 to 12 June 1983.

36. In this regard, my delegation would like to express the hope that the treaty concluded on 13 August 1984 between the Kingdom of Morocco and the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya will in no way prejudge the outcome and legitimate rights of the Saharan people. We should like to take this occasion to appeal to the brotherly countries of the Maghreb to make a positive contribution to finding a just solution to the crisis in Western Sahara, based on the norms and principles of international law.

37. There is a close relationship between peace, détente and the right of peoples to self-determination. In this respect, we consider the admission of Brunei Darussalam as the 159th Member of the United Nations as an event that will bring us closer to the attainment of one of our most cherished ideals, that of universality. While warmly welcoming the admission of this new State to the group of nations, we should like to assure its people and leaders of the readiness of the Congo to co-operate with them.

38. In contrast to that encouraging event, the situation in Namibia presents a very gloomy picture. For a long time now we have been waiting with ever-growing impatience for the coming of freedom for the people of that country.

39. Even today, South Africa and some of its allies continue to set up all kinds of obstacles to the implementation of the United Nations plan of action for the independence of Namibia, as contained in Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which can be the only valid basis allowing for the accession of Namibia to national sovereignty without any subjective pre-conditions.

40. Cuba and Angola are two sovereign States and therefore we can in no way sanction an operation which would subordinate the implementation of the provisions of resolution 435 (1978) to the annulment of a freely concluded agreement between the two States Members of the United Nations, for that would seriously affect the principle of non-interference in the affairs of other States.

41. The sole request that we would make therefore to the members of the Western contact group, if that group still exists, is to return to the spirit and letter of resolution 435 (1978) in order finally to give the Namibian people justice.

42. The refusal of South Africa and of certain Western Powers to conform to the demands of resolution 435 (1978) and of other relevant decisions of the United Nations in fact hides their unspeakable plans.

43. The first aims at the exploitation and frenzied plundering of the natural resources of Namibia, a lucrative activity which well-known transnational corporations do not intend to give up, and thus they

are deliberately running counter to the provisions of Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia,[3] enacted on 27 September 1974 by the United Nations Council for Namibia, the legal authority for the territory.

44. The second motive is the policy of *apartheid*, which the South African Government intends not only to consolidate within South Africa itself but also to expand to Namibia and then to the rest of the world.

45. The welcome which some Western Governments gave to the South African Prime Minister when memorial services were being held commemorating the struggles against nazism confirms this acceptance of *apartheid* as a "respectable" doctrine by the Western Powers to which it owes its survival.

46. The policy of *apartheid* is merely another name for nazism and fascism, and this is no longer new to us. It is a crime against humanity. It has already been rejected as a shameful scar by international public opinion. Reacting to its inevitable isolation, the Government of Pretoria has simply contented itself up to now by adapting *apartheid* to give it the kind of countenance which it can call presentable. After the suicidal policy of bantustanization, which denies the majority black population the right to citizenship in the country, the minority power is now trying to divide the South African people by asking Indian and Coloured groups to sanction white power.

47. The racist Government of Pretoria knows perfectly well that it will never reap the fruits of its criminal policy. Not only has the electoral sham which it organized been largely boycotted by the Indian and Coloured communities, but the majority population has risen up, showing its determination to struggle regardless of the cost. The international community must step up its struggle against this régime, or history will one day reproach us for having tolerated it so long and so much.

48. The support which the People's Republic of the Congo lends to freedom fighters and to the front-line States is a constant factor in our foreign policy. Nevertheless, as is already stated in the Manifesto on Southern Africa, issued by the leaders of East and Central African States, meeting at Lusaka on 16 April 1969,[4] we do not rule out negotiations as long as the enemy also recognizes that they are necessary.

49. "The development of the revolutionary struggle on the spot is always complex, and the path to victory is tortuous", said President Denis Sassou-Nguesso at the opening of the third regular congress of the Congolese Labour Party. The head of the Congolese State added:

> "That is why we believe that the major diplomatic activity observed in recent times at the level of the front-line countries is naturally part of the process of the long and complex struggle which the peoples of southern Africa have been waging against the white minority régime in power in Pretoria. We are deeply convinced that Africa will not betray the African cause."

50. This identification of the Congolese position with the African cause justifies in many ways the active solidarity of the Congolese people with other peoples struggling in other regions of the world.

51. This applies to the Middle East, where the Congo reiterates its support for the Palestine Liberation Organization [*PLO*], which, we are certain, will overcome the passing difficulties which have arisen within it and will continue to defend the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people.

52. Certain Western Powers which are allies of Israel thought they could impose a "final solution" on the Palestinian problem by awkwardly interfering in Lebanon. The more than negative results of that operation show the inanity of solutions based on force and the correctness of the negotiated solution which the international community has always advocated.

53. In like manner, we assure the heroic and constantly victimized people of Nicaragua of all our sympathy, and we continue to believe that it is scarcely in terms of East-West rivalries that the problems of Central America can be explained. The struggle of the peoples of that region, like the struggle of the peoples of the Caribbean or of Latin America in general, is above all the result of the profoundly unjust economic and social conditions which some privileged persons supported from abroad have attempted to perpetuate to the detriment of the overwhelming majority of the population.

54. It is vital for everyone that the deep-rooted causes of those crises should be eliminated and that a climate of peace free from all threat of intervention or economic coercion, a climate essential to respect for the right of peoples freely to determine their future and to dispose of their resources, should be established in the Caribbean as well as in the Central American subregion.

55. If that principle were respected, peace would find a place in the Korean peninsula also and we would no longer witness the sad and continued division of the people of Korea, for whose benefit a process aimed at the reunification of the two parts of the country must be undertaken, eliminating a very serious source of tension in that part of the world.

56. As to the situation in the Indo-Chinese peninsula, my country unreservedly supports the desire for peace expressed so often by the Governments of Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea in order to end the state of belligerence which has been artificially maintained from outside. No one wants peace more than the Kampuchean people, who alone know the price that they have had to pay after the cruel tyranny of Pol Pot, whom some are actively seeking to return to power.

57. Finally, the Congolese delegation must mention the tragedy in the Persian Gulf, which day by day is making Iraq and Iran weaker. And yet, those two countries should derive from their history, their geography and their religion more reasons for unity and co-operation than for hatred and death. We urge them to end their hostilities, which in no way serve the immediate or long-term interests of their respective peoples.

58. A few moments ago, when we expressed the wish to see all resources of the spirit and of human knowledge placed at the service of ends other than death and destruction, we were obviously thinking mainly of the $800 billion which are spent every year to make weapons, fuel hotbeds of crisis and carry on the crazed arms race even in outer space.

59. Several years ago a great deal of hope was placed on the bilateral negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union. We encourage any effort that is likely to lead to complete disarmament under real and effective control.

60. With the end to the policy of détente clearly shown by the concern in Europe over the strengthening of the destructive potential in that continent, we must fear the consequences for the entire world of a prolonged deterioration in the relations between the blocs of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the Warsaw Pact.

61. The widespread distrust due to that state of tension characterized by the persistence and outbreak of localized conflicts is compounded by the trend to the proliferation of nuclear weapons, a trend supported by certain questionable theories on the possibility of a limited nuclear war.

62. In this area more than in others urgent action is required; and action means above all negotiation in order to bring about détente without waiting to reach an unlikely position of strength.

63. The responsibility incurred by the generation of this last quarter-century is all the more serious since it is borne by men who have the necessary means of improving the living conditions of all the inhabitants of the earth and who have rules of international conduct excluding the use of force as a means of settling disputes.

64. The essential function of the United Nations system is to ensure the realization of man's aspirations through these means and rules. Therefore, we should everywhere encourage those ideals that are likely to bring peoples closer together and ensure mutual understanding and the adoption of confidence-building measures.

65. The Congo's understanding of the establishment of a new information and communication order is based on this concept of an increasingly shrinking world, a world of solidarity. The policies and activities carried out in this connection in UNESCO, under the competent leadership of its Director-General, Mr. Amadou Mahtar M'Bow, enjoy the full support of my country. It is regrettable indeed that lately UNESCO should have been subjected to intolerable pressures. The universality of UNESCO and the at times impassioned tone of its debates do not, in our view, run counter to its basic commitment to be fully at the service of mankind. It is that faith in mankind that prevents us from losing hope in institutions such as UNESCO or the United Nations itself.

66. On the eve of the commemoration of the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations, one cannot fail to recall the curious fate of man today: prey to disorders of all kinds and victim of his own works. This anniversary of the Organization will—perhaps as an accident of history—coincide with the one hundredth anniversary of the Balkanization of Africa by the 1885 Berlin Act and the thirtieth anniversary of the Asian-African Conference, held at Bandung in 1955. The time has thus come for us Africans to take stock of what has been achieved by the OAU in its struggle for the total liberation of our continent, and for the rest of the world to assess the efforts that have been made in the search for the peace and well-being of peoples.

67. These various landmarks in the history of peoples should, among other things, lead the United Nations to ponder upon the future evolution of mankind. Such an approach to the international situation, including national concerns and actions for the benefit of mankind as a whole, should give food for thought to all those whose activities at the national and international levels are in flagrant contradiction with lofty statements of intent made in various places on questions of vital importance affecting mankind. We believe that it is necessary for attitudes, behaviour and actions everywhere in the world to be in keeping with the ideals of peace, freedom and prosperity without which the United Nations would be an institution without purpose.

68. But we all know that mankind still needs the United Nations—provided, of course, its actions in practice produce the beneficial effects and the positive impact peoples need to live in peace.

69. Mr. AL-THANI (Qatar) (*interpretation from Arabic*): It gives me great pleasure to extend to Mr. Lusaka our most cordial congratulations on his election to the presidency of the General Assembly at this session. We are confident that he is worthy of the high post entrusted to him and that he will undertake the responsibilities associated with it with all the sincerity and dedication the international community expects from him. We wish him personally continued success and we wish his friendly country continued progress and prosperity.

70. I am also pleased to extend our sincere thanks and gratitude to his predecessor, Mr. Illueca, who presided over the General Assembly at the thirty-eighth session with the competence and objectivity deserving of the praise of all Member States.

71. I cannot fail to express, on behalf of my delegation, our great appreciation and thanks to the Secretary-General for the efforts he has made and continues to make in the service of the international community, in keeping with his belief in the mission and the principles of the United Nations. We wish him continued success in the realization of the great aspirations the international community attaches to the institution he oversees.

72. Our belief in the United Nations as an international Organization dedicated to peace becomes greater day by day and is renewed whenever a new Member joins its ranks, thus reaffirming our conviction that the United Nations fulfils a strong desire among all peoples and represents for them a precious dream for the realization of which all have striven through their membership of it. In this regard, the State of Qatar extends a warm welcome to Brunei Darussalam on the occasion of its admission to the Organization as an active and effective Member which, together with the other States Members, will contribute to the prosperity of the world. We also express our pleasure at the historical and cultural ties between our two countries and we hope they will continue and develop.

73. The deteriorating and explosive political situation throughout the world is evidence of the inability of the United Nations to establish international peace and of its failure to find solutions to the difficult problems that have been before it for a long time. At the same time, we do not deny the many sincere efforts that the Organization has undertaken and continues to undertake to find solutions to these problems.

74. We share the Secretary-General's analysis of this inability as a logical result of the betrayal by the super-Powers of the goals and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, which in turn has made the Organization incapable of implementing the necessary measures for solving these problems and at the same time encourages those States in their

orbits and under their protection to disregard all laws and violate all international principles. Perhaps the best example of this is Israel's defiance of all humanitarian principles and the fact that its protectors and defenders always fabricate excuses and justifications for it.

75. We must all work together to safeguard the Charter of the United Nations and not permit it to be violated by any party. It is incumbent on all Members of the United Nations to respect the Charter and to commit themselves to its defence, considering it the document that unites them in this international institution. We must all raise the level of our actions and feel pride in being members of this international community for the security and stability of which we all strive, and not follow our whims or serve our narrow, selfish interests, which would result in the destruction of the world in which we live.

76. The hopes and aspirations of the international community for the establishment of peace and harmony in place of aggressive confrontations, with their dangerous consequences, make it essential that justice prevail in relations among the members of the international community and that causes of conflicts be dealt with.

77. In this respect, it is the view of my delegation that the Palestinian question, which has been before the Organization since its foundation, cannot be solved and no solution can be implemented without the restoration of all the occupied Arab territories, including Holy Jerusalem, and recognition of the right of the Palestinian people to return to their homeland and to establish an independent State on their national territory.

78. The Arab position has always been a positive one, aimed at finding a peaceful, just and comprehensive solution to this question. The latest Arab initiative in this regard is contained in the Final Declaration of the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference, adopted at Fez on 9 September 1982.[5] That initiative was met with obstinacy and rejected by Israel, which refuses to understand anything but the policy of the *fait accompli*.

79. Not satisfied with rejecting all international resolutions and honest initiatives, Israel continues its aggression, planting on Arab territories settlements that all agree are illegal and an obstacle to a peaceful solution.

80. The international community must therefore reject these illegal practices and must put an end to the usurpation of the territories of others through the settlement policy pursued by Israel, in defiance of international public opinion, and to the imposition of Israel's will on the basis not of right but of force and coercion.

81. The Israeli enemy continued its aggression against our Arab nation and expanded the circle of this aggression when it invaded fraternal Arab Lebanon in 1982. It has maintained its occupation of the southern part of that peaceful country and continued its disgraceful practices in violation of the Geneva agreements and international treaties.

82. In the view of my delegation, it is the duty of the international community to adopt all the necessary measures to ensure immediate and unconditional Israeli withdrawal from southern Lebanon and to put an end to those practices which contradict international treaties and agreements. Israeli withdrawal from southern Lebanon is the primary precondition of the success of the Lebanese Government's effort to restore stability and security in all regions of the country and to assert its authority throughout Lebanese territory, as is the right of every Government of a sovereign State.

83. The war which has been raging for more than four years between the Republic of Iraq and the Islamic Republic of Iran, two Muslim neighbours, constitutes for us a source of continuing and serious concern. Qatar, together with its fraternal States in the Gulf Co-operation Council, has made every possible effort to find a solution to this conflict. We hope that this catastrophe will soon end and that peace will prevail between the two fraternal States. We welcome the response of the Republic of Iraq to the international pleas and mediation efforts aimed at ending this war. We hope that the Islamic Republic of Iran will respond to those pleas and that good and reason will prevail, in the interest of the peoples of the two countries, the security of the region and world peace. We hope, too, that all disputes will be settled through dialogue and the exchange of views rather than through war and bloodshed.

84. With regard to the security of the Arab Gulf region, Qatar firmly believes that to be the responsibility of the States of the region alone and that the means of achieving this will be readily available once the big Powers refrain from interfering in their affairs. Based on this belief, the six Arab Gulf States have initiated among them political, economic and security integration and co-ordination, within the framework of the Gulf Co-operation Council. This undertaking constitutes clear evidence of the desire of the member States of the Council that peace and prosperity should continue to be the symbols and goals of the Council.

85. The State of Qatar views with increased concern the continuing presence of Soviet forces on the territory of Afghanistan. It sincerely hopes that the Soviet Union will respond positively to international appeals and initiatives and withdraw its forces from Afghanistan, leaving the Afghan people freedom to choose its political régime and determine its own future.

86. The current situation in the African continent constitutes one of our major concerns. We sincerely hope that proper solutions will be found in the near future so as to end the suffering of the peoples living in regions where tensions prevail. My country reaffirms its support for and solidarity with the Namibian people in their just struggle under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization [*SWAPO*] and with the national majority in South Africa in their courageous struggle against the *apartheid* policies practised by the ruling racist white minority. In line with its beliefs and its ties with and concern for Africa, the State of Qatar took part in the Conference of Arab Solidarity with the Struggle for Liberation in Southern Africa, held at Tunis from 7 to 9 August 1984.

87. We call on all States that cherish peace and justice, particularly the major Powers on whose support South Africa depends, to use every means available to put pressure on the South African Government and prevail upon it to respond positively to international efforts aimed at bringing about a just and comprehensive settlement of this situation and to block the attempts of the South African

Government to prevent a peaceful solution in that vital part of the world.

88. With regard to the Korean peninsula, the State of Qatar hopes that North Korea and South Korea will be able to find a peaceful solution to their problem through direct negotiations, without outside interference.

89. The importance of the discussion in this international body of the crisis in the world economy increases with every passing year. This has been particularly true since the beginning of the present decade. Developing countries continue to confront an economic recession, the effects of which are reflected in their inability to increase economic growth to the minimum level required to achieve their planning goals. A large number of the less developed countries continue to face the spectres of poverty, hunger and the deterioration of their production sectors.

90. At the present time, the international community is facing an economic situation whose effects will not be confined within the borders of the developing countries. On the contrary, the whole world will be affected by its negative influences. This situation constitutes a constant threat to international peace and security and will create additional international problems, which we shall be forced to confront and to spend time and resources resolving.

91. For all these reasons, the State of Qatar believes that the international community as a whole must realize the need to concentrate increased efforts on removing the factors that have brought about this international economic crisis and, in particular, the injustice inflicted on the developing countries by the current imbalance in the world economic situation. This awareness of the danger posed by the crisis must be translated into immediate and practical steps first to alleviate and finally to resolve the economic crisis.

92. The developed countries must adopt policies which encourage imports from the developing countries. The developed countries must also work to reduce tariff and other barriers against these imports, and also give increased attention to stabilizing the international monetary system.

93. States, particularly major industrial States, must also pay greater attention to the effects that their domestic economic policies and the decisions they adopt concerning external economic and commercial relations, particularly with the developing countries, have on the international economy.

94. It has now become obvious to the international community that the rise in interest rates on the United States dollar has led to burdening the developing countries with additional interest payments on their debts, which in turn creates more imbalances in their balance of payments, raising rates of inflation and confronting these countries, especially the less developed ones, with continuing crises in all sectors.

95. The problems of the international economy today are obvious and have previously been discussed and talked about in various international bodies. What is important at this time is to institute the corrective measures that will establish a just and stable international economic order.

96. The State of Qatar is of the view that global negotiations must get under way, and it considers these negotiations to be the framework through which a discussion of the major problems could take place and appropriate solutions arrived at. The various international organizations have not established a comprehensive programme for achieving that goal. The sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held at Belgrade from 6 June to 2 July 1983, adjourned without adopting effective decisions regarding the major problems facing the economies and international trade with developing countries.

97. Therefore, the State of Qatar believes that a review should be undertaken of the resources of these organizations and an assessment made of their ability to resolve these crises and problems so that the international community may be spared any catastrophes.

98. Mr. TOLENTINO (Philippines): Allow me to congratulate the President on his election to chair the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. His reputation as a skilled diplomat and a statesman of wise judgement assures us of the sober yet dynamic leadership that we need in the Assembly to accomplish our tasks.

99. We should all be sadly remiss if we failed to commend the Secretary-General on his endeavours in the cause of peace and on his report on the work of the Organization [*A/39/1*]. The Secretary-General is both a staunch defender and a stern critic of the United Nations. In performing that important and necessary task he has put all of us in his debt.

100. The Philippines warmly welcomes Brunei Darussalam as the 159th Member of the United Nations. The historic ties between Brunei and the Philippines are centuries old, and these have found modern reaffirmation in their active partnership in the Association of South-East Asian Nations [*ASEAN*], where they share common goals, aspirations and perceptions of regional peace, security and stability with the other members of ASEAN.

101. I speak today at the same rostrum where my illustrious predecessor, Mr. Carlos P. Romulo, on many occasions delivered, with great eloquence and uncommon wit, the Philippine policy statements. Mr. Romulo has sought retirement after a long public life in distinguished service to his country and people and to humanity, as a passionate advocate of the United Nations, sharing deeply its resolve to "save succeeding generations from the scourge of war". We all miss Mr. Romulo at these sessions of the Assembly, but we find comfort in the thought that we can still avail ourselves of the gems of wisdom that he has left in the annals of this international body.

Mr. Lusaka (Zambia) took the Chair.

102. Of the numerous photographs taken by the astronauts from outer space, there is one that is firmly impressed on our minds. It is the picture of the earth, taken from hundreds of thousands of miles away, showing a globe of ethereal quality and breathtaking beauty, suspended in space, calm, serene and peaceful. But as we look around us we are confronted by the chilling realization that we live in a world riven by suspicion and distrust, a world obsessed by the frenzied competition to accumulate weapons of mass destruction, a world where peace is constantly challenged by the overwhelming drive to dominate, to impose one's superior will on weaker parties, and to use both guile and armed strength to achieve such ends.

103. Indeed, the peace of the world today hangs in a fragile balance; the world is on the brink of a self-

imposed holocaust of dimensions so vast it could erase human civilization from the face of the earth.

104. Let me turn to a most vital issue of our time. The subject of nuclear arms and their control has for too long been cluttered with the doctrines, concepts and esoteric jargon of the war-room strategist and nuclear-arms specialist. It is time for us to sweep all these aside and get down to the elementary facts which all of us can understand.

105. First, nuclear weapons do not confer absolute security, and accumulating more and more of them diminishes security. Secondly, there can be no limited nuclear war. Once nuclear weapons are used, their use will escalate into a full nuclear exchange that could spell the death of all of us. The profound global climatic changes following the onset of the nuclear night, as both Soviet and American scientists have recently described it, will not spare even those of us outside the immediate areas of nuclear blast and radiation. Thirdly, human civilization as we know it will be effectively exterminated.

106. Our generation has coined a word to describe the deliberate destruction of a group of people—"genocide". What word shall we use to describe the extermination of the entire human race? Shall we call it "humanicide"? Will the nuclear super-Powers in the end be responsible for this absolute, this final crime against humanity? Shall they be the ultimate perpetrators of "humanicide"?

107. The nuclear Powers have among them more than enough of the instruments of nuclear death to extinguish the human race. By the same token, they have in their hands the power and the means to ensure the survival of human civilization on earth. The options are clear to all of us.

108. Surely, it should not be impossible for the nuclear Powers to see that, for man to survive, there can be only one possible course: we must utilize to the fullest extent the available means of negotiation and diplomacy to end the nuclear-arms race and to reduce and eventually eliminate nuclear weapons.

109. In the light of recent statements of the leaders of the super-Powers, we are encouraged by the possibility of new initiatives emanating from them that could lead to resumption of negotiations.

110. All over the world the flash-points of danger of last year and prior years continue to fuel global unrest and instability. Foreign troops continue to occupy Kampuchea, imposing on its people the terrors of war and economic deprivation and sending thousands of them desperately to seek refuge in other lands. My delegation hopes that the repeated calls of the international community for the total withdrawal of all foreign armed forces from Kampuchea and a comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean problem will finally be heeded by the parties concerned. The Philippines will continue to work for the ultimate triumph of the principle of self-determination in Kampuchea.

111. Thousands of people have died and are dying violently each year in Afghanistan—people trapped in a savage war between foreign military occupiers and the Afghan fighters who seek to restore their national independence and sovereignty. The Philippines will continue to support the efforts of the Secretary-General to achieve a peaceful political solution to the problem of Afghanistan.

112. We should guard against the illusion that stability has been achieved in the Middle East. Until the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination is accepted, the Middle East will remain a tinder-box posing serious threats not just to regional peace but also to the peace of the entire international community. We therefore urge renewed discussions on the modalities for the establishment of a Palestinian State.

113. Success continues to elude the efforts of several States to bring to an end the dangerous conflict between Iran and Iraq. My delegation will fully support conciliatory efforts to bring peace and stability to the Gulf, a region of sensitive importance to many States where protracted war between two countries heightens the risk of escalated violence and enlargement of the area of conflict.

114. The inherent evil of *apartheid* continues to fuel violence in South Africa and instability in that part of the African continent. South Africa's new Constitution, which purports to liberalize its policy of racial separation, merely deepens the chasm between the black majority and the white minority. Until the vast majority of the disenfranchised population is made a full part of the political process, *apartheid* will remain.

115. The people of Namibia, long deprived of their independence, continue to pursue their struggle for national liberation. My delegation hopes to see the implementation of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia, so that the Namibian people can finally begin the task of building a nation and a viable economy which can contribute to peace and progress in southern Africa.

116. The internecine conflicts in Central America have destabilized a once peaceful and prosperous region of the world, exacting a grim toll, through armed violence, in lives lost and properties destroyed. My delegation, sensitive to our close historic and cultural ties to the countries of Central America, fully supports the initiatives of the Contadora Group for the restoration of peace and stability in that region.

117. Tensions persist in the Korean peninsula. My delegation takes a positive posture on the initiatives undertaken by both sides that could lead to a peaceful reunification of the Korean peninsula. The interests of world peace and security would be served if North and South Korea could return to the negotiating table. In keeping with the principle of universality, they could, if they so desired, become Members of the United Nations without prejudice to reunification.

118. A cause of future conflict lies at the bottom of the sea. In the past, wars have been fought over mineral deposits on land. The fabulous abundance of polymetallic nodules in the deep sea-bed—the future source of manganese, cobalt, copper and nickel—could trigger dangerous conflicts and confrontations, unless the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea[6] and the régime set out in the Convention for the exploration and exploitation of the resources of the deep sea-bed in the international area are implemented and respected by all.

119. We note with concern, therefore, the Provisional Understanding regarding Deep Sea-Bed Matters concluded at Geneva on 3 August 1984 by eight industrialized countries [*see A/39/647, para. 84*]. In our view, the agreement is contrary to the letter and the spirit of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea.

120. The Philippines has ratified that Convention and my delegation earnestly urges others to do the same so that it may come into force very soon.

121. The dismal picture of the world today is becoming even gloomier and more tragic because of the increasing economic inequalities among nations and peoples. The consequence is the uncontained deterioration of conditions in the poorer countries of the world. There can be no real peace without economic security.

122. Peace, as understood by small and poor countries and their peoples, means the satisfaction of the basic needs of man; it means the preservation and sustenance of human life and the improvement of its quality. Since the United Nations is a vital instrument for peace, it must have the development of humanity at the very heart of its activities.

123. It is in the interest of all countries—developed and developing—that global economic recovery should be sustained in a manner which would effectively halt the massive debilitating effects of recession on international growth and stability. The early signs of economic recovery, however, have not made the desired impact on the development efforts of small and poor countries. On the contrary, for many of them their efforts at development have been even more difficult, if not altogether frustrated.

124. For economic recovery to foster global peace and security, continuous efforts should be undertaken towards a comprehensive and equitable solution of the development problems of many countries. To attain this objective, the position of the developing countries in such areas as international trade, global industrialization, money and finance, food and agriculture, and energy should be taken fully into account.

125. The requirements of the developing countries in international trade would include, among others, first, the liberalization of trade and the reduction if not elimination of non-tariff barriers, such as quotas, seasonal restrictions, licensing requirements, variable levies and anti-dumping regulations; and, secondly, the elimination of the so-called voluntary export restraint schemes which are undertaken on a bilateral and discriminatory basis outside the principles and rules of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

126. Developing countries need to augment their industrial output and to increase their share in total world industrial production to support the self-reliant growth of their economies. But in order for them to be able to do so, they should be provided with all the needed assistance, including the transfer of technology. In the final analysis, the meaning of industrialization is to contribute to the eradication of endemic poverty in the developing world.

127. In many developing countries the problems of hunger and malnutrition cannot be adequately addressed because of their balance-of-payments difficulties and mounting external debts. This suggests that current international efforts to relieve food scarcity in many areas of the world should be expanded. The impediments to food sufficiency and its availability on a wider basis, including the problems of production and distribution, should receive intensive scrutiny.

128. The international monetary and financial system should be made increasingly responsive to the needs and interests of developing countries. The reform of the system should be supportive of a balanced and equitable development of the world economy and accelerated development of developing countries. It should also encourage the flow of official development assistance and increase regional development finance in response to the growing needs of developing countries. Furthermore, the reforms should focus on the resolution of the external debt problems of developing countries, now estimated to be in excess of $550 billion.

129. Food and energy are interrelated. Every increase in the price of energy has adverse repercussions on the costs of production and distribution of food. The need to industrialize and to produce adequate food supplies will require an increase in energy supplies. If, however, the costs of access to energy supplies are prohibitive, the developing countries would be even more seriously handicapped in their development programmes and projects.

130. After 39 years of the United Nations, the picture of the world today seems indeed bleak and discouraging. The prevalence of pockets of war in many corners of the world, of unprovoked acts of aggression by more powerful nations against weaker nations, of unabated racial discrimination, of the growing economic imbalance between the rich and the poor countries of the world with the resulting social inequalities and of the spreading hunger and misery among large sections of the earth's population—all that and more are the hard realities we must face.

131. Many independent observers feel that, tested in the light of its aims and the principles embodied in its Charter, the United Nations has failed, and that it seems unable to accomplish the objectives for which it was founded. This may not be entirely correct or true, but it should make us take a hard second look at the Charter itself, because the perceived inadequacies of the world Organization may actually spring from factors inherent in its own constitution.

132. We must not allow initiatives to review the Charter to languish from lack of support. We should devote our most vigorous and sustained efforts to make the Organization a more effective instrument for the attainment of its avowed objectives.

133. The United Nations, after all, is the only remaining hope of mankind for universal peace and security. It is man's last best hope to free himself from hunger and fear. In your own words, Mr. President, "the world would become a more dangerous place without the United Nations" [*1st meeting, para. 96*]. Accordingly, our solemn duty is to preserve and strengthen the world Organization while the opportunity exists and while time may still be on our side. That is the challenge confronting us today.

134. Mr. GOMA (Zambia): My first duty on this occasion, Sir, is to thank sincerely all States Members represented here for the great honour they have bestowed on Zambia by unanimously electing you President of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. I do so on behalf of the President of the Republic of Zambia, Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, and all my compatriots for whom this event has special significance and historic importance, since it also coincides with our country's twentieth anniversary of national independence and membership of the United Nations.

135. We are proud of you, Mr. President, and we are confident that you will discharge the important functions of your high office to the full satisfaction of

the General Assembly. May your leadership ensure that the outcome of this session will strengthen the collective efforts of mankind to bring about a better world.

136. Allow me now to pay tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Jorge Illueca, President of the Republic of Panama, for guiding the General Assembly over the past year with great skill and diplomatic acumen. My tribute goes also to the Secretary-General for his dedication to the Organization and commitment to the cause of freedom, justice and peace, as exemplified by his untiring efforts in seeking solutions to the various problems facing mankind.

137. Like many colleagues and others who have spoken before me, I wish to convey our congratulations to Brunei Darussalam on its accession to independence and admission to the United Nations. We look forward to working closely with this newly independent State.

138. This session of the General Assembly is meeting on the eve of the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations. Looking back, the world has changed a great deal in the past 39 years. Empires have fallen and the international community has expanded with the emergence of new nations. In this connection, the United Nations has certainly played a decisive role in the decolonization struggle. There have been spectacular advances in science and technology which have done much to improve the lot of many people. Here, too, and in other ways, a great deal has been accomplished by the United Nations system for the betterment of the human condition. However, in spite of the enormous advances that have been made on so many fronts to make the world a better one in the past 39 years, it is regrettable that we are, perhaps inevitably, left with so many unresolved problems, old and new, as well as a sense of disillusionment at the failure to achieve many of the great aims and objectives of the United Nations. Thus, the road we have travelled so far is littered more with debris of discord than milestones of concord.

139. We now have two Power blocs engaged in a dangerous arms race, in terms of both nuclear and conventional weapons. Nuclear weapons, by their quantity and destructive power, are capable of annihilating not only all that mankind has developed and constructed through thousands of years of effort, but even mankind itself. The total stockpiles of weapons today in the world Power blocs are maintained at levels of destructive power far greater than is justified by any rational military purpose. As has been said by others:

> "overarming is not only an expression of the mutual distrust which is advanced to justify it, but it accentuates the trend towards division of the world into spheres of influence and leads to military, economic, [political] and cultural interference in the lives of others; and it diverts enormous resources from the satisfaction of societies' urgent needs"

for development and progress.

140. The menace to the survival of mankind posed by the existence, further development and sophistication of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction can only be contained if real progress is made towards disarmament under effective international control. In this context, we deplore the deep-seated mistrust existing particularly between the two super-Powers, which not only have failed to conclude any bilateral agreements in recent times but have, in fact, virtually ceased to talk to each other on such important issues as intermediate-range nuclear forces and strategic arms reduction.

141. The General Assembly should, therefore, spare no effort to urge the resumption of meaningful dialogue and negotiations between the Soviet Union and the United States in the interest of world peace and security. It is important and urgent that there should be a relaxation of tension and improvement in the relations between the two super-Powers, as indeed in the relations among all other States. The current situation, where dialogue and negotiations have been replaced by heightened tension, resentment, mutual recrimination and deep-seated suspicion, does not augur well for world peace and security. A simple misunderstanding of the motive of one by the other could spell doom for mankind.

142. One way of halting the nuclear-arms race that has been advocated and that we support is through a freeze on the development, production, stockpiling and deployment of nuclear weapons. This effort must be accompanied by a speedy finalization of a comprehensive treaty banning nuclear-weapon tests. There should also be a guarantee by all nuclear-weapon States not to attack or threaten to attack with nuclear weapons non-nuclear-weapon States. It is imperative that nuclear disarmament be aggressively pursued by the international community.

143. The question of conventional weapons must equally be seriously addressed. These weapons are in everyday use in many parts of the globe, especially in the third world. Their use since the end of the Second World War has accounted for millions of deaths and incalculable destruction of property. There has also been continued use of chemical weapons, despite the fact that these were outlawed by the 1925 Geneva Protocol.[7] Serious efforts must be made to stop the production and spread of these types of weapons.

144. There are other world-wide challenges. The current world economic outlook is certainly worse than ever before. The debt burden has become unbearable for most countries, particularly in the developing world. Entire populations are still living in absolute indigence, and hunger is the daily lot of millions of human beings. To these problems must be added the persistence of certain regional conflicts and of various situations that are a grave denial of the most fundamental values, such as continuing reprehensible violations of human rights and the freedom of peoples; profound inequalities that continue to divide individuals and societies; and marked injustices in certain aspects of international relations.

145. Ten years have now passed since the General Assembly called for the establishment of a new international economic order [*resolutions 3201(S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)*] which would be equitable, just and fair to all nations. However, what we have witnessed over the period is the erosion of multilateralism in international economic relations. Instead of creating a new framework within which all countries will be able to develop their resources and enjoy the economic and social benefits of that development, some industrialized countries have chosen to isolate themselves from the rest of the world. They have done so because they want all international economic relations to be conducted in a manner that will perpetuate their economic superiority and enable them to

continue to exploit the natural resources of other countries. We cannot accept this.

146. We are capable, within the framework of the United Nations, of negotiating on a wide spectrum of economic issues and thereby implementing our resolve to establish a new international economic order. There can be no question that all our economies are now more interdependent and complementary than they have been before. We should not lose sight of the fact that any economic recovery in certain parts of the world will not last unless it is extended to other corners of the earth.

147. Let us, therefore, summon the necessary political courage and launch the stalled global negotiations on international economic co-operation for development and create better economic and social conditions for all mankind. This is something we should have done four years ago, and time is running out. Hence, it is the hope of my delegation that the negotiations can be launched without any further delay.

148. The economic problems of Africa are particularly severe and complex. They are, in part, a result of past colonial exploitation and underdevelopment and, of late, of natural causes like desertification and persistent droughts, as well as of deteriorating international economic relations. Thirty-four countries in Africa, including Zambia, are currently affected by drought. The long spells of dry weather and the concomitant lowering of the water table are threatening the survival of man, fauna and flora in certain parts of Africa.

149. The Secretary-General visited a number of African States during the past year. As a result of his visits, he has highlighted the serious economic and social problems in Africa by observing that "the economic survival of many countries in Africa is now at stake. Unless the international community responds urgently and adequately, there will be serious consequences, not only for Africa, but for the whole world".[8] We fully support the Secretary-General's call for urgent international assistance to those African countries and peoples now afflicted by drought.

150. We are cognizant of the fact that real solutions to our economic problems lie in adopting long-term measures. To this end, African Governments have long recognized that the primary responsibility for the development of their economies rests with them. However, they need the assistance of the international community urgently to attain this goal.

151. As I have already indicated, the persistence of regional conflicts equally provokes grave international concern. We must continue with the efforts to find lasting solutions to such conflicts, in the interest of international peace and security. Let me now briefly reiterate Zambia's position in respect of some of them.

152. In regard to the conflicts in Afghanistan and Kampuchea, we continue to believe that the solution lies in a political settlement in each case based on the immediate withdrawal of all foreign forces from those two countries; respect for their sovereignty, national independence, territorial integrity and non-aligned character; the right of the people to choose their own economic, political and social systems without outside intervention or coercion; and the right of refugees to return to their homes in safety and honour.

153. In the Korean peninsula, the international community should expend every effort to break the stalemate and prevent the permanent division of Korea. We once again call for the reunification of Korea on the basis of the principles embodied in the South-North Joint Communiqué of 4 July 1972.[9]

154. Zambia has constantly advocated an immediate end to the war between Iran and Iraq. We have, equally, expressed concern at the possibility of that conflict widening. The latest developments have indeed shown clearly that that war has the potential to draw in the neighbouring States and other Powers. We, therefore, again urge the two parties to the conflict to put an immediate end to it. It should be possible for them to secure a just and honourable settlement of the conflict, through negotiations, as urged upon them by various international bodies and peace missions.

155. On the question of Cyprus, Zambia supports the ongoing efforts of the Secretary-General designed to assist the parties to resolve the conflict. We hope that they will fully co-operate with him with a view to finding a just and lasting solution.

156. The situation in Central America remains gloomy despite the best efforts of the Contadora Group to bring about peace in the area. There is need, therefore, for a serious demonstration of genuine political will in support of the peace initiative and of the process of dialogue and negotiations by all those concerned, as envisaged in Security Council resolution 530 (1983). We reaffirm our support for the Contadora peace process.

157. Zambia deplores the escalation of East-West rivalry in and around the Indian Ocean in spite of the Declaration on the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace, adopted by the General Assembly in 1971 [*resolution 2832 (XXVI)*], that seeks to preserve the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace. There is urgent need to make progress on this matter so as to give effect to the Declaration. Accordingly, we urge the countries that have stood in the way of the Conference on the Indian Ocean, to be held at Colombo, to reconsider their positions so that it can now take place in 1985.

158. The conflict in the Middle East continues to claim countless numbers of innocent lives. As has been repeatedly stated by the international community, the core of the Middle East conflict is the question of Palestine. Unless and until the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people are recognized, there can be no just and lasting settlement to the conflict.

159. The United Nations has adopted numerous resolutions on the Middle East which, if implemented, would have brought peace to the region a long time ago. Recent events in that region have demonstrated more than ever before that the problem can be resolved only through a comprehensive peace initiative involving all parties concerned, including the PLO, which is the authentic representative of the Palestinian people. To this end, my delegation regrets that the demands of the international community for an international conference on the Middle East involving all parties concerned have continued to be frustrated by Israel and the United States. We urge those countries to reconsider their position in this regard.

160. Zambia will continue fully to support the Palestinian people, under the leadership of the PLO, in their just struggle for the exercise of their inalien-

able rights and the establishment of a State of their own in Palestine. We shall also continue to demand immediate and unconditional Israeli withdrawal from all Arab lands occupied since 1967.

161. The situation in southern Africa continues to pose a serious threat to regional as well as international peace and security. The major issues which bedevil that region are well known and, as I stressed in my address to the Assembly last year, at the thirty-eighth session [*12th meeting*], all of them have been brought about, and are kept alive, by the *apartheid* régime of South Africa.

162. True, there have been a number of developments in the region in the last year. South Africa sought to impress upon the world that it had undergone a change of heart, and took initiatives that, at face value, presented it as a peace-seeker and a peace-maker. However, the reality is that those developments have not introduced any fundamental change at all and have left intact the root cause of the problems of southern Africa, namely, the *apartheid* policy of South Africa. What we have seen and are witnessing is a calculated charade aimed at protecting and entrenching *apartheid*. South Africa hopes to buy time to entrench even further its *apartheid* policies and practices in the country.

163. Thus, *apartheid* and minority rule persist in South Africa, Namibia still remains occupied by South Africa, in defiance of the will and decisions of the international community, and South Africa's policy of destabilization of neighbouring and other independent States in the region is continuing, even if the tactics have changed. There is, therefore, no basis for any change in the international community's posture *vis-à-vis* the situation in southern Africa. The international campaign for the isolation of South Africa and all other measures advocated earlier by the General Assembly must continue for as long as there is no positive change in the thinking of the Pretoria régime on the question of *apartheid* and as long as there is no concrete progress in relation to the fundamental causes of the conflict in southern Africa. Contacts between South Africa and neighbouring States are necessary for geographical reasons; or when aimed at resolving specific problems which have been created by South Africa; or because of the understandable economic dependence of such countries on South Africa. But such contacts cannot be used to justify attempts to break, or refusal to join in, the international isolation of the *apartheid* régime by others.

164. Spokesmen for South Africa's *apartheid* system and those who support and enforce it frequently appeal directly to Christianity and Western civilization to justify their actions. They fear change and claim to be doing their duty to defend Western Christian civilization and values against a so-called communist onslaught in southern Africa, and that the black majority's struggle against *apartheid* and minority rule is a battle between Christianity and Western civilization on the one hand and communism on the other. But, we may ask, can the oppression, exploitation and dehumanization of a people—God's people—be considered and accepted as Christian? How can we avoid the conclusion that oppression, exploitation and denial of fundamental rights to the majority in South Africa are sanctioned by what amounts to blasphemy? What is the response of the Church to this direct challenge to its integrity? Can policies and practices which do not protect the sanctity of the family, individual liberty, maximum freedom of choice and equal treatment of all the citizens of a country, regardless of race—policies and practices such as are embraced by the obnoxious *apartheid* system of South Africa—be considered and accepted as reflecting Western civilization and values? If not, how does the West, which has participated in the transfer of technology to South Africa and invested heavily in its *apartheid* economy, ease its conscience? Can it escape the charge that it is an accomplice in this tragic situation?

165. Early this month we witnessed a major constitutional fraud in South Africa. The so-called new constitutional dispensation, which has brought about a tricameral Parliament that excludes the black majority, is in fact a most reprehensible act of denationalization of the black majority of South Africa. By this, the Pretoria régime is in fact saying that the black people do not belong to South Africa and therefore cannot participate in the political life of that country. As far as the Pretoria régime is concerned, the black people of South Africa belong and must be forcibly removed to the so-called bantustans, or racially segregated homelands.

166. How can the international community stand by and watch a whole people being told that they are no longer citizens of their own country? How can the friends of South Africa who profess freedom and justice stand by and watch a whole people denationalized in the name of Western civilization and Christianity? In fact, by their pronouncements some Western countries have unwittingly welcomed the denationalization of the black people of South Africa. We deplore this posture.

167. Zambia calls upon the General Assembly to reaffirm its rejection of the new constitutional set-up in South Africa. It does not at all constitute a step in the right direction, as some apologists for the racist régime claim. It is a retrogressive step that simply further entrenches *apartheid*.

168. We commend the overwhelming majority of the Coloured people and those of Asian origin in South Africa for rejecting the sham Constitution. They clearly realize that the attempted fragmentation of South African society along racial and ethnic lines, through a bogus Constitution, spells doom for their country as a whole. They also realize that the incorporation of their communities as appendages of the *apartheid* legislative system is a fraud because it does not give them real power.

169. This certainly is the time for all the oppressed people and the enlightened among the white community in South Africa to unite and wage an even more determined struggle for the eradication of *apartheid* and minority rule in their country. This is the time for them to rally behind their national liberation movement, the African National Congress of South Africa [*ANC*], and say "no" to the attempts by the Pretoria régime to make South Africa a country for whites only. They must fight against the dismemberment of their country. They must not allow any divisions in their ranks, as this is what the *apartheid* régime wants to see happen.

170. Zambia remains steadfast in its strong condemnation of *apartheid* and in its principled support for the ANC in the struggle to free South Africa from the chains of *apartheid* and minority rule.

171. The peace, security and independence of African countries in the neighbourhood of South Africa

are seriously endangered by the growing military power of that country and its policy of destabilization. The *apartheid* régime appears to have concluded that its own safety depends on neighbouring States being not only economically dependent on South Africa but also internally divided and, if necessary, in turmoil. The methods used have engendered a war psychosis which has the effect of distorting social and economic priorities. Thus, resources are shifted from urgently needed development projects to defence and the limitation of incursions by the South African Defence Force or the activities of its armed allies.

172. All independent States in the neighbourhood of South Africa are vulnerable to that country's aggression. But there are two States which are currently victims of such aggression and urgently need concrete support from and the solidarity of the entire international community. The South African forces are still occupying parts of Angola. Lesotho is faced with economic strangulation. We once again call upon all those countries that have leverage on South Africa to use their influence and persuade that country's régime to cease all acts of aggression and destabilization against its neighbours, and particularly against the two victim States. We need peace and stability very badly in southern Africa, for it is under conditions of peace and stability that national and regional development can be carried out most effectively there.

173. With regard to Namibia, Zambia regrets the fact that Security Council resolution 435 (1978) has not yet been implemented. SWAPO has continued to make commendable efforts to ensure the implementation of this resolution without any further delay. During the past year, SWAPO's willingness to talk to South Africa in order to resolve differences and facilitate the implementation of the resolution resulted in meetings at Lusaka and in Cape Verde. These meetings have clearly shown that South Africa is still intent on clinging to Namibia by blocking the implementation of resolution 435 (1978), using the pretext of the claimed linkage between Namibia's independence and the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola.

174. The so-called linkage was invented by the United States, which, together with racist South Africa, continues to insist on it. We call upon the United States to stop linking Namibian independence to extraneous issues and to prevail upon South Africa to do the same and thereby allow the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). As we have said in the past, the question of the presence of Cuban forces in Angola and of their possible withdrawal from that country is a bilateral matter between the Governments of the two sovereign States, Angola and Cuba. It has nothing to do with South Africa's withdrawal from Namibia.

175. As we have said on other occasions, South Africa's continued illegal occupation of Namibia is an intolerable insult not only to the people of Namibia but to the international community as well, and everything possible must be done to end it. Namibia stands out as a blot and an aberration in an otherwise virtually complete decolonization process in Africa. It is against this background that we reaffirm our full support for SWAPO in its struggle to secure the freedom and genuine independence of Namibia.

176. Let me conclude by reaffirming Zambia's faith in the United Nations. In spite of the various shortcomings of the Organization, the vision of a foremost international instrumentality available to mankind to realize a better world of peace, security, stability, justice and progress for all, irrespective of colour, race or creed, as enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, remains valid today. The pursuit of our national philosophy of humanism has made it possible for us to identify positively with the principles and values for which the United Nations stands. Can anyone or any country that is concerned with the fate of our common humanity really doubt the validity of this world body, which, in the words of the Secretary-General [*see A/39/1*], provides a forum in which "all nations—including the weak, the oppressed and the victims of injustice—can get a hearing and have a platform even in the face of the hard realities of power"?

177. Therefore, as we approach the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations, it behoves us all to summon the necessary political will in a common endeavour to realize the lofty goals and ideals enshrined in the Charter. We owe it to ourselves and, indeed, to posterity to ensure the preservation and survival of the Organization. Let us together face the challenge with renewed determination and commitment.

178. Mr. AL-SABAH (Kuwait) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Mr. President, it is a pleasure for the delegation of the State of Kuwait to see you presiding over and conducting the affairs of this session, in view of your renowned vast experience in United Nations affairs, as well as your prudence and knowledge. You represent Zambia, a friendly country to which we are linked by the closest ties. You also represent the continent of Africa, to which the Arab world is linked with one destiny and common interests. We are confident that success will be yours in your great task.

179. I am pleased also to commend your predecessor, Mr. Illueca, the President of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly, for the exemplary manner in which he conducted the affairs of that session and for the success he achieved.

180. The Secretary-General has shown understanding and wisdom in dealing with the thorny international issues which have been and still are present on the international political scene. He deserves all the appreciation and support of my delegation.

181. Whenever Kuwait sees a new State join the United Nations, its conviction of the importance of the Organization and its Charter in influencing international relations is reaffirmed. The delegation of Kuwait therefore congratulates Brunei Darussalam on its admission to the United Nations and hopes that its membership will provide new impetus for the role and the effectiveness of the Organization.

182. As the world Organization prepares to commemorate its fortieth anniversary, we think that this occasion offers an opportunity for all of us to make an objective and realistic evaluation of the extent of the success and the failure of the United Nations and to restate the goals and ideals cherished by its founders and enshrined in its Charter, particularly the noble goal that the United Nations should become the centre of harmony among its Members in their pursuit of common goals—the stabilization of peace, security and prosperity in the world.

183. In making this evaluation, we find ourselves face to face with the increasing awareness that the United Nations has not yet succeeded in becoming a centre of harmony and coexistence and that the gap has widened between the high principles of the Charter and the troubled *status quo*. When considering what is causing this, it is fair to say that the United Nations is but a stage on which we, the Member States, play our roles. Consequently, when the United Nations fails to implement the provisions of its Charter and execute its own resolutions, we have to look to ourselves for the answer. We, the Member States, have to harmonize our positions and our actions, and respect the provisions of the Charter without distortion or hesitation.

184. Against this discouraging picture of the realistic role of the United Nations, Kuwait sees that the time has come for us to take steps to avoid the deep abyss towards which we are headed and to realize sincerely that for us, the small nations in particular, the United Nations is the sole instrument capable of warding off the spectre of chaos and war in the world. We also think it is time for the Security Council members, especially the permanent members, to shoulder their responsibility for the establishment of peace and security in the world. This responsibility is primarily a collective one, since the Council members are answerable to the international community for the way in which they exercise their powers.

185. We also are of the opinion that emphasis and priority should be accorded to the Secretary-General's mission of preventive diplomacy so as to avert exacerbation of crises, contain conflicts and build bridges of understanding and trust among the parties concerned. Furthermore, we feel that the efforts of the Secretary-General to improve the efficiency of the work of the Organization itself through the introduction of carefully studied administrative reforms in the organizational structure and the optimum utilization of the available financial and human resources should be increased.

186. Our realistic evaluation of the role of the United Nations and our expectations thereof should not overshadow the constructive role played by the specialized agencies in the humanitarian, economic, cultural and technical programmes that they provide over a limitless geographical area, particularly in the developing countries.

187. The international situation is characterized by the gravity of dangers resulting from the threat or use of force under the cover of security, retaliation or preventive measures. Armament in all its forms is increasing at a time when hunger, disease, poverty and illiteracy are rampant all over the world. We also view with concern the quantitative and qualitative increase in terrorist operations, which destroy values and principles that have become established in international relations.

188. We realize that force, whatever its nature, cannot settle conflicts—in most cases it tends to inflame them or widen their scope—and that armament, however inflated and diversified, will never be a source of security or stability.

189. When we speak of the devastating impact of the use of force and violence in international relations we usually do so because we have been suffering painfully for over four years in the course of which our region has been afflicted with a war of destruction which has exhausted its human and economic resources. That war has continued despite the intensive efforts—individual, regional and international—which started with the war itself and which aimed at stopping or checking the war. None, however, has been successful. On the contrary, our region has unfortunately witnessed an intensification of this sinister war, which has brought to the Arabian Gulf, long noted for being a region of security and stability and an artery of well-being and prosperity for the world economy, threats to its safety and tranquillity and has increased its exposure to an international rivalry over spheres of influence, at the expense of the interests and future of the peoples of the region.

190. The Gulf Co-operation Council had to appeal to the Security Council following Iran's threat to the freedom of navigation in the Gulf and attacks on Kuwaiti and Saudi ships, as well as those of other countries, outside the war zone. In so doing we were prompted by our belief in three basic principles: that there is the need to bolster the role of the world Organization in solving problems which threaten international security; that force, of whatever proportion, can never be a substitute for peace and coexistence among the peoples of a region; and that problems, no matter how acute, can be solved through dialogue and consensus in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

191. The Security Council has adopted many resolutions calling for the cessation of war between the two countries and expressing its adherence to the basic principles that should govern international relations, including resolution 552 (1984), which, *inter alia*, reaffirms the right of free navigation in that important and vital waterway and calls upon Iran to refrain from any act that may impede freedom of navigation in the Gulf to and from the ports of countries not parties to the conflict.

192. But unfortunately and to our deep regret, Iran, scornful of the will of the international community made manifest during the Council's deliberations, has chosen to pursue its perilous course. It has continued to interfere with freedom of navigation in the Arabian Gulf. Once again we reiterate from this rostrum that the politico-economic importance of the Gulf area, as well as its strategic and security situation, makes it imperative that its waters, ports and shores be a symbol of stability and tranquillity, because if its stability is subjected to turbulence and chaos, its tranquillity to attacks, and its freedom of navigation to and from States not parties to the conflict to interference, the interests of the nations of the world will be seriously affected and, in particular, the movement and growth of the world economy will be dealt a big set-back.

193. In spite of these conditions, we are still hopeful that neighbouring Muslim Iran will appreciate the reality of these apprehensions and dispel them by adopting a courageous and prudent decision to put an end to this devastating war so that we, the peoples of that important region, will be able once again to live in harmony and concord, guided by the teachings of our divine Islamic religion, which advocates love, reconciliation, good-neighbourliness and the avoidance of hostility, hatred and war.

194. We reiterate our gratification at the acceptance by our fraternal country Iraq of the international efforts to reach a just and honourable conclusion to this war. We wish that the leaders of Iran would spare

the region further anguish and destruction, the extent of which is known only to Allah—glory be to Him—by responding positively to these sincere and unbiased initiatives, in which I had the honour of personally participating on behalf of the Gulf Co-operation Council. All peace-loving countries call upon the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran to respond favourably to these initiatives so that peace may be restored to the Gulf.

195. The entire international community is also called upon to take serious and active action in this field. We do not ask anyone to take the side of one party against another. What is required is a clear stand against the continuation of war and on behalf of peace. We are convinced that there is no room today for indifference. If some Powers believe that the continuation of the war would be advantageous to them, we wish to advise them that those advantages would be short-lived and meagre, while the damage would be long-lasting and bitter. Kuwait feels that all mankind has a direct interest in seeing an end to this devastating war and the beginning of an era of reconstruction.

196. Kuwait unwaveringly believes that the basic function of all international and regional organizations and bodies should be to embody the identity of interests and the common destiny of their member countries, as well as to promote solidarity and co-ordination among them. We Arabs have realized that; hence the League of Arab States has been the first organization, in this politically historic era, to crystallize all the aims pursued by the international community. Since its establishment, the Gulf Co-operation Council, a subsidiary of the League of Arab States, has demonstrated to the world that it is a live and creative expression of that reality, since the Council now effectively participates in expediting the process of coherence and co-ordination among the peoples of the Arabian Gulf, to the extent that it has increased the significance of the role played by those countries in the fields of economic development, world security and political stability.

197. We adhere to the following basic principles: self-sufficiency, so as to maintain the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and vital interests of the States of the region; maintenance of regional security and stability by the States of the region, not by any outside party; and commitment to the policy of non-alignment based on rejection of the policy of alliances and polarization and of the great Powers' race for spheres of influence.

198. In November, Kuwait will have the honour of being host to the fifth summit meeting of the States of the Gulf Co-operation Council. That meeting will solidify the structure of the Council and strengthen its commitment to the principles espoused by the States of the region and reflected in the Council's charter, thus increasing the possibilities for stability, co-operation and development among the peoples of those countries.

199. Several conflicts impose a heavy burden on the international community and have a negative effect on international relations. Some occupy the attention of the international community for only a short time. But there is one problem that has for more than 35 years directly and perilously threatened world peace and security—namely, the tragedy of the people of Palestine, which is at the heart of the conflict in the Middle East.

200. This tragedy is a dangerous threat to the basic principles on which the United Nations is founded, since it involves a denial of the rights of the Palestinian people and Israel's use of force and pursuit of a policy of repression, aggression, expansion and encroachment upon the sovereignty of the Arab nation and the integrity of its soil. We therefore feel that the elimination of this policy and the establishment of international legitimacy are basic duties of the United Nations.

201. Hence, Kuwait supported the holding of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, at Geneva in 1983, in pursuance of General Assembly resolution 36/120 C. We were pleased that many of the major parties to the conflict agreed to participate in the Conference, as an expression of their interest in having international legitimacy, represented by the United Nations, presiding over the solution of this thorny question. We were, on the other hand, disappointed by the continued refusal of Israel, the United States and some other Western countries to accept this international framework for action based on the spirit of justice and fairness. We cannot accept the reasons advanced by the Western countries to justify their refusal to participate in the Conference, because it has become the firm conviction of the international community that the PLO is the sole, authentic and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, that any solution reached without the participation of the PLO, on an equal footing with the other parties, would be a mirage, and that to seek such a solution would be to go in a vicious circle.

202. Kuwait also welcomes the initiative of the Soviet Union, which has submitted proposals on a Middle East settlement [*A/39/368*], including the convening of an international conference in which all the parties, including the PLO, would participate on an equal footing.

203. We are still convinced that the basis for a just and comprehensive solution of the question of Palestine is total Israeli withdrawal from all the Palestinian and Arab territory occupied since 1967, including Holy Jerusalem, and the safeguarding of the legitimate and inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including its right to self-determination and the establishment of its own State on its national soil.

204. No one should be surprised that Israel rejects any initiative, whether regional or international, for solving the Palestinian problem. Israel is a State whose method is aggression and whose philosophy is expansion. Therefore, it depends on violence and the imposition of one new *status quo* after another—from the annexation of Holy Jerusalem to the annexation of the Golan Heights, from the continuation of the process of Judaization of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip to the invasion of Lebanon and the occupation of part of its territory.

205. Israel's criminal record has extended to include inhuman practices in southern Lebanon. The Security Council recently considered those practices which are causing the Lebanese people suffering. All the Security Council members agreed in calling upon Israel to cease forthwith those practices and to apply elementary principles of human rights—all but the United States, which surprised the international community by using its veto power to defeat that humanitarian draft resolution.[10] It put forward pre-

texts that cannot stand scrutiny in the light of the justice of the cause and explanations that cannot justify prolonging the unjust situation experienced daily by southern Lebanon at the hands of the Israeli invaders and occupiers.

206. The Security Council had passed resolution 509 (1982), in which it demanded that Israel withdraw all its military forces forthwith and unconditionally from Lebanese territory to the internationally recognized boundaries. But Israel, relying on the complete support of the United States for its policies and practices, has ignored that resolution, like all other resolutions, and has continued in its arrogance at the expense of the Palestinian and Lebanese people.

207. Kuwait is concerned about the stabilization of conditions in Lebanon and the restoration to that country of a normal, healthy life, so that it may continue its advance towards civilization and give the world a living example of coexistence between various sects and doctrines. We therefore support all the Lebanese efforts aimed at enhancing the spirit of national unity and reconciliation and at renouncing everything that may divide the people of that country. We appeal to the international community to bring pressure to bear on Israel to desist immediately from rekindling the flames of discord and to withdraw to the internationally recognized boundaries.

208. The world today is experiencing a real tragedy because of the increase in hotbeds of tension, the disregard shown by the great Powers, which are influential internationally, of the desires of the peoples, and their persistence in using pretexts to interfere in the affairs of other countries in an effort to gain a foothold or to acquire an ally by force.

209. The people of Afghanistan has been suffering for four years under a puppet régime backed by Soviet forces. Tremendous international efforts have been made to alleviate the suffering of that peaceful Muslim people. While commending all those efforts, we think that all the parties concerned in the Afghan problem should refrain from interfering in the domestic affairs of that independent country, aid the Afghan refugees to return to their country and allow the people to determine its own destiny as it sees fit after the foreign forces have withdrawn from its territory.

210. The effects of the situation in Afghanistan are not limited to that country and its people. It also threatens peace and stability in the border areas of Pakistan, where there are more than 1 million Afghan refugees.

211. The situation in Kampuchea, whose people is deprived of its right to choose the kind of régime it desires, has not changed. The time has come for all foreign interference in Kampuchea to cease and for this friendly people to resume the exercise of its natural right to a decent and free life.

212. The Cyprus problem is also at a crossroads after the recent developments. Kuwait feels that Turkish and Greek Cypriots should have recourse to the basic principles of resolving conflicts through serious and constructive negotiations. We welcome the efforts of the Secretary-General. We believe that they constitute the right way to reach a just solution taking into account the legitimate rights of the two communities, while at the same time guaranteeing the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-aligned character of Cyprus.

213. The region of Central America and the Caribbean Sea is one of considerable tension because of intervention by the great Powers, which unfortunately are concerned only with gaining a foothold there to enable them to achieve their objectives of polarization and spheres of influence. Kuwait supports all regional efforts initiated by the Contadora Group to arrive at a political solution based on respect for the basic options of each country in the region.

214. The United Nations has been entrusted with the historic task of world-wide decolonization. However, a black spot remains on the map because of South Africa's refusal, in spite of the international will, to respect the legitimate national rights of the Namibian people and because of its policies of racial discrimination and *apartheid*—that ugly blot on twentieth-century civilization.

215. The United Nations adopted, in Security Council resolution 435 (1978), a plan characterized by prudence, moderation and non-bias for ensuring the independence of Namibia. However, the great Powers have elected to involve the fate of the Namibian people, despite its bitter struggle, in the international equation and the policy of confrontation between East and West. The Namibian people and SWAPO, its sole, legitimate representative, have been condemned to pay the price of rivalry and conflict that are not their concern. Kuwait reiterates its support for the United Nations plan, which comprises the ideal framework for a settlement that has comprehensive international approval.

216. Kuwait also strongly condemns the policy of racial discrimination and *apartheid* practised by the racist régime of South Africa against the black majority, the legitimate inhabitants of that land. The latest manifestation of that policy is the imposition of a contrived "constitution" which consolidates white minority rule and denies the legitimate rights of the overwhelming majority of South Africa's population.

217. The world economic situation is no better than the tense international political situation. It is our conviction that this is a result of the continuing connection between politics and economics. Both the rapidity and the scope of the deterioration of the world economic situation have assumed tragic dimensions. The most outstanding issue in this connection is that of the developing countries' indebtedness, which constitutes one of the most dangerous problems of the age. That indebtedness totals over $800 billion, and its annual servicing rate is $150 billion. It is easy to imagine the negative repercussions of that situation on development efforts in the developing countries.

218. Kuwait believes that economic co-operation among developing countries is the corner-stone of their efforts to achieve the economic growth and prosperity necessary for the attainment of the goals of self-sufficiency and freedom from dependence on the industrialized countries and subjugation to the conditions they impose on the developing countries in order to perpetuate the present international economic order, with all the ills and deprivation this causes for the developing countries. We therefore support all well-thought-out, practical and reasonable measures to strengthen and consolidate co-operation among developing countries, for we believe that such co-operation is the first essential and the basic precondition that must be met if the developing coun-

tries are to strengthen their economic situation. There is no doubt that when we reduce our economic dependence on the industrialized countries we shall strengthen our negotiating position *vis-à-vis* them in the efforts to change the present international economic order.

219. Kuwait believes that to be useful and effective this economic co-operation among the developing countries should be based on principles and measures that will ensure mutual benefit and promote the common interests of the participating countries.

220. We continue to believe that the industrialized countries are the root cause of the economic problems of the third world. Therefore, the responsibility for providing or increasing the resources and assistance needed by the developing countries falls, in the first place, upon the shoulders of the industrialized countries. Nor can we relieve the industrialized countries of their financial responsibility towards the developing countries.

221. The developing countries should not take any measures or make any arrangements in the field of economic co-operation that could lead to lessening the responsibility of the industrialized countries. We believe that one way we can ensure that this does not happen is by emphasizing the need for the continuance of the North-South dialogue so as to achieve the establishment of a new international economic order.

222. In spite of the large reduction in its revenues owing to fluctuations in the world oil market, the production recession and the increase in its requirements, Kuwait will continue to do its best to honour its obligations with regard to aid to the developing countries.

223. Mankind is more in need today for an approach that will open up shining horizons for the achievement of its dreams. On the eve of the fortieth anniversary of the establishment of the United Nations we are more hopeful of its ability to lead us to the shores of security so that together we can enjoy a state of well-being and peace, while adhering to the letter and the spirit of the Charter.

224. Mr. KUSUMAATMADJA (Indonesia): It is most gratifying to my delegation that the President of this session is a seasoned diplomat, with a long association with the United Nations, and an outstanding representative of Zambia, with which my country has always enjoyed fraternal and friendly relations. Our confidence in your abilities, Sir, has long been established by your leadership of the United Nations Council for Namibia, as President of which you have for so many years tirelessly dedicated yourself to the execution of its mandate. I take this opportunity to express to you the warm congratulations of my Government, as well as my own congratulations, on your unanimous election and to pledge my delegation's full co-operation in the discharge of your formidable task.

225. To your distinguished predecessor, Mr. Jorge Illueca, I wish to convey our deep appreciation for the exemplary manner in which he has guided the deliberations of the thirty-eighth session.

226. I am particularly privileged to extend a special welcome to Brunei Darussalam on its accession to membership in the United Nations. Our pleasure in seeing the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Brunei Darussalam, Prince Mohamed Bolkiah, in this Hall is all the greater since Brunei Darussalam, in January this year, joined ASEAN as its sixth member State, an event that further deepened the bonds of friendship and cultural kinship that have traditionally linked our two peoples. The admission of Brunei Darussalam to the United Nations underscores not only the universality of the Organization but also the continuing hope that mankind reposes in this unique forum for multilateral co-operation in the resolution of pressing global problems.

227. Once again we are here to address ourselves to the concerns of our time, to seek new avenues to strengthen global peace and security, to increase international co-operation and to chart a better future for the nations of the world. Our task, however, has been rendered infinitely more difficult by the awesome dangers and challenges that continue to cast a pall over our hopes and aspirations. The past year in particular was marked by great uncertainty and a deepening chill in great-Power relationships, further threatening the already fragile structure of international peace and security. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the context of the overriding fear of nuclear war, which today hangs like the sword of Damocles over all humanity.

228. Against this background, the persistence of conflict and tension in various regions has reinforced the negative trend towards power politics and so-called strategic alliances. The current tendency to resort to military solutions in pursuit of questionable interests has seriously eroded the principles of non-interference and non-intervention and has led to the imposition of *faits accomplis*. As a result, some States have been forced into spheres of influence and dependency relationships reminiscent of a bygone era.

229. The intensification of the arms race remains at the centre of our collective concern. A heightened sense of insecurity pervades the entire international community before the prospect of an irreversible spiral of escalation. We are today confronted by a virtual deadlock in all negotiating forums on disarmament and the suspension of crucial arms control negotiations already under way. Even the sanctity and integrity of existing agreements are now in danger of being undermined, and on the horizon looms the real threat of an uncontrollable arms race in outer space. At this critical time for the future of disarmament, we are duty-bound to respond with even greater determination and commitment to the pleas of mankind for a halt to this headlong rush towards self-extinction.

230. My delegation is convinced that a new, integrated approach, as distinct from the piecemeal disarmament efforts of the past, should be adopted, comprising both quantitative reductions and qualitative restrictions. The wider the range of weapons covered the greater would be the value of such an initiative. At the same time, while continuing to accord the highest priority to nuclear disarmament we should ensure that conventional disarmament measures, especially by the major Powers, are simultaneously pursued. In this context, we welcome the report of the Secretary-General containing the study on conventional disarmament [*A/39/348*] as a positive contribution. Conclusive progress can be gauged by linking reductions in military budgets to cuts in specific weapons systems and related activities in research and development. With a view to stemming the qualitative improvement and preventing the development of new types of weapons, the need for a

comprehensive treaty banning the testing of all types of nuclear weapons in all environments has become even more urgent.

231. The main responsibility for initiating this comprehensive approach rests with the nuclear Powers, which should agree as a first step on an immediate freeze on the production and deployment of nuclear weapons. This should be followed by substantive arms reduction negotiations in the context of the Conference on Disarmament. Such a redirection would not constrain but rather strengthen bilateral and regional talks in the efforts to achieve the ultimate objective of general and complete disarmament under effective international control. In this regard, we underline the Joint Declaration by Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Sweden and the United Republic of Tanzania of 22 May 1984 [*A/39/277*], which stressed that while it is the primary responsibility of the nuclear-weapon States to prevent a nuclear catastrophe, this problem is too important to be left solely to those States. World disarmament, peace and security are the responsibility of mankind as a whole.

232. Ever mindful of the nuclear threat that confronts our strategically significant region, my Government has long advocated the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in South-East Asia as part of our regional approach to security and disarmament. In this regard, I am pleased to inform the Assembly that the annual meeting of ASEAN Foreign Ministers held at Jakarta last July endorsed this initiative as an essential component in the establishment of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in the region. The ASEAN Working Group created to promote the zone is undertaking a study to identify various aspects and modalities for the realization of the nuclear-weapon-free-zone concept.

233. Indonesia, as an archipelagic State situated at the crossroads of two oceans and of important international waterways, is also deeply disturbed by the increasing naval buildup and the rapid development of new naval arms systems. In past years these aspects have not been conspicuous on the international agenda of arms control and disarmament. Yet, the steady expansion and modernization of the navies of the two super-Powers in particular, the technological advances and the increased sophistication of naval-based weapon systems are adding a new and potentially destabilizing dimension to the overall arms race. My delegation therefore welcomed the decision of the General Assembly at its thirty-eighth session [*resolution 38/188 G*] to carry out a comprehensive study on all aspects of the naval arms race with a view to analysing their possible ramifications and, more important, facilitating the identification of areas for disarmament and confidence-building measures. Indonesia is actively participating in the Group of Governmental Experts constituted for this purpose.

234. Also in this context, my delegation has long worked with like-minded States for the implementation of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace [*resolution 2832 (XXVI)*]. However, despite the many years of concerted effort, we have witnessed an unprecedented buildup of foreign forces in the Indian Ocean proper and in its vicinity. Thus, the Indian Ocean is moving inexorably in the direction of unbridled strategic competition, constituting an imminent threat to the security interests of the littoral and hinterland States. This dangerous slide must be arrested through the convening of the Conference on the Indian Ocean called for by the General Assembly. I appeal to the great Powers and the major maritime users to review their positions and allow the Conference to take place in the near future, thereby initiating negotiations to promote a relaxation of tension and to bring durable peace and security to the region.

235. We may count ourselves fortunate that the world has thus far been spared the horrors of nuclear war. However, there can be no satisfaction whatsoever in seeing the many unresolved conflicts employing conventional arms which continue to rage in many regions of the world.

236. From the beginning of the Kampuchean conflict, member States of ASEAN have adopted a position based upon internationally recognized principles. Likewise, our actions have clearly demonstrated a genuine desire to contribute to a peaceful solution of the problem through comprehensive negotiations taking into account the legitimate interests of all the parties. In this regard, I should like to recall the various concrete proposals advanced by ASEAN in its appeal for Kampuchean independence of 21 September 1983.[11] These include, in particular, the offer of a series of initial steps, such as partial withdrawal of foreign forces on a territorial basis and within a specific time frame, a cease-fire and the introduction of peace-keeping forces.

237. In its efforts to bring about the adoption of this approach, ASEAN has demonstrated its flexibility and rationality. For, although ASEAN remains fully committed to elements contained in the Declaration on Kampuchea, adopted by the International Conference on Kampuchea, held in New York in July 1981,[12] we are none the less open with regard to the modalities for arriving at a political solution. Nor has it ever been ASEAN's demand that the proposals contained in its September 1983 appeal be taken as the only basis for a solution, as has been alleged. Regrettably, this reasonable approach continues to be spurned. We believe that there is no point in calling for a dialogue which evades the core aspects of the Kampuchean problem and submits it to unrealistic demands amounting to pre-conditions.

238. The withdrawal of all foreign troops from Kampuchean soil and the establishment of a Kampuchean Government of the people's own choosing should continue to form the basis for a solution. Without it, the nationalist forces of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, under the inspired leadership of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, will have no choice but to continue their legitimate struggle against foreign intervention and occupation. We further believe that national reconciliation of all Kampuchean factions is essential for the restoration of independence and the maintenance of the national unity of Kampuchea. It was in this light that the ASEAN Foreign Ministers' Joint Statement on the Kampuchean Problem, issued at Jakarta on 9 July 1984 [*see A/39/352*], called upon Viet Nam to support such national reconciliation. We hope that Viet Nam will respond positively and sincerely to ASEAN's appeal to seek a comprehensive political settlement to a problem which, apart from the principles involved, is basically a conflict between the Kampuchean people and Viet Nam. The alternative would be the persistence of foreign intervention, instability and turmoil in South-East Asia.

239. In South-West Asia, the continued presence of foreign forces in Afghanistan has caused great tension and anxiety in the region and beyond. In the interest of restoring regional confidence and stability, Afghanistan must be allowed to resume its historical non-aligned role.

240. In the Middle East, Israeli aggression and expansionism has constituted the most formidable obstacle to peace in the region. Hence, various attempts at partial solutions have been manipulated by Israel as a convenient cover for the consolidation of its entrenchment in the occupied territories. Most important, they have proved inadequate and failed to address the question of the fundamental rights and legitimate aspirations of the Arab people.

241. This bitter reality continues to stir the cauldron of enmity in the Middle East, and the region continues to be a focus of East-West confrontation. My Government therefore welcomed the decision of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, held at Geneva from 29 August to 7 September 1983—and endorsed by the General Assembly in resolution 38/58C—that an international peace conference on the Middle East should be convened. Only through such a forum, with the participation on an equal footing of all the parties concerned, including the PLO, can a comprehensive, just and durable peace be achieved.

242. In preparing for the conference it is crucial that clear and agreed terms of reference be established on the basis of the core issues of the conflict: that is, the legitimate right of self-determination and sovereign nationhood for the Palestinian people; Israeli withdrawal from all Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem; and the need of the States in the region to live in peace, within internationally recognized boundaries. It is our fervent hope that the negotiations at the conference on these terms of reference will lead to the implementation of a just and comprehensive settlement.

Mr. Choudhury (Bangladesh), Vice-President, took the Chair.

243. Given the complexity of the issues involved, it is critical that the major Powers demonstrate their concurrence and support by actively and constructively participating in the preparations for the peace conference.

244. A full two years after the brutal Israeli invasion, the Lebanese people have found no respite in their suffering under occupation. The past year has even recorded an increased incidence of repressive measures and arbitrary violence.

245. It is unfortunate that the most recent efforts by the Security Council to redress the desperate situation of the civilians in occupied Lebanon were thwarted by a single negative vote, especially in the light of the Council's unanimous call in 1982 for the total withdrawal of all Israeli forces.

246. Israel's stranglehold on southern Lebanon has tightened to the point of threatening the country's economic viability, by isolating southern Lebanon from the rest of the country.

247. The arduous task undertaken by the people of Lebanon of restoring their unity through national reconciliation and bringing a sense of normalcy through national reconstruction is being seriously challenged by these Israeli actions. Indonesia therefore fully supports Lebanon's demand for the immediate, unconditional and complete withdrawal of all Israeli occupation forces.

248. In the same region, we continue to be seriously concerned that the conflict between two brotherly nations, Iran and Iraq, has not abated, after four years of incalculable bloodshed. The continuing hostilities now threaten the Gulf and may well lead to the involvement of extraregional Powers. Despite these negative trends, we are heartened by the Secretary-General's success in achieving an agreement for the cessation of military attacks against civilian population centres. We trust that this agreement will endure and eventually bring about the cessation of hostilities on a wider scale, paving the way towards an honourable and just peace.

249. Just a month ago we were confronted with yet another scheme by the Pretoria régime for further entrenching its *apartheid* policy through a so-called constitutional change. However, the people boycotted the sham elections and courageously confronted the military might of the racist régime to manifest before the world their solidarity and determination to oppose the constitutional fraud.

250. The United Nations has categorically condemned *apartheid* as contrary to the Charter and a crime against humanity. It is the moral duty of all Member States, particularly those that have continued to lend credence and support to Pretoria, to take resolute steps to secure the objective of a non-racial democratic society in South Africa.

251. As a member of the United Nations Council for Namibia, Indonesia has grave misgivings that, as time passes with no real progress towards Namibian independence, the United Nations plan for Namibia is moving ever closer to becoming a dead letter. As the plan continues to languish, the Pretoria régime has become even more emboldened in its reliance on pretext after pretext and manoeuvre after manoeuvre to impose its own illegal internal solution on the Territory. Despite the many broken promises by the colonial régime, the valiant Namibian people, under the leadership of SWAPO, have demonstrated their determination to achieve the total and genuine liberation of Namibia.

252. South Africa must not be allowed to pursue its tactics of further undermining the terms of the plan, particularly in the light of the Security Council decision [*resolution 539 (1983)*] unequivocally reaffirming that it is utterly unacceptable to link the United Nations plan to extraneous and irrelevant issues, for they can only have a disastrous impact not only on Namibia itself but also on the States in the region of southern Africa as a whole. Namibia remains the only colonial Territory for which the United Nations has assumed total responsibility, and we, the Members, have a solemn obligation to the Namibian people to fulfil our common commitment to achieve the genuine decolonization and independence of Namibia.

253. A full two years have passed since the armed confrontation over the Malvinas Islands. We note with appreciation the initiative of the Swiss Government in July last to facilitate direct contact between the two parties. We hope that negotiations will be renewed to resolve this festering problem in the context of the geo-political realities and the long-term interests of the two countries.

254. In facing the specific manifestations of the challenges and problems in Central America, my

delegation believes that only through the mechanism of negotiations and dialogue can the misunderstandings and misperceptions that have led to tension and conflicts in the past be removed. Indonesia therefore continues to support the initiative of the Contadora Group, which offers the most comprehensive and balanced approach, taking into account the unique political, economic and social conditions prevailing in the region. My delegation lauds the dedication of the Group's member States to achieving solutions, particularly the current efforts to arrive at a consensus on the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America [*see A/39/562*]. We are hopeful that this Act will become a basis for peace, stability and good-neighbourliness throughout the region.

255. The quests for peace, security, disarmament and development are inextricably linked. Malaise, fear and uncertainty are not the exclusive features of the political arena. They also pervade the domain of international economics and, as in politics, they can be effectively overcome only through close international co-operation. To act otherwise is to court disaster.

256. Ten years have now passed since the adoption by the General Assembly of resolution 3201 (S-VI), calling for the establishment of a new international economic order, which gave us hope for a new era of multilateral development co-operation. Four years have elapsed since the General Assembly launched the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade [*resolution 35/56, annex*]. Regrettably, both initiatives are now apparently sidelined in favour of unilateral expedience and opportunism. Their failure stands as an indictment of our times. Instead of an increase in international co-operation, we see multilateralism on the retreat, development co-operation on the defensive and the gap of economic disparity and inequality continuing to widen. This anomalous situation is the major challenge facing our collective wisdom and resolve at this Assembly session.

257. The state of the world economy also reflects this dilemma. The headlines in the media of the developed countries have generally characterized the world economy as one well embarked on a course towards recovery. In consequence, the developing countries are urged to wait patiently for the transmission of the recovery's benefits down to them. But there is another world and another perspective. For three quarters of mankind the realities stand in stark contrast to this optimistic scenario. The economic upswing has, for the most part, continued to elude them. Stagnation and retrenchment are in general their common plight. High interest rates, protectionism, sharp declines in commodity prices, unemployment, debt crises and liquidity problems compose much of the injurious mosaic of difficulties that currently afflict their economies.

258. In the field of international trade, it is a cruel paradox that the developed countries counsel developing countries on the benefits of increased participation in global trade while at the same time erecting more restrictive barriers to their products. The communiqués of the economic summits held at Williamsburg in May 1983 and in London last June [*see A/39/304*] notwithstanding, protectionism continues to exact a heavy toll. Compounding this dilemma, the sharp decline in commodity prices and a corresponding decline in access to development financing have forced the developing countries to effect severe contractions in their development programmes. Prolonged high interest rates too have seriously aggravated their liquidity problems and, if those rates are not markedly reduced in the near future, the tentative recovery could very well be aborted and the current difficulties of the developing countries rendered more intractable.

259. A brief word on the region of Asia, to which my country belongs. It is true that many of the countries in this region have, against tremendous odds, managed to retain their economic resilience throughout the depths of the recession and are again posting satisfactory growth rates. But that overall assessment masks many externally induced problems. Some 900 million people in Asia are still living tenuously under the poverty line. Problems of population and massive unemployment still pose grave challenges to any development scheme, however well-conceived. The magnitude and thus the gravity of these problems cannot be discounted. Any downturn in the world economy therefore could have incalculable costs in human terms for this region.

260. For those reasons and more, Indonesia strongly believes that the developing countries cannot stand and wait for a dubious trickling down of an uncertain recovery. Hence, recovery and the reactivation of development should be jointly stimulated. Concerted and collective action by each and all members of the international community, and particularly by the economically powerful, are indispensable if a sustained, global economic recovery is to be achieved.

261. In this era of interdependence no country can develop in isolation, and indeed the developed countries are also dependent on the economic health of the developing countries for their own prosperity. However, one important lesson that we can draw from the past several years of extremely difficult times is perhaps the fact of a persistent asymmetrical interdependence in international economic relations. Therefore, the aim should be genuine economic interdependence in which the developing countries are active and equal partners and their economies not merely by-products of the economic advances of the North.

262. On the issue of institutional and structural change in the world economy, the outlook remains deeply disappointing. Procedural hurdles continue to block the launching of the global negotiations and their resolution seems more remote than ever. There is no denying, however, that global problems necessitate global solutions. Indonesia therefore remains strongly convinced that unless the issues of trade, money, finance and development can be treated in their inseparable interconnection, the results can only be, at best, provisional. Some issues need to be dealt with on an individual basis through an immediate-measures policy. This we realize. None the less, we should never lose sight of the imperative need for an integrated global approach.

263. In the North-South context, two important international conferences took place this year. The International Conference on Population, held at Mexico City from 6 to 14 August, addressed population problems that have emerged since the World Population Conference held at Bucharest 10 years ago. Indonesia, as the fifth most populous nation on earth, is acutely aware of the complexity of the population issue and of its vital interrelationships with resources, food, the environment and develop-

ment. In our national development strategy, therefore, we believe a two-pronged approach is essential. First, a population-centred development policy is necessary in which decisions are designed to encompass all aspects of the population problem; and, secondly, development-oriented population policies should be formulated to stimulate and promote development. It is important that we do not allow the momentum generated at Mexico City to dissipate. The recommendations for the further implementation of the World Population Plan of Action[13] and the Mexico City Declaration on Population and Development,[13] adopted by the Conference, should be vigorously implemented both for our mutual benefit and in trust for the generations to come.

264. The outcome of the Fourth General Conference of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization, held at Vienna from 2 to 19 August, fell far short of our expectations. The preamble to the Conference's conclusions and recommendations,[14] describing the world economic situation and its influence on the industrialization process in the developing countries, failed to achieve consensus. Likewise, two extremely important, indeed outstanding, issues—namely, the mobilization of financial resources for industrial development and world industrial restructuring and redeployment—embodied in two draft resolutions,[15] met with a similar fate. These two issues will be taken up at this session of the General Assembly. Indonesia still strongly believes that the goals and targets set out in the Lima Declaration and Plan of Action on Industrial Development and Co-operation[16] and the New Delhi Declaration and Plan of Action on Industrialization of Developing Countries and International Co-operation for their Industrial Development[17] are of critical importance for the accelerated development of the developing countries.

265. As a country actively engaged in national development, Indonesia attaches the utmost importance to the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade [*resolution 35/56, annex*]. Consequently, we voice our deep concern over the crucial lack of political will demonstrated at the meetings of the Committee on the Review and Appraisal of the Implementation of the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade [*see A/39/48 and Corr.1 and 2*]. To our regret, despite the unanimous recognition of both the dismal performance in the implementation of the International Development Strategy to date and its dire consequences for the economies of the developing countries, those States that could play a leading role in resolving the situation seem to be at best indifferent. However, we continue to believe in the validity and authenticity of the goals, objectives and general orientation of the Strategy. In its further implementation, the political determination of the international community is pivotal.

266. Another issue which deserves the urgent response of the international community is the critically depressed economic situation in Africa caused by the prolonged drought, rapidly expanding desertification and the severe global recession. We are deeply disappointed that the second regular session of the Economic and Social Council, held at Geneva from 4 to 27 July 1984, failed to reach consensus on the desperate plight faced by millions of people in the affected countries. This session of the General Assembly should reach agreement on measures to enable the international community to overcome this crisis of catastrophic proportions.

267. While uncertainty and intransigence reign in the world economy and in the North-South negotiations, South-South collective self-reliance has acquired even greater urgency and significance. Economic co-operation and technical co-operation among developing countries are essential instruments for promoting the rational and efficient use of resources available in developing countries for their autonomous development. The meeting at Cartagena in June this year on South-South co-operation once again demonstrates the strong determination of the developing countries to implement the Caracas Programme of Action, adopted by the High-Level Conference on Economic Co-operation among Developing Countries, held at Caracas in May 1981.[18]

268. Let me now touch briefly on some social issues of deep concern to my country. The year 1985 will mark the end of the United Nations Decade for Women. Considerable progress has already been achieved in enhancing the role and responsibilities of women in society in general. But other and more formidable challenges embodied in the Programme of Action for the Second Half of the United Nations Decade for Women[19] still lie ahead. We trust that these challenges will be effectively addressed at the World Conference to Review and Appraise the Achievements of the United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace, to be held in 1985 at Nairobi.

269. One of the most important and concrete achievements of the United Nations Decade for Women was the adoption by the General Assembly in 1979 of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women [*resolution 34/180, annex*]. The Indonesian Government has ratified this Convention not only because its tenets are in full accord with the rights already guaranteed to women by our Constitution but also because it will reinforce the effectiveness of those rights universally.

270. On the problem of refugees, the considerable response of the international community was once again demonstrated at the Second International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa, held at Geneva from 9 to 11 July 1984. As in Asia, while pertinent assistance has been forthcoming, the continued support of the international community is paramount.

271. Another area of deep concern to Indonesia is that of children—a most vulnerable sector—in which millions of lives have been threatened by the global economic downturn. UNICEF's child survival and development strategy stands as a beacon of hope for further reducing mortality among infants and young children. The recent supportive public statements from world leaders, including the Secretary-General, are important factors in creating a climate conducive to making substantial progress in child health throughout the world. The opportunity to accelerate child survival and development should not be allowed to pass, even in these difficult times. Indonesia, in co-operation with UNICEF, has achieved important breakthroughs. Consequently, infant mortality rates have been significantly reduced in Indonesia.

272. Last January my Government had the honour to host at Jakarta, the Conference of the Ministers of

Information of Non-Aligned Countries, which underscored the importance that Indonesia and all non-aligned countries attach to the often repeated goal of a new international information and communication order. Indeed, the non-aligned countries pioneered the initiative of the new order, as we have long been the victims of the unbalanced flow of information and communication. With regard to the United Nations, the Declaration of the Jakarta Conference [*see A/39/139*] pledged the full co-operation of the non-aligned countries with efforts by the United Nations to provide technical assistance to the developing countries, study the relevant policies and activities of the United Nations and promote the rapid development of the new order. Indonesia remains convinced that the spirit of co-operation and the will to reach consensus, which have gradually increased over the past years, will hasten the advent of the new international information and communication order.

273. As we approach the half-way mark of the decade of the 1980s, mankind's vision of an international order of greater security and stability, of larger prosperity and justice, appears as distant as ever.

274. Heightened major-Power contention has exacerbated the unresolved flash-points of conflict and violence in many regions of the world. The prolonged world economic crisis with its particularly adverse effects on the developing countries and the growing threat of an ever-escalating arms race continue to paralyse the collective capacity of nations to develop the necessary consensus on concepts and policies to meet the exigencies of our present predicament. Yet, when the need for a concerted approach in dealing with our global problems is most urgently felt, we instead witness an astonishing retreat from multilateralism and a wilful weakening of the mechanisms and structures for international dialogue and co-operation. What is more, the United Nations, the universal embodiment of the concept of multilateralism, is increasingly being bypassed or ignored.

275. My delegation fully agrees with the Secretary-General that, at this critical juncture in the life of the Organization, the overriding need is for all Member States to rededicate themselves to the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations by making them the basis of their day-to-day relations between Governments and between peoples.

276. The impending fortieth anniversary of the Organization provides us with a timely opportunity to renew our faith in the United Nations system as the unique and indispensable forum for harmonizing the interests and actions of nations in the realization of mankind's hopes for peace and equitable development for all. Beyond this act of rededication, however, there is also an undeniable need to strengthen the capacity of the United Nations to fulfil its functions as outlined in the Charter and to enhance the validity and utility of its organs. Only if all Member States join in this effort, through actions rather than words, through concrete proposals for reform rather than rhetoric, can we ensure that the Organization will again resume the role for which it was created: a central and solid framework for a new and revitalized world order. Thus its fortieth anniversary commemoration may yet become a true celebration.

277. Mr. del VALLE ALLIENDE (Chile) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Sir, it gives me great pleasure to congratulate you on your election as Vice-President of the General Assembly. Please convey to Mr. Lusaka our congratulations on his election as President of this session of the General Assembly. We wish him every success.

278. I also wish to express our gratitude to the President of the thirty-eighth session of the Assembly, Mr. Jorge Illueca, President of the Republic of Panama, for the outstanding way in which he guided the debates of that session.

279. I also wish to pay tribute to the Secretary-General for his tireless efforts and dedication in meeting the responsibilities of his important position.

280. On behalf of the Government and people of Chile, I cordially welcome Brunei Darussalam, a new Member State which recently joined the United Nations.

281. Thirty-nine years have passed since the San Francisco Conference and four decades since our representatives met at Bretton Woods. We note with sorrow that the great expectations which were born then are not reflected in today's world.

282. The crisis in multilateralism is evident in all the fields of action of the international system.

283. States entrust their security to the creation of steadily growing arsenals, together with their will to use them unilaterally instead of relying on the rule of law, which is suffering an alarming decline.

284. The institutions which emerged from Bretton Woods have been displaced by events and, in the most serious economic crisis to affect the world economy since 1930, unilateral decisions, of which protectionism is the most accentuated expression, are once again taking the place of co-operation and joint action.

285. The concepts of integration have vanished. International order appears to be in a precarious situation. A joint destiny appears not to exist for us. Peace has not established its authority in the world. We are moving towards the year 2000 in the midst of dangerous tendencies which point to chaos and anarchy in the international system, which we must avoid.

286. The long and distressing war between Iran and Iraq, the guilty silence in the face of the tragedy of the Afghan people, the justified desperation of the Palestinian people, the dangerous and unstable situation in the Middle East, and the economic crisis affecting the international community are only some of the manifestations of the deterioration of coexistence that we are witnessing today.

287. Compounding this state of affairs, which is serious enough in itself, is the incapacity of the United Nations to act and create a climate of minimum consensus suggesting some real and just solutions. All of us are responsible for this situation, some for excessive politicization in our debates and others for believing that, to resolve it, a solution must be sought outside the institutions we created precisely to deal with the type of difficulties we face today. Instead of seeking a solution to these mistaken tendencies, new steps are taken, actions which disregard all the accumulated experience of the existing organizations. These new measures prove to be failures within a short time since the root of the problem is the lack of political will to apply them.

288. A dangerous feeling of disenchantment with the United Nations and discouragement because of the impotence of international organizations invade our peoples. They see no signs of definitive contributions to ensuring peace.

289. We must recognize the fact that there is a reason for this feeling of discouragement. Through our speeches, through our agreements and resolutions, we have been creating an imaginary world of solutions which have nothing to do with the torrent of actions which reality precipitates around us.

290. Peace is spoken of, but there is no action to bring it about; the law is mentioned as the basis for our coexistence, but it is not upheld in action; the principle of non-intervention is proclaimed, but in practice there is outright intervention; we mention the word progress, but we do not create international conditions conducive to attaining that goal; we emphasize international co-operation in words while we observe clear demonstrations of the fact that it is entering a twilight period.

291. In this general debate we have the obligation to reflect on this failure and to ask ourselves some questions. Are the principles of the Charter of the United Nations no longer applicable? Can we obtain peace without universal respect for them?

292. My Government is convinced that the problem lies not in the field of principles but in the political incapacity to give them meaning and in the poor use made of the possibilities which the United Nations system offers. The problem is the lack of political will and appropriate conduct to implement the possibilities offered us by the Charter.

293. I mentioned earlier that the deterioration of international co-operation was a symptom of the current situation, a grave process in the face of the accentuated turbulence observed in the world economy.

294. The 1980–1983 recession has been the most protracted and perhaps the most profound of the last 50 years. Trade and international finance have undergone tremendous pressures. Signs of recovery are now being noted in the economies of the industrial nations. However, the lack of international co-operation not merely hinders the extension of this recovery to the developing nations, but contributes to the persistence of the crisis among them with serious implications for their social and political stability.

295. This situation has particularly affected Latin America. The crisis in our region is to be seen in the contraction of productive capacity, in the deterioration of the terms of trade, in the enormous increase in unemployment, in the squandering of the region's economic potential, in the inflationary tendencies which have spread in some countries and in the net decline in the inflow of capital.

296. Nevertheless, the symptom and the cause which contributed to provoking the crisis are embodied in the overwhelming foreign debt affecting the greater part of the region.

297. The Latin American countries have made an enormous readjustment effort to overcome the crisis. They have assumed, at great sacrifice to their peoples, their responsibility to initiate a process of economic recovery. But external factors predominate in the crisis, imposing impossible constraints on their efforts to overcome the economic situation in which they find themselves. We are limited by factors that are beyond our control.

298. The high interest rates and the stiffening of the financial terms for credit have produced a substantial change in the nature of the debt previously contracted, resulting in a decapitalization process in Latin America which threatens our development and progress.

299. In order for Latin America to continue to honour its commitments it must, through international co-operation, find solutions that respect the interests of all and prevent the responsibility for solving the crisis from falling back solely upon the peoples of Latin America. In this regard, international trade represents an irreplaceable element. The reiterated manifestations of protectionism which have occurred in the industrial nations constitute a grave threat which not only conspires against the recovery of the international economy but also adversely affects harmony among peoples.

300. There is little room for optimism in view of these realities. The signs we perceive in the world panorama are rather pessimistic. However, we want to overcome this state of affairs. We trust that rationality will finally prevail for the good for all.

301. In addition, we believe that to surmount the present difficulties we must act with objectivity and draw inspiration from the great principles contained in the Charter of the United Nations, as noted by the Secretary-General in his report on the work of the Organization [*A/39/1*].

302. In this hour of international uncertainty, my Government reiterates its unreserved support for these fundamental principles and calls upon all to join in defining the routes which could bring us closer to a renewed role for multilateral diplomacy and for the United Nations. In this regard, I wish to express my country's support for some measures which I consider are inspired by the principles contained in the Charter, such as the continuing activities of the Secretary-General on behalf of peace and, more particularly, his action with regard to the conflicts affecting the Persian Gulf, the Middle East, Cyprus, Afghanistan and Kampuchea. These are activities which my country considers of outstanding importance and which it supports.

303. In this connection, my country wishes to refer to some aspects of the international panorama which cause concern to the international community and are of particular concern to Chile.

304. As an active and long-standing member of the United Nations Council for Namibia, we see with some uneasiness the perpetuation a situation which the entire international community, without exception, has condemned. Again we associate ourselves with those who call for the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

305. In the Middle East, it is essential to promote realistic initiatives for peace. In order to create an atmosphere conducive to a resolution of the problem, it is necessary to take a realistic and moderate approach, discarding heightened rhetoric. Chile maintains that it is essential to recognize the right of all States in the region to exist within secure and recognized borders; it is essential to make the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination effective, including the right to establish a State, and, in accordance with Security Council resolution 242 (1967), it is essential to ensure that Israel withdraw from the occupied territories.

306. The conflict afflicting the Middle East is of special concern and grief to my country. The friendly relations existing between my Government and the States of that region are not the only link that keeps us close. We are also bound, with a special feeling of affection, to the numerous children of the Jewish and Arab peoples who, having established themselves in my country, have come to form part of Chilean society and have enriched it with their culture, traditions and enthusiastic contribution to the nation's development.

307. The cases of Afghanistan and Kampuchea constitute painful examples of the arbitrary use of force and failure to recognize the political independence of those two nations. We join in the international community's condemnation of the violation of the essential rights of those peoples and the resulting mockery of express provisions of the Charter of the United Nations. The violations are all the more serious in that attempts are being made to transform them into *faits accomplis* and irreversible situations.

308. Those of us who firmly believe in the freedom of man, in respect for the sovereignty of nations and in independence, equality and the self-determination of peoples have the duty to denounce the persistent violation of those rights with a firmness arising from a conviction of their inherent validity and to condemn the flagrant aggression to which those peoples have been subjected. We must unite our efforts to prevent an unacceptable increase of these imperialistic actions. Chile reiterates once again its unlimited support for those nations in their effort to establish full sovereignty and calls for the immediate withdrawal of the occupation forces.

309. Central America is another region where the principle of non-intervention is openly breached. We are witnesses to a drama which feels to us as if it were our own, since it involves sister nations with which Chile is proud to have had a long tradition of friendship. We deplore the fact that that noble principle of the Charter is ignored by those who support actions and ideologies which an extra-continental Power is seeking to introduce into our hemisphere against the wishes of the inhabitants. For that reason we have expressed our determined support for the efforts of the Contadora Group, an initiative which we are certain will find the formula for preserving the values of peace, freedom and human dignity for the region.

310. The peaceful settlement of disputes is another basic principle. Justice and law are the only means available to the international community for adopting just, equitable and honourable solutions for the parties involved when international conflicts arise. It is in that sense that we look forward to the success of the negotiating effort entrusted to the Secretary-General in regard to the South Atlantic conflict between the Argentine Republic and the United Kingdom.

311. Also in connection with our concern for peace, we wish to create with our neighbour and sister republic, Argentina, all the conditions that will permit us to live in peace, while developing and expanding our respective potentials. Impelled by Chile's traditional devotion to law and justice, we had recourse to the mediation of Pope John Paul II to obtain a final solution to our southern dispute. With the aid of the Holy Father, we have made important progress towards the happy termination of those differences. I am confident that the historical imperative of peace, something never refuted by the facts, will once again prevail among us. The people and the Governments of Chile and Argentina share this sentiment of brotherhood very profoundly. At the current concluding stage of papal mediation, it is now for us to develop and safeguard this general pacifist conviction, which is so deeply rooted on both sides of the Andes and which is the fruit of a glorious shared history. Two neighbouring nations, possessing one of the longest frontiers in the world, have not had a war in 170 years. Is this not a living example of the fact that peace is a matter of political will and historical responsibility?

312. If we wish the actions of the United Nations to be of assistance in strengthening universal peace, we must concern ourselves with guaranteeing within the Organization the full applicability of the principle of universality. Therefore, in conformity with the Charter, we believe that all countries that wish to participate in the General Assembly should be able to do so. We hope that in the near future both Koreas will be present in this Hall as full Members. We also champion a dialogue between those nations, free from foreign intervention, that will permit resolution of the difficult situation in the Korean peninsula, thus contributing to peace in the region.

313. Chile, an Antarctic country, exercises sovereignty over part of that territory by virtue of legal and historical titles, geographical proximity and the long-standing presence and activities of its people. We view with special concern diverse measures tending to weaken the Antarctic Treaty.[20] This instrument has proved in the course of its implementation to be one of the most effective multilateral agreements ever reached. The Treaty and the system it generated have made possible the maintenance of that continent as the only one that is free of nuclear arms and where peace, ecological purity and scientific co-operation among different countries can prevail.

314. Initiatives which could lead to the dismantling of the Antarctic system would constitute a disastrous precedent for the United Nations, one which would open the doors to penetration of the region by ideological, political, economic and military disputes which now cast so many shadows over the future of mankind. My Government is convinced that the Antarctic Treaty itself and its complementary conventions possess sufficient amplitude, flexibility and openness to allow for adequate improvement of its performance.

315. Everything relating to nuclear weapons and tests is of serious concern to my country. We belong to a region which has lived free from the scourge of atomic weapons and the danger of nuclear stockpiles. We wish to maintain this situation, which is in keeping with our peaceful objectives and which serves to obviate the need for tests of that kind. For that reason we reiterate here the declarations we made in February and March of 1984, together with Colombia, Ecuador and Peru, member countries with Chile of the South Pacific Permanent Commission.

316. Turning to other matters, my country attaches equally outstanding importance to the treatment of terrorism, a scourge of this era, which gravely endangers the lives and security of individuals, reaping a growing toll of innocent victims, flagrantly violating the most fundamental human rights and threatening the internal peace of States. It is the inescapable duty of the Members of the United

Nations to lend their firmest support to all internationally agreed measures which seek effectively to counteract this despicable and criminal method of warfare and to prevent the propagation or facilitation, from within their own borders, of terrorist activities in other regions. Those who commit or support the commission of such criminal acts deserve exemplary punishment. We believe that international condemnation of terrorism must be absolute and punishment universal. Equivocal positions support and stimulate violence. Terrorism is terrorism; there is no distinction and there are no extenuating circumstances. It is a criminal and mad device that makes use of the lowest instincts of man.

317. In this regard I cannot fail to mention the despicable crime against humanity committed at the United States Embassy in Beirut.

318. We reiterate that each country has the sovereign right to enact the legislation it deems most suitable for protecting its people against this threat. At the same time, we maintain that the community of States has the right and the duty to promulgate international norms to facilitate the eradication of this scourge and the punishment of the guilty.

319. Having reviewed the principles which inspire and shape Chile's activities in the international field as well as the problems of the world community and of our region which are of particular concern to us, I should like to say a few words about the constitutional situation in my country.

320. The Chilean Government is committed to a clear and definitive process of democratic consolidation. The different steps to be taken are provided for in the existing political Constitution, which was approved by a great majority of the Chilean people and came into effect on 11 March 1981. Our goal could be no other, because devotion to the rule of law and to democracy constitute an essential ingredient in the character of Chile and the Chilean tradition. That democratic system of government, which we must endeavour to improve and strengthen in the light of the needs and threats of the modern world, is firmly rooted in the soul of all Chileans—our armed forces, our workers and intellectuals, and the young people who will constitute the nation of tomorrow.

321. We are constantly receiving messages expressing anxiety for Chile to accelerate its process of institutional evolution. Those who offer us such counsel forget that Chilean democracy, a model in America, was destroyed by totalitarian forces which took advantage of precisely those characteristics which are today debilitating the Western world. Experience has demonstrated to us how defenceless democracy can be if those who do not believe in it and are prepared to undermine it by their every action are permitted to operate freely from within.

322. We do not want this to occur again. That is why we are taking a gradual, firm and sure path in a process which we consider the most suitable for the consolidation of a democracy properly protected from those disruptive agents which acted in the past. We do not wish to repeat the experiences of other countries which in their haste failed to ensure solid foundations for the system they desired and ended up with an ephemeral dream. That is not the fate we wish for our country. The Chilean approach has been determined by the Chilean people and therefore constitutes the only prerequisite which the Government has to fulfil in order to attain solid and permanent results.

323. Clear manifestations of our progress are the press freedom that exists in the country, the organization of labour and its active participation in national affairs and the forthcoming promulgation of political laws which will consolidate this process.

324. On behalf of the Government and people of Chile, I ask this world Assembly for the respect merited by the process which our people, pursuant to their sovereign right, freely chose to adopt in order to establish a renewed, modern democracy, a democracy which is not an empty word but a real element in the preservation of our national identity, thus contributing to international peace and security.

325. Mr. POOS (Luxembourg) (*interpretation from French*): I should like first to congratulate Mr. Paul Lusaka most warmly on his election as President of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. His profound knowledge of the workings of this world Organization will, I am sure, exercise a favourable influence on our debates and improve their effectiveness. The presence at the head of this Assembly of an eminent African personality will serve to focus our attention on the critical economic situation facing many countries of Africa following the droughts and other natural disasters which have afflicted the continent over the last few years, and will also underline the urgent need for the international community to provide assistance based on strength and solidarity.

326. It is a pleasure for me to reaffirm once again our confidence in the Secretary-General, whose discreet and persevering efforts to bring about reconciliation at the international level deserve admiration, recognition and gratitude. At a time when the satisfactory settlement of conflicts and critical situations is encountering growing difficulties in the international forums created especially to resolve them, the initiatives of the Secretary-General when it is a question of bringing parties closer together and creating a climate of understanding between them assume major importance. This action inevitably and necessarily rules out the publicity which accompanies public debate. Thus I feel it is essential to encourage the Secretary-General to continue unswervingly along the path he has followed since he has been at the head of this Organization. I should like to congratulate him on the commitment he has obtained from Iraq and Iran to cease attacks on purely civilian targets, a commitment which is apparently being respected. I hope that the new efforts which the Secretary-General has undertaken this summer to solve the problem of Cyprus will soon bear fruit, and I make an urgent appeal to the two communities of the island to co-operate faithfully with him.

327. I should like to address a warm welcome to the delegation of Brunei Darussalam, which has just joined the United Nations.

328. The balance sheet of the international situation, which we review here each year at the beginning of the General Assembly session, once again hardly gives grounds for euphoria or optimism.

329. Military confrontations, open or covert conflicts and the critical tensions that have affected various regions of our planet for years, and in some cases for many years, persist, frequently with increased savagery. The use of force and the threat of the use of force are increasing.

330. In many countries the most elementary human rights, which have long been clearly defined in universally recognized international instruments, continue to be ignored or even flouted with inpunity.

331. Despite some encouraging signs, the economic recovery remains uncertain. Monetary disorder, the financial crisis and, in particular, international indebtedness are worsening. As usual, the most impoverished countries are the worst affected.

332. The bodies whose mandate it is to ensure that the principles of the Charter of the United Nations are respected and that its purposes are achieved seem incapable of halting this trend and shouldering their responsibilities. Confronted with a worsening situation, hope is giving way to disenchantment and public opinion is beginning to ask questions about the meaning and reality of our efforts.

333. The time has therefore come for Governments to react by improving our working methods as appropriate, concentrating attention as much as possible on the essentials and carefully studying practical measures to put an end to our difficulties, particularly by showing foresight and political will.

334. Two days ago my Irish colleague, Mr. Barry, informed the Assembly [*6th meeting*] of the joint position adopted by the members of the European Community with regard to the range of difficulties in international relations. I should like to devote my own comments to those difficulties which I believe deserve particular attention.

335. First, I cannot conceal my concern at the worsening climate of East-West relations, which has been seen particularly in the recent controversy between the two super-Powers. If on the one hand there have been some regrettable remarks or the use of language that is sometimes a little too strong for our taste, on the other we have encountered a stream of offensive historic comparisons, unfounded accusations, false insinuations and even appeals to hatred.

336. We hope that the statement to the General Assembly by the President of the United States [*4th meeting*] and the contacts in the past few days between the delegations of the two super-Powers will mark a turn for the better in this regard.

337. Indeed, it is high time we returned to more moderate language and respected the basic principles contained in the Nixon-Brezhnev declaration of 29 May 1972. That important document does not provide simply for the "recognition of the security interests of the parties based on the principle of equality" but attaches equal importance to the "renunciation of the use or threat of force" and of "efforts to obtain unilateral advantage at the expense of the other, directly or indirectly"; it includes the commitment of the parties "to do everything in their power so that conflicts or situations will not arise which would serve to increase international tensions", as well as the promise to "always exercise restraint".[21]

338. Only respect for those principles can lead to the re-establishment of a better climate and to the success of the current negotiations or those to come.

339. However, there must be rapid progress on disarmament, which has for so long occupied an important place in the General Assembly's work. This problem is rightly still the subject of the anxious concern of all mankind, for the arms race has accelerated in a worrying way with the accumulation of unprecedented stockpiles of weapons and their continued sophistication through scientific and technological progress. Our planet is being transformed into a more and more dangerous powder keg. The extension of the arms race to outer space gives it a new dimension with unforeseeable consequences.

340. This development is increasing the threat of a general conflagration, since it multiplies the possibility of miscalculation in the assessment of each other's intentions. It makes it more and more unlikely that possible monitoring measures will succeed. It takes away from civilian use the vast human, economic and financial resources invested in the military effort, resources whose absence is doubly felt in this period of economic recession.

341. For these diverse reasons my country has always encouraged, and it continues to support, efforts to re-establish confidence in international relations and to reduce the level of armaments to more reasonable proportions—that is, compatible with the real defence needs of everyone.

342. That is why we placed great hopes on the opening of negotiations on strategic weapons as well as those concerning intermediate-range missiles. The halt of negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union on missiles in Europe is a reverse all the more troublesome because the difficulties facing those two Powers in beginning negotiations on the use of outer space for military purposes shows how essential it is to loosen the deadlock and to resume at this level a dialogue which has been interrupted. Such a resumption is indispensable, as what is at stake is of vital interest to the whole world.

343. In this respect we share the opinion of the Secretary-General when he declares that any effort—whether bilateral or multilateral—whose final goal is to prevent an arms race in space should be encouraged. The dialogue should be resumed without preconditions, as any default or even delay might result in a new escalation.

344. Apart from its harmful effects on international security and the safeguarding of peace, the arms race involves a huge waste of material resources whose release would benefit economic development generally and that of the developing countries in particular.

345. The maintenance of peace also depends on success in the struggle against underdevelopment and can be soundly based only on a more just and better balanced economic and social order.

346. The North-South dialogue on international economic co-operation for development, which once aroused so much hope, has been marking time for some years. Despite serious appeals repeated on all sides and despite continued informal consultations, the political will is lacking when it is a question of beginning effective global negotiations on the basis laid down at the International Meeting on Co-operation and Development, held at Cancún in 1981. There is no clear prospect of their beginning as yet. However, immediate steps are urgently required, as the economic recession has already produced particularly harmful effects in the developing countries, whose per capita income has been falling for a number of years.

347. Moreover, the prospects for the immediate future are not rosy. There is little likelihood of a strengthening of commodity prices and a return to growth in international trade in general. Sources of finance are drying up because of the unprecedented size of the international debt, extreme austerity

measures are blocking recovery and protectionism is reappearing. All these factors together will, by the force of events, slow down the return of economic growth on the world scale, if we do not succeed in reversing this trend.

348. It is only by becoming aware of the interdependence between industrialized countries and developing countries that we have a chance together, in solidarity with one another, to start a constructive dialogue by agreeing on concrete measures, formulated in realistic terms, aimed at promoting a return to growth.

349. In this respect, I share the view of my eminent French colleague, Mr. Claude Cheysson, who some time ago proposed a "planetary New Deal". He said:

> "It is a planetary New Deal that should be talked about today, the granting of the right to development, to consumption, for hundreds of millions of people. Have we forgotten that our prosperity in the 1950s and 1960s was possible only because earlier the less-advanced sectors of industrialized societies had gained access to consumer and leisure markets as a consequence of bold social measures adopted before and immediately after the war: in the United States, thanks to the New Deal; in England, following the policy set out by Beveridge; and in France, by the reforms of 1936 and those following the liberation? A voluntarist policy must permit this same progress at the world level in the years to come."

350. If we are faced with a crisis today, it is due in large measure to the fact that the economic machine is blocked owing to inequality in the distribution of revenues at the world level: on the one hand, there are countries which have a powerful industrial base but lack outlets; on the other hand, there are very many nations lacking in purchasing power.

351. External aid, however, can reactivate the economy in the third world only if it is synchronized judiciously with appropriate internal policies. The consequences of international monetary and economic disorder are too grave not to impose urgently on the international community the obligation to work in common with foresight to restore order under the auspices of the United Nations.

352. But the objectives of the Charter of the United Nations will not be realized and the mission of the Organization will not be accomplished unless the safeguarding of peace and economic development are matched everywhere with effective respect of human rights and fundamental freedoms in accordance with the expressed provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and later conventions connected with it.

353. Unfortunately, there is ever more frequent confirmation that in various parts of the world flagrant violations of those international covenants are being committed almost daily: racial discrimination, arbitrary arrests, improper detentions, particularly in psychiatric hospitals, torture, inhuman and degrading treatment, and limitations on the free movement of people are current practices in many countries and are offences to human dignity.

354. The new Government of Luxembourg formed after the legislative elections of 17 June 1984 will adopt a particularly firm and steadfast position in this area. It will never hesitate to stigmatize such acts and condemn them unreservedly, whatever the country in which they occur and under whatever pretext they are resorted to, for there is no doubt that all violations of human rights go beyond the framework of exclusive national competence.

355. We will not accept either the argument that the respect of economic rights makes it possible to sidestep "with an ironic smile" any criticism on the subject of respect for political rights.

356. For our part, we adhere firmly to General Assembly resolution 37/200, which states, in paragraph 1:

> "that all human rights and fundamental freedoms are indivisible and interrelated and that the promotion and protection of one category of rights should never exempt or excuse States from the promotion and protection of the others".

357. The impartial and persistent efforts of Amnesty International over the years to make international public opinion aware of the violations of human rights deserve praise and encouragement. The Human Rights Committee, for its part, whose mission is to follow the obligations assumed by Member States, would benefit from bringing its investigation to bear on specific consideration of the individual cases before it rather than on a general analysis of the constitutional rules and laws in force, whose scope frequently remains theoretical.

358. The preparation by the Commission on Human Rights of a draft convention against torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment[22] will make it possible, we hope, to expand usefully the framework of the conventional provisions applicable in this area. But it is essential that articles 19 and 20 of the draft, relating to the submission and consideration of reports by States and to the establishment of an arrangement for investigations, are an integral part of the system for the mandatory implementation of the convention, to be applied to all States which adhere to it.

359. We condemn and reject once again most categorically the policy of *apartheid* pursued by South Africa, which should put an end to it once and for all by establishing a democratic society in which the fundamental freedoms and political rights of all citizens are respected. In addition, South Africa should stop blocking Namibia's accession to independence by complying with Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

360. When mentioning the problem of human rights, I cannot pass over in silence the concerns mingled with hope and sympathy which we feel given the development of the situation in Poland, where we welcome the measures of amnesty in favour of political prisoners. We hope that the authorities will enter into a sincere and genuine dialogue with the organizations representing the labour movement, which would be a first step towards genuine national reconciliation.

361. An undeniable assault on human rights and on the right of peoples to self-determination is, unfortuntely, lingering stubbornly in Afghanistan. The Soviet military intervention which has continued over the past four and a half years is growing in savagery following an increase in methods used to put an end to popular resistance, particularly by high-altitude bombing. The outside world cannot stifle its condemnation in the light of such a merciless escalation. A peaceful settlement in keeping with the various resolutions adopted over the last few years by

the General Assembly is the sole admissible and honourable way out of the present deadlock.

362. The same applies to Cambodia.

363. There are also manifold reasons for disquiet with regard to the ongoing war between Iraq and Iran, which has reached a new level with attacks against shipping in the Gulf. This escalation is likely to drag into that conflict States which have so far remained on the sidelines. Although the attempts at mediation have not yet met with success, efforts should be redoubled to calm passions, unblock the situation, put an end to this bloody struggle and halt the sufferings of the two peoples by respecting their legitimate reciprocal interests.

364. During the past year violence has continued to claim many innocent victims in Lebanon. The example of that country shows once again that the use of force creates more difficulties than it solves.

365. Even if complete calm does not yet reign in Lebanon, we can be pleased with the progress which has been made towards national reconciliation and which deserves our total encouragement.

366. It is important that the international community now redouble its efforts so that Lebanon's sovereignty, territorial integrity, independence and unity be restored and respected and that there be a withdrawal of Israeli and all other foreign forces whose presence is not desired by the Government of Lebanon.

367. To achieve a comprehensive settlement in the Near East, we must necessarily take into account the various basic facts that have long been known. They have not changed. Such a settlement can be envisaged only provided that it includes recognition of the right of each State, including Lebanon and Israel, to live in security within safe, recognized and guaranteed borders, together with the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination with all that that implies. The multiplication in the area, particularly in the occupied territories, of *faits accomplis* contrary to international law will only delay and further complicate the development of a viable solution. All those directly concerned should, willy-nilly, consent to meeting around the negotiating table.

368. Latin America offers both cause for great concern and grounds for hope.

369. We can only energetically condemn the bloody repression of peaceful demonstrations that has just taken place once again in Chile.

370. We have noted with satisfaction, in other countries, a gradual return towards democracy and, at least in Colombia, a movement towards the settlement of domestic disputes by peaceful means. We very much hope that those examples will be studied elsewhere and that in Central America in particular the efforts of the Contadora Group will meet with success.

371. The comment that I made earlier in connection with the need simultaneously to respect all categories of human rights applies particularly with reference to Latin America.

372. Next year the United Nations will celebrate the fortieth anniversary of its establishment. During this period the international community has undergone profound changes: it has been enlarged considerably following the accession to independence of a large number of States which were formerly colonial Territories.

Mr. Moushoutas (Cyprus), Vice-President, took the Chair.

373. We are pleased at this, but we realize at the same time that while the debate has gained in depth and intensity it has also become more complex, because the immediate concerns and the objectives of the various participants are not always the same, while the political régimes and the economic and social conditions in those countries have become markedly different.

374. Furthermore, the results achieved have not matched the immense hopes which the peoples represented at San Francisco placed in the Charter of the United Nations, which, of course, presupposed the active co-operation of each Member State in the attainment of common objectives. The proper application of the Charter entails if not perfect understanding at least a sincere desire on the part of the permanent members of the Security Council to seek co-operation through the world Organization. This is not, however, the case at present. The relations between the two super-Powers are going through a difficult period and have practically reached deadlock. We can only regret this and hope that the dialogue between them will be resumed as speedily as possible and that mutual distrust can be dissipated. Only thus can the safeguarding of peace and the expansion of co-operation—in other words, the success of our common enterprise—be achieved.

375. Mr. ALDALI (Democratic Yemen) (*interpretation from Arabic*): It gives me great pleasure to congratulate Mr. Lusaka on his election to the presidency of the General Assembly at its thirty-ninth session, which is being held in extremely complex and delicate international conditions. To tackle these questions he will need the great wisdom and experience that he has displayed in other positions he has occupied within the framework of the United Nations, when he successfully shouldered the enormous responsibilities they entailed. His election is a clear expression of the respect the international community has for his country.

376. It also gives me pleasure to pay a tribute to Mr. Illueca, the President of Panama, for his unstinting efforts during his presidency of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly, guiding the work of that session with great competence.

377. I cannot fail to express my delegation's appreciation of the active role played by the Secretary-General in the efforts to improve the effectiveness of the Organization and in easing international tensions and bringing about international peace and security.

378. We are happy to welcome to our ranks a new Member, Brunei Darussalam, which can now make its contribution to the achievement of the noble aims we all share.

379. We are all aware that the international situation is going through a grave period as a result of the aggressive policy pursued by world imperialists, in particular the United States. We have recently seen an escalation of the arms race and an exacerbation of international tensions, the flexing of muscles and violations of the sovereignty of States and of their right to independence and to choose their own path of development.

380. The United States invaded Grenada, has conspired and committed acts of aggression against Nicaragua and has exacerbated the situation in the Middle East.

381. The arms race has become the major concern of all the peoples and Governments of the world, and everyone is aware of the grave consequences of a nuclear catastrophe. On the arms race alone, millions of dollars are wasted annually, at a time when millions of people are suffering or even dying of hunger in the developing world. Yet the danger of a nuclear catastrophe hangs over all of us in view of the continual deterioration of the international situation and the dangerous doctrines and concepts of nuclear deterrence, of a "limited nuclear war" and of the achievement of military superiority, especially nuclear superiority, as well as other doctrines that aim only at escalating the arms race and proclaim a policy of confrontation, the exacerbation of international tensions and the frustration of peaceful initiatives aimed at a practical and well-considered strategy for achieving general and complete disarmament.

382. Obstruction of the work of the Conference on Disarmament on various pretexts and justifications and suspension of negotiations between the Soviet Union and the United States on the subject of the Treaty on the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms (SALT II Treaty) cannot lead to the concrete and positive results which we all hope for. Adventurism in this area threatens all mankind with annihilation. We cannot but welcome the constructive initiatives and proposals put forward by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in order to curb the arms race, as well as the efforts exerted by other countries with the aim of eliminating once and for all the spectre of war and promoting international peace. It is our common responsibility to safeguard international peace, promote international co-operation and eliminate hotbeds of tension.

383. In the Middle East, as you know, the question of Palestine continues to pose a serious threat and stir the conscience of the world. Despite United Nations resolutions and efforts at all levels, Israel persists in its aggressive racist and expansionist policies in Palestinian and other occupied Arab territories, continuing the annexation and expropriation of land, implanting settlements, resorting to policies of repression, intimidation and dispersion of the combatant Palestinian people, occupying and dividing southern Lebanon and preventing it from regaining its legitimate national authority over all its territory.

384. The Zionists could not have been successful in achieving their aims and plans without the unlimited support and assistance continually provided by the United States, which is reinforcing its strategic alliance with Israel, opening to Israel the doors of its sophisticated military arsenal, showering it with financial, diplomatic and political aid, while threatening States and international organizations that break relations with Israel, using its veto in the Security Council and employing other means of helping Israel to continue its occupation and carry out its aggressive policies, as well as to flout United Nations resolutions and international rules of conduct.

385. It is a matter of serious concern to us that the United States, a permanent member of the Security Council, has abused the right of veto in such a way in the last few years that it has become an obstacle to the fulfilment of the responsibility of the Council to maintain international peace and security. It has also compromised the rights of independent States and peoples. This has happened on many occasions, the latest of which concerned the draft resolution on Israeli practices in southern Lebanon.[10]

386. The international community is well aware that the Palestinian question is the core of the conflict in the Middle East; without a just and comprehensive solution to it, the explosive situation in that region will continue to threaten international peace and security. We cannot imagine any solution to this problem that does not entail full recognition of the PLO as the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and ensure the complete withdrawal of all Israeli forces from the occupied Arab territories. Furthermore, the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people must be recognized, including its right to return, to self-determination and to establish its own independent State on its national territory.

387. United Nations resolutions and honest efforts made by other parties in this respect all evolved within this framework. It has become absolutely clear that partial and individual solutions lead only to a dead end and inevitable failure. The United Nations has called for an international peace conference, and the Soviet Union has also recently put forward new, positive proposals on a Middle East settlement [*A/39/368*]. We see in this a chance to find a solution and avoid deterioration and deadlock in the Middle East. This can be achieved only by means of an international peace conference within the framework of the United Nations, with the participation, on an equal footing, of all the parties concerned, including the PLO, in accordance with United Nations resolutions, objectives and principles.

388. The objection of the United States to such a conference does not surprise us. It confirms the real intentions and aims of United States policy, which will only result in increasing tension and exacerbating the situation. The United Nations must shoulder its responsibilities fully and make every possible effort to ensure the implementation of its resolutions.

389. The reinforcement of Palestinian national unity within the framework of a unified and strong PLO, as the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, is at this stage an essential element in the concerted efforts to find a solution to the Middle East problem and in the struggle of the Palestinians for the recognition of their inalienable national rights to return, to self-determination and to establish their national State on their national soil.

390. To this end, Democratic Yemen has joined in concerted efforts to bring about a comprehensive dialogue among Palestinians that would reinforce national Palestinian unity within the framework of the PLO and open up wider horizons for the Palestinian struggle and the solidarity of the international community with the Palestinians. We hope that these efforts with our brethren and friends will be crowned with success.

391. In Democratic Yemen we are not remote from the plans and conspiracies that threaten progressive national régimes. In the Indian Ocean the imperialist military presence is reinforced. This makes it essential to hold the Conference on the Indian Ocean in the first half of next year at the latest.

392. Recently there have been mine explosions in the Red Sea, near our territorial waters. This causes more concern and tension and threatens the safety, security, stability and sovereignty of the States of the region. We have clearly stated our position and

warned against attempts to use these events as a pretext for imperialist militarist intervention in the affairs of the region and to justify the presence of imperialist fleets and bases. We look forward impatiently to the time when the area will be a zone of peace and security as a result of the conjunction of international efforts and the efforts of all peace-loving forces to bring about favourable conditions for the attainment of this end. The first requirement in this connection is the departure of the foreign fleets cruising in Red Sea waters under the pretext of minesweeping.

393. Our area is still replete with problems. There is the war between Iraq and Iran, which is entering its fourth year with increased hostilities and is widening in scope. The situation is becoming increasingly grave and dangerous. It behoves us all, therefore, to make all possible efforts at all levels to put an end to it, to stop it from spreading, and to resort to peaceful dialogue so as not to leave any room for imperialist interventions, which will not serve the interests of the peoples of the area in their quest for security, stability and progress.

394. The imperialists and colonialists endeavour to destabilize independent national régimes and to obstruct their development in order to perpetuate their selfish interests, whether in Asia, Africa or Latin America.

395. Southern Africa is still languishing under the yoke of the most terrible form of racist occupation, persecution and oppression, and of *apartheid;* and the racist minority, with the collusion of imperialists and Israel, fights against the militant African masses who are continuing their struggle with heroism and steadfastness.

396. Western attempts to circumvent the resolutions of the United Nations and the international community in order to collaborate with the racist régime and end its isolation, including inviting its Prime Minister for official visits, will lead to increased stiffening of South Africa's attitude towards the peoples of the country.

397. We reaffirm our full support for the struggle of those peoples and their national liberation movements, in particular SWAPO. We call for the immediate implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), concerning the effective independence of Namibia, so that this militant people may achieve freedom and national independence.

398. In Latin America, and in particular Central America, the present United States Administration has made it crystal clear that it will not let the peoples there freely choose their own way to exercise their rights to development and to liberation from dependence and exploitation. It continues to resort to all kinds of pressures, international terrorism and covert and overt intervention, military and non-military, against peoples and States. This is what happened in Grenada and Nicaragua, and it is also shown by the escalation of the blockade of Cuba and the persistence of its presence in Guantánamo and Puerto Rico. It does not cease its conspiracies and manoeuvres nor its attempts to put an end to the national liberation movements in El Salvador, Chile and Guatemala.

399. We support the efforts of the Contadora Group to establish peace and stability in Central America, free of the influence and interference of the United States in the internal affairs of the region, and call on the United Nations to concentrate its efforts in support of the peoples of the region in their struggle against this intervention.

400. There can be no just peace unless it is based on the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations and on international norms and practices.

401. In Western Sahara, the Saharan people are struggling to achieve self-determination, freedom and sovereignty. We feel that there must be direct negotiations between the Frente POLISARIO[2] and Morocco, based on resolutions of the OAU and the United Nations.

402. The only way to settle the problem of Cyprus is for all foreign troops to be withdrawn from that country and for its independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-aligned status to be ensured. Separatist plans to divide the island must be rejected, and the dialogue between the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities must be pursued.

403. We cannot but express again our support for the proposals put forward by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, within the framework of the efforts to obtain the peaceful reunification of Korea.

404. We support also the proposals presented by Afghanistan and the countries of Indo-China for dialogue and understanding among the nations concerned, in order to establish peace and stability in the regions.

405. There is still a negative escalating spiral in the international economic crisis, and its effects seriously prejudice the interests of developing countries, particularly the least developed among them. Unfortunately, the efforts by the developing countries to contain the crisis and minimize the damage it causes have met with obstacles set up by the Western industrialized countries. There is still insistence on dealing with the problem in ways that are insufficient and inappropriate, given the extent of the crisis with its numerous international commercial, monetary and financial aspects.

406. In this respect, we wish to reaffirm that economic recovery in the industrialized countries will not alleviate some aspects of the crisis unless it is accompanied by practical steps to eliminate protectionist barriers, reduce interest rates and solve the problems facing the developing countries, which see their debts mounting up unceasingly, forcing them to cut their development programmes to the very bone.

407. A comprehensive solution to the deteriorating international economic crisis lies in the reconstruction of international economic relations and in rekindling global negotiations with a view to establishing a new international economic order. We cannot, however, conceal the frustration felt by the developing countries as a result of the failure to achieve concrete results—a failure caused by the lack of response by the industrialized countries to the proposals recently put forward by the developing countries. Furthermore, the meetings to review and evaluate the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade have not so far achieved satisfactory results.

408. Democratic Yemen, as one of the least developed countries, is particularly affected by the consequences of the international economic crisis. As a result of that crisis, our country, which has meagre financial resources, is suffering from the rise and fluctuations of prices of imported manufactured

goods. Moreover, the real value of official development assistance has shrunk. Also, the organizations of the United Nations system concerned with operational development activities and the international financial institutions that aid the developing countries have had to curtail their projects because of their smaller budgets. All these factors have combined to restrict the aspirations of our countries to implement development projects designed to build a society whose citizens can enjoy prosperity and stability.

409. Since it attained independence, my country has maintained a policy of peace based on coexistence and good-neighbourliness and on respect for sovereignty and independence, and it has made consistent efforts to ensure the unity of the Yemeni people by peaceful and democratic means. On that basis, friendly relations have been established with the countries neighbouring Democratic Yemen.

410. The efforts to achieve unity have resulted in the elaboration of joint drafts by the two parts of Yemen and the establishment of fraternal relations and continuing co-ordination between them.

411. In his report on the work of the Organization [*A/39/1*], the Secretary-General states:

> "Unfortunately the history of post-war international relations has so far shown that the common interest in peace and security has tended to assert itself only when things have reached a dangerously critical stage. . . . We are still very far from general acceptance of the principles of the Charter as rules to be lived by at all times by all Governments in their international relations."

The Secretary-General also draws attention to the fact that the inability of the international community to solve many political and economic problems has resulted in a tendency to avoid recourse to the United Nations and, instead, to have recourse to other measures such as force, unilateral steps and confrontational military pacts that have reduced the prestige of the Organization.

412. At a time when the fortieth anniversary of the establishment of the United Nations is approaching, we hope that this situation described by the Secretary-General will not persist and that the combined efforts of the international community will serve to strengthen the Organization and its effectiveness, in order to assist oppressed peoples and to implement the purposes and principles of the Charter so that freedom, justice, well-being, and international peace and security can be achieved.

Organization of work

413. The PRESIDENT: At this morning's meeting I drew the attention of members of the General Assembly to the letter I received from the representative of Botswana dated 26 September 1984, in which, in his capacity as Chairman of the Group of African States, he requested that the Assembly consider urgently, under agenda item 31, "Policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa", the situation in South Africa.

414. A draft resolution [*A/39/L.2*] on this subject was distributed this morning, and it is the wish of the Group of African States that it be considered by the Assembly at the plenary meeting to be held tomorrow afternoon. May I take it that the Assembly agrees to act on that basis?

It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 8 p.m.

NOTES

[1] A/S-11/14, annex I.

[2] Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y de Río de Oro.

[3] *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 24* (A/35/24), vol. I, annex II.

[4] *Ibid., Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes,* agenda item 106, document A/7754.

[5] See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-seventh Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1982,* document S/15510, annex.

[6] *Official Records of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea,* vol. XVII (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.84.V.3), document A/CONF.62/122.

[7] Protocol for the Prohibition of the Use in War of Asphyxiating, Poisonous or Other Gases, and of Bacteriological Methods of Warfare, signed at Geneva on 17 June 1925. (League of Nations, *Treaty Series,* vol. XCIV (1929), No. 2138.)

[8] E/1984/68, para. 6.

[9] *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 27* (A/27/27), annex I.

[10] *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-ninth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1984,* document S/16732.

[11] *Ibid., Thirty-eighth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1983,* document S/15999, annex.

[12] See *Report of the International Conference on Kampuchea* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.81.I.20), annex I.

[13] See *Report of the International Conference on Population, 1984, Mexico City, 6–14 August 1984* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.84.XIII.8 and corrigenda), chap. I.

[14] See ID/CONF.5/46, chap. II, sect. A.

[15] *Ibid.,* sect. C.

[16] A/10112, chap. IV.

[17] ID/CONF.4/22 and Corr.1, chap. VI.

[18] A/36/333 and Corr.1, annex.

[19] See *Report of the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace, Copenhagen, 14–30 July 1980* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.80.IV.3 and corrigendum), chap. I, sect. A.

[20] United Nations, *Treaty Series,* vol. 402, No. 5778.

[21] *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-Seventh Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1972,* document S/10674, p. 91.

[22] E/CN.4/1984/72.

United Nations
GENERAL ASSEMBLY
THIRTY-NINTH SESSION
Official Records

12th PLENARY MEETING

Friday, 28 September 1984, at 10.35 a.m.

NEW YORK

President: Mr. Paul J. F. LUSAKA (Zambia).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations Mr. Fernando Belaúnde Terry, the President of the Republic of Peru, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

2. Mr. BELAÚNDE TERRY (*interpretation from Spanish*): To come to the rostrum of the General Assembly is cause for deep emotion. One feels the mysterious force of world brotherhood even though this does not conceal the clouds on the horizon. We must place ourselves above all controversy and seek only peace. Our feelings at the beginning of this address are those of sympathy and solidarity with those who do not enjoy peace, with those whose lives are threatened and whose property is destroyed, with those who have faced fratricidal wars and have been maimed, with those who are the living testimony to acts of violence and intolerance.

3. One might wonder why the United Nations has not prevented those evil actions, but perhaps we fail to see how much suffering has been avoided by means of quiet and intense actions, how many tears have not been shed and how much blood has not been spilt as a result of the persistent efforts of this great universal institution. However, we cannot really live in tranquillity so long as peace does not prevail all over our planet. May our words and our deeds together work towards that lofty objective.

4. From this rostrum authoritative words have been spoken by high-ranking world dignitaries on questions relating to arms. I am not a special authority on those questions. For that reason I shall deal mainly with matters falling within my competence and the competence of Latin American nations: the threat of financial colonialism on the one hand, and the threat of terrorism on the other.

5. Following the oil crisis and the proliferation of Eurodollars, a change took place in credit systems. Great encouragement was given to the investment of these great flows of capital, and this imposed a responsibility on the debtor nations as well on the lenders. Enormous obligations were thus created, and now we face difficulties in trying to repay.

6. World organizations have endeavoured to find formulas in this regard, and the formula most frequently resorted to is that of prescribing a drastic reduction in public expenditure, which can be summed up in the word "austerity". I should like to explain at this moment—which is of such great importance to me—that austerity in itself does not resolve the problem. We would have to add to it an expression that would complete the idea—"austerity without recession"—because austerity in itself can bring peoples to a state of paralysis and can become the breeding-ground for greater concerns and perhaps for confrontation.

7. World peace requires that a solution be found to the problem of indebtedness—a realistic solution. Of course we accept advice with regard to seeking economic health. We welcome prescriptions, but we should not wish them to become a kind of death certificate. There must be a clear conception of the fact that austerity must go along with new measures towards development. All credit granted for development must be revised and brought into line with the conditions which prevail today. If we continue to follow the old patterns, paralysis will be inevitable, and that paralysis must be of fundamental concern to the United Nations, because it could be a prelude to war.

8. Here very often when the arms race and nuclear weapons are discussed one may perhaps see in them the major threat, and all our concerns are focused on them, but we must also consider the concern over wars in gestation which are based on economic problems, on unemployment, on malnutrition, which are brought about by an economic system that is not well suited to present-day realities.

9. Austerity without recession means, for us, a policy that would accept the principle of fiscal discipline, of cuts in so far as they are possible, but without going beyond what is possible. We all know that in our countries, particularly in Latin American countries, most of the budget is devoted to the payment of wages and services, and therefore only a very small part is devoted to public works and to capital formation by the State. Therefore, of course, an exaggerated cut would tend to bring about the elimination of those items, and thus the State becomes a spectator rather than an actor. It ceases to be an important employer, and it defers works, usually having to do with public health, education, energy supplies and nutrition. We must therefore ask from this rostrum that the competent organs speed up the processes, that they seek better absorption of resources in world markets and that they grant credits speedily, attempting to reduce in so far as possible the local counterpart, because the lending of credit on the basis of a high local counterpart makes it almost impossible to use the funds.

10. In my country and in the Andean region generally, and most particularly in Ecuador and Colombia, our immediate neighbours, where we still see the tradition of an old society, where there are

basic concerns, where we see what Toynbee used to speak about and admire—a very severe geographical challenge overcome by perseverance, effort and the talents of the Andean society—there, of course, in our remote past there was no international exchange. There was not even a monetary system. Let us recall that in Rome currency was as important as the sword. In the Andean civilization, which assumed Roman proportions—if we drew a line from Pasto in Colombia to the Maule River in Chile, it would equal the distance from Gibraltar to Jerusalem—a system of justice was established, a system of solidarity based on a code of ethics. It was possible to maintain full supplies—supplies which we now long for—and a régime prevailed which heralded our present policy of social justice, during a time when people had to till the soil for the orphans, the widows and the disabled.

11. Such a society, which some find Utopian and some find merely archaic, has left us with a basic teaching. It has shown us that it is possible to have governmental organization and social justice even in the absence of money. Today's world lacks money—not completely, but in part. No one would ask that we go back, but we should note that there is a precedent and that justice and order can be attained even in the absence of money. That is the basic message of the Andean civilizations at this time when money is so scarce. That is why we seek this blending, not only of races, of Europeans and of the indigenous populations of our continent, but a blending which is expressed in all spheres of action and culture, and one that should not exclude a mixing of the economy.

12. For that reason, any proposal made to Latin America, and especially to those areas where the time-honoured traditions still prevail and the old population is found to be pure and almost intact, must go through a regional screen, a screen which allows for the reaffirming of national identity, a screen of realism; it must not be a foreign, alien and cold prescription.

13. There is a tendency to resolve economic problems in terms of balance, in terms of figures, in terms of red and black, but such balance sheets do not resolve the problem unless they take into account the political and social situation and, above all, the minimum standard of living which we all desire for our peoples.

14. I therefore take the opportunity of my presence at this august rostrum to reiterate the appeal which I have made in other forums for a change to be effected in the financial and credit systems at the international level so that we may assist our peoples to move forward.

15. In brief, our request is that at the economic and financial levels we resort to creativity and to imagination to provide the answer that we continue to seek. In the world today, the situation can be defined in terms of financial colonialism, and dependency can be as serious a question now as it used to be at the political level before the entire world awakened to freedom and before the ceation of an organization of the broad scope of the United Nations in which the nations of the world are represented and through which all nations have access to the world debate and can make known their views on the basis of justice and equity.

16. We are also concerned about the problem of terrorism. Just as the arms race is a prelude to war—and members of the Assembly have discussed that subject with authoritative experts—terrorism is the anticipation of war; its objective is to create a climate that is likely to lead to bridgeheads or beach-heads from which conflagrations can emerge. Terrorism is typified by cowardice. Attacks, killings and destruction occur, after which the aggressor withdraws to the shadows. The economy of weak nations is damaged and discord is sown in places where solidarity had hitherto prevailed.

17. In Peru we have had the disagreeable experience that in part of the sierra there have been hostilities because of terrorist action. As a result, 74 humble local government and education authorities have been cruelly and treacherously assassinated. At least 100 defenders of public order have lost their lives in the past three years, and hundreds of innocent and peaceful peasants, tradesmen and members of indigenous communities have also fallen. In some cases the aggressors too have lost their lives. But, for us, all blood shed is equally important and all suffering touches us.

18. We therefore hope that these terrorist movements, which always have international origins, may be wiped out. It is a fundamental task of the United Nations to put an end to them. To effect a cure is much more costly and complicated. We must eradicate the scourge of terrorism.

19. That this movement has arisen not from within the affected country but from without has been amply demonstrated by the fact that there is a well-thought-out strategy of destruction of the entire energy system. The main target is the electricity system of a country, a system built with much sacrifice and invested with the hopes of the people. Terrorists attempt to halt rural electrification, which we are all interested in advancing. Electricity towers are toppled, energy cables are cut, power-stations are blown up and communication lines are cut by the blowing up of bridges. Poor countries which have scarcely sufficient resources for their development, given the population explosion, find that they must use their resources not to create new wealth but to replace what has been destroyed by such cowardly acts.

20. The international nature of this problem is confirmed in the communication system because, whenever damage is done, the news automatically goes around the world. It is exaggerated and it is used to the detriment of the country in which the terrorist act originated. This has been proved time and again.

21. Finally, terrorism is related to another scourge of humanity, the drug trade. The drug trade finances terrorism. It is the marriage of crime and vice. Out of that marriage has been born this threat to peaceful peoples whose normal lives should be zealously guarded by them and by the community of nations so worthily represented in the United Nations.

22. Mr. President, the high office that you now occupy and which has brought Zambia—that dear and friendly nation—an election for which we congratulate you, was once occupied by a modest, humble and eloquent Peruvian, to whom I am attached by the strong bonds of family and motherland. I am referring to Víctor Andrés Belaúnde. Víctor Andrés had the good fortune of witnessing the birth of the United Nations and 22 years later, this Organization, after having heard in this Hall his advocacy of world peace, saw him die. His last words were divine words and they have continually been

repeated in this Hall—peace on earth, peace to the peoples of goodwill.

23. Peace on the American continent. An intelligent and swift resolution to the problem of the Malvinas. Peace in Central America, that part of the continent so much in need of work and normalcy, nutrition and development. Peace in the three nations which converge on the Gulf of Fonseca—Nicaragua, Honduras and El Salvador—a Gulf which is clamouring for a development plan, because problems can be solved there which affect all three countries, be they related to fishing, energy, storage or port facilities. What a good thing it would be if the money spent on fratricidal discord could be used for constructive activities, so that these peoples which converge on that Gulf could meet each other there and celebrate a second independence—economic independence—and security against conflagration or fratricidal threats!

24. I do not wish to speak at length about all the problems that are of concern to this Assembly, in which we find such distinguished representatives from all nations, but I did want to emphasize those two concerns of our hemisphere.

25. However, there is something that I should like to add in these words of welcome to you, Mr. President, and that is the close co-operation at the executive level which you receive from another great Peruvian, Javier Pérez de Cuéllar. I believe that I will be forgiven if, as President of Peru, I do not conceal the pride I derive from the names I have mentioned, because that allows me, in fervently reiterating our adherence to the Charter of the United Nations, to say that Peru is in the United Nations not only in our repeated adherence to it, but also in our actions in it.

26. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the President of the Republic of Peru for the important statement he has just made.

27. Mr. DOST (Afghanistan): I shall begin my statement by offering you, Sir, the cordial congratulations of the delegation of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan on your election to the high office of President of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. We are certain that as a person with outstanding qualities and vast experience, and as a representative of a fellow non-aligned country, you will be able to fulfil your duties with distinction and success. You can fully rely on my delegation's co-operation in the attainment of positive results from the work of this session.

28. We pay a tribute to your distinguished predecessor, Mr. Jorge Illueca, President of the Republic of Panama, for his responsible and devoted service as President of the thirty-eighth session.

29. May I also extend our gratitude to the energetic Secretary-General for his selfless and untiring endeavours during the past year on behalf of the international community.

30. Next year we shall be celebrating the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations. This, in our view, provides an appropriate occasion to review the performance of the United Nations system over the past four decades in order to draw necessary lessons for the enhancement of its role and effectiveness in the achievement of peace, security, justice and development. This should also be an occasion for a determined rededication by Member States to the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and to their effective implementation.

31. We fully share the Secretary-General's thoughts in his report on the work of the Organization [*A/39/1*] that "Without the safety net which multilateral organization provides, the world would certainly be a much more dangerous and disorderly place", and that "an extended and tolerable future for all humanity ultimately depends upon our success in making the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations the basis of the day-to-day relations of Governments and peoples". These views are more accurate now than ever before, since the circumstances under which our world is evolving today are far more fraught with a threat to its very existence than they have ever been in the entire history of mankind.

32. The tremendously huge quantities of destructive war potential accumulated in the aggressive centres of power haunt millions of people all over the world with their unthinkable possibility. Legitimate fear of a complete annihilation of life on earth as a result of an all-out nuclear war has put the struggle for peace and the prevention of such a war at the top of the list of priorities on the human agenda. To be sure, the mere existence of quantitatively and qualitatively large amounts of nuclear weapons is a cause for concern.

33. The main cause for serious concern, however, is the horrendous policies that advocate the probability of the use of such armaments. The main source of this threat lies in the aggressive and militaristic circles of the imperialist camp, first and foremost the United States, which are willing to use these weapons at their own discretion.

34. We remain gravely alarmed by such pronouncements as "negotiating from strength", "security through force" and "limited or protracted nuclear war". One would have wished that these doctrines were advanced merely as part of the imperialists' warmongering rhetoric. But the hard facts which have found reflection in the actions and deeds of the imperialist Powers leave virtually no room for wishful thinking.

35. The regenerated capitalist war industries fed by extra hundreds of billions of dollars have already passed their monstrous products through the assembly lines. The unprecedented buildup of United States interventionist forces in every corner of the world, together with the unleashing of hounds of war in so-called covert operations against innumerable Governments and peoples, has caused immense concern over the not-so-secret intentions harboured by the White House. Despite hapless and futile attempts at adopting peaceable postures, those hidden evil designs found their way out in the form of a gaffe not meant for broadcast. Indeed, we have to worry about our fate and that of the whole world when the buttons of the largest arsenal of nuclear weapons are under the command of those who find it amusing to joke about nuclear warfare.

36. At a time when the destiny of our planet is toyed with by those who are madly seeking United States unquestionable superiority, hundreds of people in various centres of the world are sent every day to the valley of death as mere cannon fodder for United States foreign policy.

37. Thanks to such policies and actions, vitally important bilateral negotiations on strategic arms

limitations and disarmament have either been suspended or rendered completely fruitless. The deployment by the United States of large numbers of its first-strike cruise and Pershing II nuclear missiles in several countries of Europe aimed at the Soviet Union and other socialist countries resulted in the suspension of bilateral talks at Geneva.

38. As if this planet were not enough for the warmongering circles in the United States, a disproportionately extensive plan for the militarization of outer space and introduction of highly sophisticated weapons there has been launched by them.

39. Here we would like to express our full support for the timely and very important proposals of the Soviet Union, both on the peaceful uses of outer space and on the inadmissibility of State terrorism, put forward by its Foreign Minister, Mr. Gromyko [*10th meeting*].

40. To avert the danger of a nuclear holocaust and save the earth and the space surrounding it for peaceful uses by this and future generations, all nuclear Powers should in our view positively and effectively respond to the Soviet Union's peaceful *démarche*, which constitutes yet another valuable step in line with other innumerable important Soviet proposals aimed at the achievement of general and complete disarmament and the strengthening of international security.

41. The wars of aggression, direct military occupation, undeclared mercenary wars and proxy wars waged by surrogate régimes on behalf of imperialism are taking a heavy toll on peoples who are determined to defend their independence, territorial integrity and national sovereignty. The roars of United States aeroplanes and other military machinery makes the atmosphere of peace tremble on the borders first of one country and then of another.

42. Repeated attempts are being made further to suffocate the process of détente through a deliberate escalation of tension in Europe and elsewhere.

43. Accompanying all these are the greedy economic policies applied by the capitalist financial monopolies, which have for many years banked upon the natural and human resources of colonial or newly independent nations and are now out to rob them of whatever has remained in their possession. The unjust burden of debt now weighing on the shoulders of the developing countries is becoming disproportionate as a result of high interest rates and the continuing multifaceted crisis in the world capitalist system.

44. The irrational squandering of billions of dollars on militarization and the arms race imposed by imperialism takes place while hundreds of millions of people around the world are suffering from poverty, hunger, disease and unemployment.

45. The gap in the living standards and rates of development between the developed and developing countries has further widened. The imperialist policy of using economic assistance as a means of exerting political pressure on the developing countries is no longer confined to the bilateral co-operation or the capitalist financial institutions, but has been extensively employed to curtail or completely stop the flow of international development assistance to those countries which dare to refuse to submit to their diktat.

46. The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, as one such country, has become a victim of these acts of economic pressure and blackmail. This was starkly manifested in the course of the consideration of Afghanistan's country programme by the Governing Council of UNDP.

47. We would like to warn the developing countries, in particular the least developed and low-income countries, to be vigilant against such policies and urge them to unite for the safeguarding of the rights and interests of all developing nations on the basis of internationally established criteria.

48. Few other actions could be more inhuman than the denial of the right of a least developed and landlocked nation to development.

49. Asia, at the heart of which Afghanistan is located, has undergone a period of increased hostilities and confrontation. The traditional hotbeds of tension have been further inflamed while attempts at the creation of new ones have continued unabated.

50. The Indian Ocean, whose littoral and hinterland States have long striven to turn it into a zone of peace, have witnessed a drastic increase in the naval presence of the United States and expansion of its military bases, particularly on the Mauritian island of Diego Garcia. The efforts which the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Indian Ocean made on behalf of the United Nations, aimed at convening the international Conference on the Indian Ocean, were frustrated once again by the arrogant and stubborn refusal of the United States to heed the aspirations of all nations concerned. The United States and its allies should not be allowed to delay further the holding of the Conference, which is now proposed by the non-aligned countries of the *Ad Hoc* Committee to be held in the first half of 1985 at Colombo.

51. Here we should like to reiterate our support for the initiative of Mr. Didier Ratsiraka, President of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar, on the convening of a summit conference of littoral and hinterland States of the Indian Ocean.

52. The proposal of the Mongolian People's Republic on the signing of a convention on mutual non-aggression and non-use of force in Asia and the Pacific, which enjoys our full support, has not been given, in some quarters, the serious attention this important initiative deserves.

53. Similar negative responses have been accorded to the repeated peaceful proposals of the three Indo-Chinese countries for the cessation of regional hostilities and the normalization of the situation in the region of South-East Asia. This cool reaction is demonstrated at a time when the imperialist, hegemonist and reactionary designs to topple the legitimate Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea have met with complete defeat.

54. We vigorously condemn the indiscriminate shelling of Vietnamese towns and villages by expansionist Chinese circles.

55. Having been unable to intimidate the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and to crush the will of the Kampuchean people, these forces are now out to create and provoke new hostilities on the borders of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, by invading its territory and occupying three of its villages.

56. The Middle East has continued to remain fraught with the danger of major armed conflict. The continued denial of the inalienable rights of the people of Palestine and other occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem, the Syrian Golan Heights

and southern Lebanon, by the Zionist expansionist forces has reduced to naught the possibility of a successful attempt at finding a peaceful solution to the Middle East problem.

Mr. Oramas Oliva (Cuba), Vice-President, took the Chair.

57. The proliferation of Zionist colonial settlements and the increasing violation of the elementary rights of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples of the occupied territories, in complete violation of the Geneva conventions, have continued to be a major source of concern to the international community. The presence of Zionist occupation troops in vast territories of Lebanon not only infringes on the territorial integrity and national sovereignty of Lebanon but also has brought about agony and suffering to the Lebanese and Palestinian civilian populations as never experienced in the past.

58. The failure of the international community to bring peace to this war-torn region of the world does not simply lie in the intransigent, aggressive and expansionist policies of the Zionist régime but is mainly due to the unconditional political, economic and military support given to the Zionist war machine by United States imperialism. Only such assistance has enabled Israel to defy United Nations resolutions and virtually every other rule of international law. No settlement would be either just or lasting unless it took full account of the attainment by the Palestinian people of their inalienable rights, including their right to establish a national State in Palestine. That constitutes the crux of the Israeli-Arab conflict.

59. In this context we reiterate our full support for the recent realistic proposals of the Soviet Union [*see A/39/368*] aimed at finding a just, comprehensive and lasting solution to the Middle East problem.

60. It is high time for every measure to be taken to facilitate the holding of an International Peace Conference on the Middle East with the participation of all concerned parties, including the Palestine Liberation Organization [*PLO*], the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, as called for by the General Assembly in resolution 38/58 C of 13 December 1983. The bitter tragedy which has befallen the Palestinian people and the populations of other occupied Arab territories should not be allowed to continue. We are confident that the valiant Palestinian people and the peoples of Syria and Lebanon will ultimately foil the imperialist Zionist designs and liberate their lands.

61. In our neighbourhood, the senseless bloodshed that continues between the two Islamic neighbours, Iran and Iraq, has brought about the consequences feared when this fratricidal war started almost five years ago. Availing itself of the pretext resulting from the turmoil in the Gulf region, United States imperialism and its local lackeys have embarked on the path of drastically increasing military and naval activities and intimidating the countries of the area into military alliances subservient to imperialist countries.

62. We strongly support the call of a number of independent Arab countries of the area for strict non-interference in the affairs of the region by outside forces.

63. Another issue of major concern has been the situation in Cyprus, which acquired ominous dimensions in the course of last year. The proclamation of the northern part of Cyprus, which is still under military occupation, as the so-called Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus has been condemned by the Security Council and, indeed, by the international community at large and has been declared illegal, null and void. We urge the Secretary-General to multiply his efforts towards achieving a solution that would guarantee the independence, territorial integrity, non-alignment and unity of the Republic of Cyprus.

64. In another country of the Mediterranean region, the fraternal Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, secret plots of imperialism aimed at the destabilization of that country's popular Government have been accompanied by open acts of aggression and provocation from the air, sea and land.

65. While commending the sober-minded attitude of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea towards the peaceful reunification of the Korean peninsula, we consider the recent proposals of that country for the launching of tripartite negotiations on the problem as a major stride towards the attainment of an early solution of the problem.

66. Next year we shall be celebrating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the adoption by the General Assembly of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [*resolution 1514 (XV)*]. This major achievement of the United Nations has brought about the anticipated results that have drastically changed the shape of international relations and world politics.

67. Of disappointment to conscious humanity, however, is the failure of the United Nations to implement that Declaration with regard to Namibia and certain other Territories. The heroic struggle of the Namibian people, under the leadership of their sole legitimate representative, the South West Africa People's Organization [*SWAPO*], with the full support of the overwhelming majority of nations, has been rendered ineffective due to the intransigent colonialist policies of the South African racists, relying on the all-sided support of United States imperialism. This problem, which falls within the purview of United Nations direct responsibility, has defied solution to this day, in spite of the diplomatic maturity and flexibility displayed by the SWAPO leadership.

68. The situation within South Africa has also deteriorated very sharply. The sham elections conducted with the blessing of the United States met their deserved fate of the total failure of this propaganda ploy. The barbarity and savagery with which the rulers of the abhorrent *apartheid* system are suppressing the recently escalated struggle of the people of South Africa against the inhuman and unbearable conditions of the vast majority of the people once again put at the forefront of international attention the urgent need for complete eradication of the abominable phenomenon of *apartheid* from our planet. Nothing can justify any further delay in taking effective action under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations to do away with one of the most horrendous features of the history of mankind. We hail the people of South Africa and their vanguard, the African National Congress of South Africa, for their heroism in fighting against the greatest odds.

69. Acts of aggression and intimidation still continue against the front-line States, particularly Angola, Mozambique and Lesotho.

70. In conformity with the principles of our foreign policy, we call for recognition of the right of the people of the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic to self-determination, the exercise by the people of Puerto Rico of their right to self-determination and independence, and the restitution of the three Malagasy Islands to the Democratic Republic of Madagascar.

71. Turning to Central America and the Caribbean, we cannot but vividly express deep wrath and indignation at the piratic aggression of the United States against the Government and people of Grenada and the continued occupation of their territory. To allow the United States to get away with such manifestations of gunboat diplomacy is to expose other independent and nationalist Governments of the region to the threat of similar actions by the United States. We demand the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all occupation forces from Grenada.

72. We also demand the cessation of the imperialist blockade of Cuba and the return to it of its territory occupied by United States naval facilities at Guantánamo.

73. The undeclared war fought against revolutionary Nicaragua by the paid mercenaries of the United States continues to bear grave consequences for the prospects of peace in Central America.

74. The flexibility and co-operation demonstrated by the Government of Nicaragua, both within the process of negotiations initiated by the Contadora Group and in bilateral discussions with the United States, are worthy of praise. We hold the rigid and obstinate position adopted by the United States and some other countries at its urging responsible for the continuation of hostilities in the area.

75. We are firmly of the opinion that the present situations prevailing in some of the countries neighbouring Nicaragua have their roots in imperialist interference and the deplorable socio-economic and political conditions existing in those countries. Any attempt at improving that situation should be aimed at the cessation of imperialist interference and the introduction of necessary and fundamental changes on the basis of the interests and aspirations of the vast majority of the people of those countries.

76. Our strong solidarity with all national liberation movements representing such interests and aspirations in this region or other parts of the world is based on our respect for the right of nations to self-determination.

77. It is a regrettable fact that despite our hopes to the contrary the period since the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly has not witnessed a decrease in the tension in the region of South-West Asia. This has hampered our sincere efforts to create an atmosphere of trust and confidence conducive to constructive negotiations between the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and two of its neighbouring countries. The undeclared war against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, which is master-minded by those in aggressive circles in the United States and their hegemonist and reactionary accomplices as a regional extension of the global imperialist design to destabilize and subdue independent and sovereign nations with the aim of forcing those nations into the militarist imperialist orbit, is continuing unabated. Ever-increasing evidence is accumulating which testifies to the fact that State terrorism has become instrumental in carrying out United States policy against my country. This unholy war, which is acquiring ever-greater dimensions, constitutes an obstacle to the conclusion of an agreement which will serve as a solid basis for the strengthening of peace and stability in our region.

78. As a result of this destructive, inhuman and medieval aggression, which is anti-civilization, carried out from the territories of Pakistan and Iran, the people of Afghanistan have suffered losses of enormous proportions. Thousands of innocent people, including children, women and the elderly, among them 200 clergymen, have been murdered, and public and private property, including scores of mosques and holy places, more than half of the schools of the country, half of the Government-owned trucks, and 104 hospitals and medical centres, as well as communication lines, bridges, highways and hydroelectric and thermal power installations of the country, have been destroyed. The total cost to the national economy of our country of this destruction is almost 34 billion afghanis, which is equal to three fourths of the total development investment made during the 20 years before the 27 April 1978 revolution.

79. Psychological warfare constitutes an important, integral part of the aggression against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. The huge propaganda machinery of imperialism, hegemonism and reaction, in its drive to distort the realities in and around Afghanistan, resorts to slander and outright fabrications which have by now acquired fantastic dimensions. For example, if the lies spread by this propaganda machinery are to be believed, most of the leaders of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan must be dead—killed not just once but many times over. In the same vein, the greater part of the territory of the country must be under the control of the counter-revolution, the armed forces of the country must have been annihilated five times over and all the population of Afghanistan must have been eliminated not once but twice.

80. Having realized the absurdity of such fabrications, the propaganda machinery of imperialism, hegemonism and reaction has recently resorted to other forms of naked lies, among them the hullabaloo about the alleged shortage of foodstuff in the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. It is possible that such propaganda efforts may have given a distorted image of the situation in my country. Therefore, I should like to point out briefly some of the achievements of our people since the national democratic April revolution.

81. As a result of the revolution, the social and class configuration of Afghan society has been transformed and a new socio-political system based on the democratic nature of the revolution has been created. The National Fatherland Front, of which the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan is also a member, has mobilized well over half a million militant Afghans in the form of collective and individual members to spearhead the work and struggle to build a new society in Afghanistan.

82. State power has been consolidated all over the country and the Law of Local Organs of State Power and Administration, providing for direct participa-

tion by the people in the affairs of their locality and the country as a whole, is being successfully implemented. In addition to the heroic armed forces, revolution defence groups, self-defence groups, soldiers of the revolution, tribal regiments, people's militia groups and social-order brigades are victoriously safeguarding the gains of the revolution. As a result, during this year large formations of the counter-revolution have been annihilated, but different forms of subversive and terroristic activities are still continuing by some remnants of criminal bandits.

Mr. Lusaka (Zambia) resumed the Chair.

83. Despite the continuation of the undeclared war, achievements in the socio-economic development of the country have been significant. During the year that ended on 20 March 1984, the gross national product and the national income of the country increased by 6 per cent and 4.5 per cent, respectively, over the previous year. This means that during this year more goods were produced and services rendered than during the years before the revolution.

84. Since the victory of the revolution, 1,274 agricultural co-operatives and thousands of peasants' committees have been established. Different stages of democratic land and water reforms are being successfully implemented, agricultural production has increased and the volume of industrial output is greater than in previous years. Education and public health services are expanding and the campaign against illiteracy is gaining momentum. Already more than a million people have become literate, and it is planned to eradicate illiteracy by the year 1986 in the cities, and by the year 1990 throughout the country. Right now, 233,300 persons are enrolled in 11,107 literacy courses throughout the country.

85. The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan is a peaceful, non-aligned country and is determined to remain so. Our uncompromising love for the independence and territorial integrity of our country is a matter of record in the history of the struggle of our people to preserve its freedom and dignity and safeguard and defend its frontiers. Many great challenges have been posed to our liberty and sovereignty, but they have been dealt fatal blows by our unfailing determination to safeguard what we consider not only our birthright but also an indivisible part of our tradition, culture and religion.

86. Pages of our proud 5,000-year history document this brilliant aspect of Afghan patriotism. It is in this context that the strong will of our people to rebuff the imperialistic, hegemonistic and reactionary undeclared war can be explained. Over six years of subversion, coercion, attempts at destabilization, outright aggression and total economic blockade have failed to give any effect to the illusions harboured by our enemies.

87. The people of Afghanistan are already reaping the fruits of their revolution and are prepared to make further sacrifices to safeguard their socio-political system. Let me state once again before this international gathering that the people of Afghanistan will never be deterred from the principled path they have chosen. No one should doubt our unswerving resolve to stand firm in the face of outside pressure and intimidation.

88. Notwithstanding this, the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has, with revolutionary sincerity, conducted earnest and serious negotiations with Pakistan, through the Personal Representative of the Secretary-General, with a view to finding a negotiated settlement to the outstanding problems between the two countries. I should like to recall the two well-known proposals, dated 15 May 1980[1] and 24 August 1981,[2] put forward by my Government to that end. We have given full proof of our flexibility and political will to achieve an early solution of the present appalling situation around my country. We are for concrete actions. We believe that if words are not followed by deeds they have no value at all. If one speaks of peace and is engaged in aggression in its various forms, that can only be a manifestation of hypocrisy and demagoguery.

89. The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, in line with its foreign policy, is honestly and sincerely for the peaceful solution of the situation around Afghanistan. Should the other countries involved so desire, they will find us prepared to meet them halfway. This course, we believe, corresponds exactly with the aspirations and interests of our peoples and certainly serves the cause of peace in our region.

90. Thanks to our co-operation and understanding, the Secretary-General has been able to pursue his good offices, which in our view have thus far yielded positive results. We are confident that, with the good will and sincerity of the States concerned, we shall be able to achieve further progress. We deem it appropriate to place on record our gratitude and thanks to the Secretary-General and his Personal Representative for their commendable endeavours in this regard.

91. To conclude my statement, I should like to quote the following words of Babrak Karmal, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and President of the Revolutionary Council of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan:

> "Elimination of poverty, disease and economic backwardness, ignorance and illiteracy, unemployment and inequality, national and social oppression in Afghanistan; creation of an independent national economy; acceleration of the pace of economic growth on the basis of scientific socio-economic development plans, including the establishment of an independent national industry and the industrialization of the country; and raising the living standard of the masses of the people are general goals of the April Revolution."

92. Mr. ABDEL MEGUID (Egypt) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Mr. President, allow me at the outset to congratulate you on your election to this high office and to greet you as a distinguished son of our dear continent, Africa, as well as the representative of our sister country, Zambia, and a dear friend with whom I have been privileged to collaborate in promoting the causes of freedom, development and peace.

93. I take this opportunity also to express our appreciation to your predecessor, Mr. Jorge Illueca, and to pay a tribute to him for the skilful way he conducted the proceedings of the thirty-eighth session, which was characterized by high-level participation by a number of Heads of State and Government, particularly from non-aligned countries.

94. I wish also to welcome Brunei Darussalam to the United Nations and to stress our willingness to co-operate with this sister country in pursuit of our common aims and objectives.

95. It gives me immense pleasure to come back to this rostrum and to my dear colleagues. I look forward to continuing with them, in my new position, our endeavours towards the realization of the noble principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations.

96. I am all the more pleased to speak again today in the name of Egypt in the wake of an exemplary experience that Egypt has had on the road to the exercise of democracy. I should like to pause here and reflect on this outstanding, bright landmark in our contemporary history.

97. The democratic process in Egypt is in consonance with the ongoing and persistent efforts we are making to cope with and respond to the challenges of the age. It also reflects our conviction that only a free individual is capable of promoting peace and forging progress and development.

98. This significant development in Egypt, which is an integral part of the Arab nation, is an achievement for Arab human rights and particularly for the right to participate in shaping the present and the future in complete freedom and security.

99. In this regard, I should like to express our gratitude to King Hussein of Jordan and to the fraternal people and Government of Jordan for the positive and wise step they have taken to re-establish diplomatic relations with Egypt. That action testifies to the firm will of the people and Government of Jordan to bring about a meeting of brothers so as to open up prospects for the future of Arab solidarity and to add momentum to the common action in order to achieve the objectives and aspirations of the peoples of the Arab nation.

100. We are meeting this year on the eve of the fortieth anniversary of the establishment of the United Nations, which was born in the aftermath of the most dreadful scourge mankind had yet experienced, the Second World War. The peoples of the world, in their resolve to make that war the last war, were determined to establish a system that would govern relations between States and peoples based on freedom and co-operation rather than oppression, domination and belligerency.

101. Tremendous transformations and changes have marked the last four decades. New energies once undreamed of have been released, adding to mankind's potential. Man has explored hitherto inconceivable horizons. The great Powers have managed to avoid drifting into armed confrontation.

102. At the same time, this period has witnessed a stockpiling of arms that is without precedent in the history of mankind. Despite great developments in the means of production, the third world finds itself encircled by ever-increasing impediments and obstacles and, therefore, unable to keep pace with other countries. The picture becomes more gloomy when we reflect upon conditions in the part of the world in which we live, namely, the Middle East and Africa, where issues of liberation, self-determination, peace and security remain unresolved and constitute a threat to international peace.

103. For more than two decades the peoples and countries of the third world have responded to those challenges facing them by their commitment to the principles and objectives of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, which has provided them with a positive and historic alternative. That Movement has taken a leading role in the rejection of blocs and polarization and has played and is still playing a historic part in reshaping the pattern of contemporary international relations with a view to establishing a new international order based on respect for the sovereignty, independence and cultural identity of States, on adherence to the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of others, on the moral values of peoples and on making an effective contribution to the maintenance of international peace and security.

104. Egypt, in keeping with its responsibilities as a non-aligned country, calls upon the international community to reflect seriously on the issues that are of grave concern to all of us.

105. The Middle East has gone through a series of tragic conflicts. Egypt, inspired by the world-wide consensus on the need for the peaceful settlement of those conflicts and to spare the peoples of the region and the world the dire consequences and grave complications they entail, was prompted to launch its historic peace initiative in the hope that a just and honourable peace encompassing the whole region might be achieved, a peace that would usher in a new era of coexistence in accordance with the principles embodied in the Charter of the United Nations, the framework for civilized relations between States and peoples.

106. It is regrettable, however, to note that the persistent Israeli policy of tightening its grip on the occupied Arab territories and denying the Palestinian people their right to self-determination and to choose their own representatives and spokesmen has shaken hopes for peace. Feelings of frustration and bitterness continue to exist because of the continuation of Israeli policies designed to perpetuate domination over the occupied Arab territories and their populations. We have witnessed measures designed to annex Jerusalem and the Golan Heights, as well as the bombardment of an Iraqi nuclear reactor used for peaceful purposes and the invasion and continued occupation of southern Lebanon.

107. Today we are witnessing the emergence of a wave of detestable fanaticism that should not be underestimated. Although it has not galvanized a broad constituency, it has the potential for becoming menacing and setting off a chain of actions and reactions. We therefore commend those Arab and Israeli men and women who have bravely voiced their revulsion to fanaticism and who have stated their belief that peaceful coexistence between Arabs and Israelis and mutual tolerance are the only civilized alternative norms of behaviour worthy of the history of this region, one that has inspired the loftiest moral values.

108. We deem it our duty to continue to proclaim the need for a just political settlement of the Palestinian problem and of the Middle East crisis. Only thus can the Middle East live in peace and the world be spared those complications.

109. It is our view that in order to reach such a settlement a number of indispensable facts, arising out of the experience gained by the parties to the conflict, should be highlighted.

110. First, peace and territorial expansion are irreconcilable. Israel must therefore relinquish the occupied Arab territories so that genuine peace can be attained. This applies equally to the West Bank, including Jerusalem, to the Gaza Strip and to the occupied Syrian Golan Heights.

111. Secondly, the question of Palestine must be resolved through negotiations, with the participation of the Palestinian people, the party directly concerned, and Israel.

112. Thirdly, these negotiations should be based on the principle of mutual recognition and reciprocal acknowledgement of the right to exist.

113. Fourthly, the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination is a sacred and inalienable right. The history of the question of Palestine teaches us that denial of this right or failure to recognize it has been the main cause of all the blunders, with the ensuing complications and wars. When we mention the right to self-determination, this necessarily entails the right of this people to establish an independent State on its national soil, as well as its right to join with any other entity through the free expression of its own will.

114. Fifthly, in the light of these premises, the Palestinian people, as the party directly concerned, is entitled to choose its representatives and its spokesmen. The Palestinian people has already chosen the PLO as its representative and spokesman.

115. We note that there is a new coalition cabinet in Israel, and we hope that its options and orientation will be directed towards a genuine and just peace which responds to the national rights of the Palestinian people. This is the only way to ensure real security for Israel.

116. In this context, we are not lacking in peace initiatives or proposals. There are now several peace proposals, including the draft resolution submitted to the Security Council by Egypt and France on 28 July 1982.[3] We also have the Arab peace plan, contained in the Final Declaration of the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference, adopted at Fez on 9 September 1982,[4] President Reagan's initiative of 1 September 1982[5] and other proposals. Now, we have the United Nations initiative as represented in the call by the General Assembly [*resolution 38/58 C*] for the convening of an International Peace Conference on the Middle East, to which we have responded favourably and which we have supported. We wonder why such a call should be rejected or ignored. All of us should reflect deeply on the implications of the positive response by the PLO in accepting this initiative. This is a great step towards peace.

117. The events in Lebanon have once again attested to the futility of invasion and of the imposition of peace through force. The need to ensure its security has been advanced by Israel as an excuse for invading Lebanon. We were among the first to warn against the futility of such an approach, which could only result in more victims and foment more hostility and bitterness. The events in Lebanon have confirmed the validity of our views. We therefore consider the decision taken by the new Israeli Cabinet to withdraw from Lebanon a sound one. We hope that this decision will be implemented without delay, putting an end to the series of acts of aggression against Lebanon, a country for which we cherish every hope of stability, reconciliation and prosperity in an atmosphere of freedom, unimpeded by foreign interference.

118. I should like to deal with one of the aspects of the situation prevailing in the occupied Arab territories, namely the humanitarian aspect, particularly the constant violations of the provisions of international humanitarian law, especially the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949,[6] and the challenges such violations pose for us as States parties to this Convention, and parties also to an international system in which the issue of respect for human rights represents an integral part of its legal structure.

119. Violations of the provisions of international humanitarian law inside the occupied Arab territories have assumed appalling dimensions as manifested in the perpetuation and consolidation of settlement policies in those territories and in the terrorist, oppressive and punitive measures perpetrated against the Arab population in those territories. These practices constitute serious violations of the provisions of that Convention, to which almost all States have acceded, including Israel.

120. While we are fully appreciative of the efforts of the International Committee of the Red Cross to ensure security for the Arab population in the occupied territories, we are equally aware of the constraints and limitations imposed by the nature of the activities of that Committee, which could curtail those efforts and render them inadequate to address an increasingly deteriorating situation in the occupied Arab territories.

121. At the same time, the Geneva Convention is part of a contractual legal system which is not confined to the parties to the conflict. Rather, it is a global legal system encompassing all States parties to the Convention, conferring on them an interest and a responsibility to ensure full respect for the provisions of the Convention.

122. In view of this concept, and given the failure of all attempts to terminate such violations, it is our view that it is highly propitious to consider convening a diplomatic conference comprising all States parties to the Convention to review the deteriorating situation in the occupied Arab territories. Such a conference should envisage measures conducive to ensuring respect for the provisions of the Convention. We call upon all States parties to the Convention, as well as the Secretary-General, the President of the International Committee of the Red Cross and the President of the Independent Commission on International Humanitarian Issues, to study this proposal and start consultations on how best to implement it.

123. I move now to the grave and explosive situation in the Gulf region resulting from the continued armed conflict between Iran and Iraq, with both of which Egypt maintains the closest spiritual and historical ties. This conflict, which is exacting a high toll of human lives and material resources which should have been devoted to life rather than devastation and death, is a source of profound sorrow and regret to us.

124. The position of Egypt *vis-à-vis* this conflict has been unequivocally spelled out from the very beginning and remains unchanged. We are exerting maximum efforts within the framework of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries to reach a peaceful settlement to this conflict. Such a settlement would put an end to this senseless war and reinstate the rights of each party, in keeping with the basic principles of international law, the Charter of the United Nations and the principles of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. In this regard, Egypt will spare no effort to pursue those endeavours until the appeal of the international community has been fully responded to

and hostilities have been halted and negotiations started to reach a peaceful settlement.

125. In this respect, we wish to express our deep appreciation of the continuing efforts made by the Secretary-General with a view to putting an end to this war. We support those efforts and wish him success.

126. This position taken by Egypt emanates from its option for peace not only as a principle of its foreign policy but also as an overall pattern to be established in the entire region to which we belong and in the world at large.

127. In this context, recent developments in the Red Sea region have underscored the importance of Egypt's previous call that the Red Sea countries should make concerted efforts to ensure the safety of navigation in the Red Sea. We welcome and wholeheartedly support the Sudan's initiative to this effect. Such an initiative, launched as it was by the sister country of the Sudan, with which we are linked by inherent ties of integration, promotes the prospects of peace for the region and for all our peoples.

128. I should like now to touch upon certain pressing conditions in our African continent whose peoples have suffered injustice, colonialism and exploitation as have no other peoples of any continent. Our continent has braved all odds to gain its total independence, a fact which should have prompted special international attention to support Africa's endeavours to achieve total liberation and development.

129. Unfortunately, we still see our brothers in the south of the continent living the tragedy of the age, which brands with disgrace not only the racist clique in Pretoria but also all those who aid that régime and refrain from opposing its practices both in word and in deed.

130. That régime has recently undertaken certain measures in a desperate attempt to introduce some changes to the repugnant face of *apartheid* through the so-called constitutional reforms, which in fact only mean more camouflage and codification of that racist policy. Therefore, it was only natural that the African majority—with its astute political perception—should have boycotted the elections conducted last August in implementation of the so-called constitutional reforms. The Security Council acted in perfect wisdom when it condemned those elections. Egypt reiterates its support for the struggle of the people of South Africa to eliminate racist policies and establish a non-racial democratic system in that cherished part of the African continent.

131. At the same time, the racist régime in South Africa persists in its occupation of Namibia, although six years have elapsed since the Security Council adopted resolution 435 (1978), which endorsed the framework for a just settlement within which Namibia could gain its independence. There is no doubt whatsoever that the only obstacle to the implementation of that resolution lies in Pretoria's insistence on linking implementation with other factors totally alien to its substance and content.

132. Recent developments in southern Africa, particularly concerning the Namibian question, have made clear the positive attitude and sense of responsibility of SWAPO, as well as its sincere wish to achieve the independence of Namibia peacefully through negotiations. That conciliatory attitude was met with arrogance and intransigence on the part of the South African régime, which sought only to delay Namibia's independence as long as possible. Such procrastination leaves SWAPO with no alternative but to continue its legitimate and just struggle, which Egypt will support until Namibia achieves its independence.

133. In reviewing the pressing problems confronting our African continent, I should like to emphasize the exceptionally grave situation the continent faces—a situation which cannot be described as simply an "economic crisis". Indeed, it has turned into a serious crisis, both economic and humanitarian. To realize the proportions of this crisis, suffice it to know that an estimated 5 million children will have died in 1984 as the result of the food shortage, that more than 150 million people will face famine this year, that per capita food production has decreased by 11 per cent compared to 1970 figures and that per capita national income in most African countries has been steadily declining throughout the past few years.

134. In the face of this grave situation, the international community must earnestly embark on a serious plan—whether in the short or long term—to contain it.

135. The developed countries cannot shirk their responsibilities, because, in the final analysis, we find that the crisis in Africa is largely due to current international economic conditions. Moreover, we live in an international community which should be characterized by interdependence. We also believe that an economically viable and strong Africa can contribute greatly to the achievement of economic and political stability in the world.

136. Against this background, Egypt raised the issue of the economic crisis in Africa in meetings of the Organization of African Unity and called for consideration of this issue in the Economic and Social Council during its second regular session, held at Geneva. However, we cannot conceal our disappointment at the failure of the Council to approve a declaration on this issue. Therefore we raise the question once again and hope that a more comprehensive international awareness of the crisis and its serious dimensions can be mustered in such a way as to enable us—during the current session of the General Assembly—to adopt concrete, clear-cut measures to tackle this crisis. I should like on this occasion to place on record our sincere thanks to the Secretary-General, who has launched an initiative in this respect and spared no effort to follow it up.

137. If our world today is still afflicted by a number of grave and diverse problems, the group of non-aligned countries and the group of Islamic countries have laid down a practical framework for coping with most of those problems. We may well look forward, with sincere hope, to the success of the tireless efforts exerted by the Secretary-General with a view to reaching a settlement of the situation in Afghanistan in such a way as to ensure the rights of that brotherly people to peace, freedom and stability. We equally commend his efforts towards resolving the Cyprus problem through fulfilment of the aspirations of the Cypriot people—including both the Turkish and Greek communities—to solve their problems and find an appropriate formula for coexistence and co-operation in accordance with their will and traditions.

138. We continue to underscore the importance of sincere efforts to implement United Nations resolutions on Kampuchea and to pave the way for appropriate international conditions to enable the Korean people to achieve their aspirations and realize their hopes in unity. We are confident that efforts to find just and peaceful solutions to those problems will result in easing international tensions and strengthening the progress of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

139. Egypt voices its support for the efforts of the Contadora Group to extricate Central America from the circle of violence and enable the peoples of the region to achieve peace, stability and development.

140. Twenty-five years have elapsed since the General Assembly adopted, at its fourteenth session, a resolution [*resolution 1378 (XIV)*] which stressed, *inter alia*, that the objective of general and complete disarmament was the most important and most pressing issue our world confronted. Agreement was reached on setting up the Disarmament Commission at Geneva. The Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons was concluded in 1968 [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*], and a large number of non-nuclear-weapon States thereby renounced the nuclear option and placed their nuclear installations under international control. Despite efforts by the non-aligned countries in the Conference on Disarmament at Geneva and here in the General Assembly at two special sessions devoted to disarmament, we note not only an absence of any progress in disarmament negotiations but also, unfortunately, a further accumulation of nuclear weapons, which has brought the stockpile of nuclear warheads to 80,000, enough to destroy the world several times over. Nuclear weapons are proliferating in new locations and domains, and legal freedoms, such as the freedom to use outer space and the high seas, are used for more nuclear militarization. The rate of expenditure on the production of instruments of mass destruction is on the increase and has reached astronomical levels at a time when there are people starving to death, as is the case in Africa. This is the appalling image we have of the world, one which haunts the life of man today with a new type of anxiety and fear of annihilation and self-destruction which could occur unintentionally through a miscalculation or a misreading of data.

141. Therefore, we cannot but persist in urging the nuclear-weapon States to heed the voice of reason and to respond to the plea of millions of people to halt the nuclear-arms race by reaching agreements conducive to the gradual elimination of weapons of mass destruction and the possibility of a nuclear war.

142. As preparations for the Third Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons are already under way, we are fully entitled to call urgently for the fulfilment by the nuclear-weapon States of their commitments in accordance with article VI of that Treaty, by starting negotiations in good faith to reach agreement on effective measures to stop the nuclear-arms race and achieve a complete ban on nuclear tests.

143. In other words, it is our view that the Conference should consider measures which would commit nuclear States to non-use of their nuclear weapons against States that do not have nuclear weapons and have renounced the nuclear option. It should also support any country that might be the victim of aggression against its nuclear installations devoted to peaceful purposes.

144. As far as the region to which we belong is concerned, Egypt has for several years called for the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East and, in February 1981, it ratified the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. The General Assembly, for its part, reaffirmed at the thirty-eighth session [*resolution 38/64*] its previous resolutions calling upon States of the region to desist from producing or acquiring nuclear weapons or allowing the positioning of such weapons by a third party on their territories and to subject all their nuclear activities to IAEA safeguards.

145. The ministerial meeting of the Mediterranean members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Valletta on 10 and 11 September 1984, reiterated in its Final Declaration [*see A/39/526 and Corr.1*] the necessity of establishing such a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East and requested the General Assembly and the Secretary-General to take specific steps to bring this concept into being.

146. I have already highlighted the acute economic and human crisis afflicting the African continent. Needless to say, this crisis stems basically from prevailing economic conditions which hinder the developing countries, particularly in Africa, from surmounting the barriers of underdevelopment and accelerating the development process.

147. In this context, we emphasize the serious debt problem and the escalating interest rates, the continuous fluctuations in exchange rates, the persistence of protectionist trends in international trade, accentuated by a sharp decline in the prices of raw materials exported from the developing countries, and the deterioration of the terms of trade of these countries.

148. We had entertained the hope that meetings recently held, such as the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held at Belgrade from 6 June to 2 July 1983, would have provided an opportunity to reach agreed solutions for international economic problems and reactivate the North-South dialogue. It is regrettable that that session could not accomplish concrete results. Also, the outcome of the Fourth General Conference of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization, held at Vienna from 2 to 19 August 1984, provided yet another example of the stalemate being encountered at present in the North-South dialogue.

149. The Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi from 7 to 12 March 1983, adopted a flexible approach to extricating global negotiations from the persistent deadlock. However, that initiative has not received its due response from the countries of the North.

150. We share with many the conviction that the world economy is so complex that it is indispensable to strengthen interdependence and dialogue in order to find solutions to all these problems.

151. In this regard, I wish to recall the appeal made by President Hosni Mubarak, of the Arab Republic of Egypt, before the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development last year, which was intended to instil a new spirit of international co-operation, when he called for regular consultations between the Heads of State or Government in the North and the South to review the

international economic situation, agree upon policies which would spare the world further acute crises and ensure the sound functioning of the economic cycle for the common benefit of mankind.

152. We call upon countries of the North to approach the dialogue with a new outlook based on the conviction that we share the same destiny and that comprehensive solutions through dialogue and understanding are the only option available to us.

153. Last year, at the thirty-eighth session, when President Hosni Mubarak addressed the Assembly [*10th meeting*], he underlined the necessity of convening a special session of the General Assembly to be devoted to the subject of enhancing the role of the United Nations in the maintenance of international peace and security.

154. We have recently received the report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization [*A/39/1*], in which he made a detailed analysis of the set-back suffered by the collective system and the need to restore confidence in and credibility to the United Nations and to enhance its effectiveness. We share the Secretary-General's views and conclusions on the causes of this crisis and the necessity for them to be redressed.

155. It is our view that, as we are on the eve of commemorating the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, it is a highly propitious time to initiate practical steps to convene such a special session.

156. On the eve of celebrating the fortieth anniversary of the establishment of the United Nations, let us close our ranks in solidarity in the interest of peace and prosperity for our peoples. Let us make this anniversary a unique opportunity to achieve for future generations real victory over ignorance, poverty, starvation, fear, oppression, terrorism and injustice.

157. Mr. AZIZ (Iraq) (*interpretation from Arabic*): At the outset, Sir, I extend to you my sincere congratulations upon your election as President of this session of the General Assembly. I am fully confident that your long experience in the United Nations will enable us to achieve positive results during the session. It is even more gratifying that the office of President is assumed by a representative of an African country with which we have such close friendly relations as those maintained between the Presidents of our two countries, President Kenneth Kaunda and President Saddam Hussein. The delegation of my country wishes to assure you of its readiness to extend to you its full co-operation with a view to facilitating your tasks and bringing the work of the present session to a successful conclusion.

158. I also extend our congratulations to Brunei Darussalam, a fellow member of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, upon its accession to membership of the United Nations and wish it full success.

159. Every year the representatives of the peoples of the world come to this important international forum to set forth their concerns. The most important matters emphasized by members of the international community are peace and the right of peoples to security, sovereignty and dignity. These principles and norms are at the very root of the United Nations: they form a foundation without which the world would be exposed to dangers, to chaos and to the absence of justice.

160. I must speak at length of the dangers threatening my country and our region, namely, the Iranian aggression against Iraq, which has continued for more than four years. We meet here for the fifth time to discuss this aggression which Iran insists on continuing and which the United Nations and its various organs, as well as other organizations, have been unable to end.

161. Iran bears the full responsibility for kindling the fires of war, just as it bears the full responsibility for continuing it for this long time. The régime that has come to power in Iran has arrogated to itself some bizarre privileges which have no basis in international law or in the rules governing relations among peoples. This régime persists in its aggressive acts and in its desire to impose itself as guardian not only on Iraq but also on the peoples of the region and, indeed, on all the world. It has used every available means to interfere in the internal affairs of Iraq and the countries of the region and, indeed, many other countries of the world. It seeks to export its blood-stained and backward system to others, ignoring the fact that that system is the purely internal concern of Iran and that no one in the world has the right to impose himself as guardian of others.

162. In pursuing this unnatural course, the Iranian régime has resorted to all possible means of destruction, sowing anarchy and launching open aggression. Instead of renouncing the expansionist policies and imperial ambitions of the former régime, it has adopted them as its own. It has upheld the privileges of the former régime and has used the military power that it has inherited from that régime to achieve its own expansionist aims.

163. For its part, Iraq has tried by every means at its disposal to convince Iran of the necessity of establishing good-neighbourly relations between the two countries and has avoided confrontation with Iran. The Iranian régime, however, has persisted in its aggressive and expansionist policies and has continued to fan the flames of dissension, conflict and war.

164. From 1979 to the start of the armed conflict on 4 September 1980, the Iranian régime committed 249 violations of Iraqi airspace and 244 acts in which it opened fire on, attacked and shelled Iraqi border towns; it obstructed navigation in the Shatt Al-Arab, and committed three acts of aggression against civil aircraft and seven acts against economic facilities, including oil installations. All those acts of aggression are documented in official memoranda the Iraqi Ministry of Foreign Affairs sent at the time to the Iranian Embassy at Baghdad and to the Iranian Ministry of Foreign Affairs at Teheran. In a total of 293 official memoranda, we drew the Iranian side's attention to the gravity of such practices and acts and pointed out that the Iranian authorities bore responsibility for their effects on the future of neighbourly relations between our two countries.

165. On 4 September 1980, Iran started actual war against Iraq by opening heavy artillery fire on Iraqi border towns, causing losses in lives and severe damage to property and threatening the sovereignty and security of Iraq. In the following days, Iranian armed forces attacked Iraqi oil installations, and Iranian military aeroplanes launched an air raid against the border town of Mandali. On 12 September, Iranian armed forces opened fire on an Iraqi ship in Shatt Al-Arab and on Iraqi territory in the

Basra area and in Khanaqin. On 17 September, the Iranian authorities announced the closure of Iranian airspace to civil aviation and the Straits of Hormuz to Iraqi navigation. Iran also announced general mobilization, deployed its armed forces in massive concentrations along the Iraqi border and openly used its regular military forces in aggression against Iraq. In the period from 18 to 22 September, Iran opened fire 19 times on Iraqi military boats from Iraqi territory in the areas of Basra, Khanaqin, Qoratu and Mandali, as well as on the Coast Guard Command headquarters at Basra and the control towers of Iraqi ports along Shatt Al-Arab. The Iranian authorities also used their air force to attack the oilfields in Naft Khaneh. Between 4 and 22 September 1980, Iranian military leaders issued statements threatening to occupy Iraq and its capital, destroy the Iraqi armed forces and erase Iraq from the map of the region.

166. Iraq was obliged to defend itself against this flagrant aggression and the blind insistence of the Iranian régime to threaten its security and stability and interfere in its internal affairs.

167. The Iraqi people cannot accept guardianship by anyone and cannot submit to threats and aggression. It had no choice but to fight to defend its sovereignty and dignity and to protect the achievements it had realized by the free exercise of its will and creative endeavours in the political, economic and cultural fields.

168. Iraq has undertaken most faithfully and sincerely to submit the dispute to the United Nations and to other organizations, such as the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. On 28 September 1980, Iraq accepted Security Council resolution 479 (1980), which called for a cease-fire and settlement of the conflict by negotiations. Iraq expressed its full willingness to reach a just agreement that guarantees the rights and sovereignty of both parties and provides for non-interference in their internal affairs.

169. However, the Iranian régime rejected that resolution, as it later rejected all resolutions on the matter, whether adopted by the Security Council or the General Assembly or by other international organizations such as the Organization of the Islamic Conference, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and other bodies which made concrete efforts towards peace. Iran has set absurd conditions which are contrary to the rules of international law and the norms governing relations among States. Those conditions had no other meaning in reality than insistence on war, on aggression and on expansion.

170. By insisting on taking such a position, the Iranian régime alone bears responsibility for this war, for its continuation and for all the losses suffered by both peoples in human lives and material damage. Similarly, that régime alone bears the responsibility for threatening security and stability in the region.

171. Permit me to remind the Assembly of what happened a year ago. At the thirty-eighth session, in this forum [*12th meeting*], I addressed, in the name of the Iraqi Government, a call for serious action to ensure security and stability in the Arab Gulf area; for respect of the right of the Gulf States to use their ports and port facilities and of their right to free commerce; and for respect of the right of foreign States trading with the countries of the region. That call by Iraq was welcomed by the States of the Gulf Co-operation Council and by many other States concerned with security and stability in our region and in the world. Those views have been embodied in Security Council resolution 540 (1983) of 31 October 1983, which, in particular:

> "*Affirms* the right of free navigation and commerce in international waters, calls on all States to respect this right and also calls upon the belligerents to cease immediately all hostilities in the region of the Gulf, including all sea-lanes, navigable waterways, harbour works, terminals, offshore installations and all ports with direct or indirect access to the sea, and to respect the integrity of the other littoral States;
>
> "*Requests* the Secretary-General to consult with the parties concerning ways to sustain and verify the cessation of hostilities, including the possible dispatch of United Nations observers, and to submit a report to the Security Council on the results of these consultations;".

172. That wise and balanced resolution was welcomed by Iraq, by the States of the Gulf Co-operation Council and by all international quarters, but Iran rejected it and scorned the Security Council. When Iraq used its natural right of defence and threatened the vital interests of a régime which insists on war and on depriving Iraq of its right to utilize its Gulf ports and obstructing free navigation, Iran threatened to use armed force against the interests of two States—namely, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait—which were not parties to the dispute by way of an aggressive and extortionist military demonstration which met with universal condemnation in the form of Security Council resolution 552 (1984).

173. As a result, during the past months the Gulf area has known insecurity, uncertain navigation and escalation of the risks of foreign military intervention in the region's affairs.

174. The events of the past year provide a clear illustration of the nature of that régime and its policies which are the cause of all the dangers which the region is now facing.

175. Iraq has abided by the principles of peace and good-neighbourliness, as well as the principles of mutual co-operation and respect for common interests. If it were not for Iraq's resolute stand against the tide of evil, aggression and expansionism brought about by the Teheran régime, the whole area would have been reduced to ruin and the interests of the whole world would have been jeopardized. It is thanks to their courage and heroism that the Iraqis are not only protecting their country but are also safeguarding the security and stability of the area and helping it to continue its fruitful and constructive relations within the region and with the other countries of the world. Therefore, to support Iraq, to co-operate with it in all fields and to assist it in maintaining its firm stand must not be taken as alignment with it against the other side but rather as alignment with the principles of peace and respect for sovereignty and the free will of peoples and also as a contribution to safeguarding security and stability in the area and to protecting it from the dangers of chaos and destruction of which the slogans of the rulers of Teheran and their irrational policies warn.

176. Iraq has proved that its strength is a force for peace, stability and constructive co-operation between the countries of the region: it is a force for

justice and international law. By contrast, the force of our adversaries is a force for evil, for chaos and for ruin.

177. Now that this insane war waged by the Khomeini régime against Iraq and the countries of the region is entering its fifth year, it is the duty of the United Nations, together with its Member States, and of the Security Council in particular, to take the necessary practical steps to keep that demented régime within bounds and to force it to accept peace and good-neighbourly relations with Iraq and its other neighbours and desist from its aggressive, destructive and expansionist course.

178. Diplomatic methods have failed to produce the desired results. On the contrary, they have encouraged the rulers in Teheran to persist in their conceit, in their aggressive policies and in their contempt for international organizations and the rules of international law. The irresponsible actions of certain Governments, which have provided Iran with weapons and military equipment in order to realize petty commercial gains, have directly contributed to the continuation of this war with all the losses in lives and property it has entailed. Any call for peace cannot be sincere and serious unless combined with refusal to supply the Iranian régime, which insists on war and expansion, with the military and material means that enable it to continue to pursue those policies.

179. The erroneous policy of being tactful with this anomalous régime and conniving with its crimes and constant violations of the rules governing relations among States has encouraged it, as it has encouraged other similar régimes in the region, to persist in its destructive activities, in exporting terrorism and in defying all the norms of international relations in a manner which has no precedent in modern times.

180. A striking example of this fact is to be found in the joint statements issued by the head of the Iranian régime and the heads of the two other similar régimes in Syria and Libya when the former visited them this month. For the first time in the history of relations among States, a joint statement issued by heads of State provides for agreement on and concerted action towards changing the system of government in another State.

181. I should like to express here, in the name of both the people and leadership of Iraq, our scorn for this abnormal action, which, among other things, reflects the disappointment and frustration bitterly felt by its authors, and to denounce it as a flagrant violation of the rules of relations among States and a dangerous precedent which, if not met with the necessary firmness, will certainly lead to chaos and pose a threat to the sovereignty, security and stability of the region.

182. It is high time now that a new approach was adopted in dealing with the Iranian régime. Otherwise, that régime will continue its pernicious policies, whose harmful effects will not be confined to my country alone—my country has, indeed, been able to repulse the aggressors, to teach them the lessons they deserve and to crush all their attacks on our territory one after the other—but will extend also to all the countries of the region and to the legitimate interests of the international community and the security and stability of the world.

183. Our region suffers most severely from racist and expansionist policies as well as contempt for international organizations and the rules of international law. Such are the policies arrogantly applied by the rulers of Tel Aviv and Teheran. It is no wonder then that the rulers of Tel Aviv should supply their fellow rulers in Teheran with weapons and technical assistance in order to enable them to continue their aggressive war against Iraq and thus threaten the security and stability of the region.

184. The Zionist aggression against the peaceful Iraqi nuclear installations in 1981 was only one more example of the common political objectives of the rulers of Tel Aviv and Teheran. In launching their aggression against Iraq, and consequently against the entire Arab nation, their purpose is to keep both in a state of backwardness and weakness, thus forcing them to submit to those who covet their lands and their natural resources. The Zionist leaders have most impudently threatened to repeat their aggression against Iraq or any other country as they please. The least that the United Nations, and specifically the Security Council, can do is to deter this particular aggressor from repeating such a flagrant aggression. It was the first aggression of its kind committed against a nuclear installation and one which would have had grave nuclear consequences had it not been for the scientific and other precautionary measures we had taken.

185. Certain Western countries try to exonerate and rehabilitate the good name of the aggressor country on the grounds that statements issued by its representatives to the effect that it is not part of its policy to attack nuclear installations devoted to peaceful purposes are tantamount to a withdrawal of its previous threats. Nothing could be farther from the truth. As a matter of fact, those statements were made only to reaffirm the position taken by the Zionist entity in its attempt to justify its criminal aggression, namely, that it has the right to decide unilaterally the nature of nuclear installations in various countries and retains freedom of action with regard to such installations. We give warning that to accept those Zionist statements as an adequate response to the resolutions of the General Assembly and the IAEA will be considered by the Zionist leaders as an acceptance of their own justifications for launching the aggression and will give them a free hand to repeat the aggression as and when they please.

186. The Zionist aggression against our sister country Lebanon was the first step in implementing the Zionist plan to fragment the Arab countries and annex more Arab territory to the State of "Greater Israel". That aggression was also directed against the PLO as the legitimate and sole representative of the Palestinian people.

187. While calling for increased support for the PLO and its legitimate leadership, Iraq also condemns all the plots concocted in an attempt to weaken the national Palestinian movement, place it under guardianship or divest it of its power to make independent decisions. In no circumstances can the existence of the Arab people of Palestine be ignored; nor is there a way to ignore its inalienable rights, including its right to return to its homeland and its right to self-determination. Similarly, there is no way to ignore the fact that the PLO is the legitimate and sole representative of that people. To ignore this fact can only mean in reality total alignment with the Zionist aggressors and the obstruction of the efforts aimed at the restoration of peace and justice in the Middle East.

188. Although there are clear indications of economic recovery in certain developed countries, the world economy continues to experience an acute crisis. The terms of trade continue to be low and the rates of interest and inflation continue to be high. The difficulties of servicing external debts have increased because of diminishing access to capital markets. The developing countries continue to be severely affected by the current world recession, which has blocked development efforts.

189. It is time for the United Nations to adopt, during the current session, urgent international measures to deal with this disastrous situation in the economies of the developing countries and to restore confidence in the concept of international economic co-operation, which has suffered a severe set-back in recent years because of the failure of the General Assembly to initiate global economic negotiations.

190. As a developing country, Iraq will work with other developing countries to develop positive and realistic solutions that will serve the world economy as a whole. Iraq will also support all initiatives aimed at overcoming the present economic crisis.

191. In conclusion, I should like to state that the experience Iraq is undergoing in defending itself, its interests and its rights has served to enhance our faith in the necessity of upholding the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations and the rules of international law. I assure the Assembly that we are committed to these principles and rules and that we shall work for their application with a view to reaching peaceful solutions to existing problems and ensuring security, peace and stability in the region and in the world.

192. Mr. OLSZOWSKI (Poland):* Please accept our sincere congratulations, Mr. President, on your unanimous election to the high office of President of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. We are truly gratified to see the Assembly in the hands of a distinguished son of Africa and representative of the nation of Zambia, with which we have friendly relations and whose efforts for the cause of peace and development we are following with great sympathy and appreciation. Your experience of many years in presiding over important United Nations organs, your personal diplomatic talent and your negotiating skill fully guarantee the efficient conduct of our work.

193. Acknowledgements of a high order are due to the outgoing President of the Assembly, the President of Panama, Mr. Jorge Illueca.

194. I cordially greet our indefatigable Secretary-General, doctor *honoris causa* of Poland's oldest Alma Mater, Jagiellonian University in Cracow.

195. Let me also take the opportunity of extending from this rostrum, on the threshold of the United Nations fortieth anniversary, my warmest congratulations on his recent 75th birthday to the only signatory of the Charter of the United Nations among us, that outstanding statesman, First Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union, Mr. Andrei Gromyko.

196. We welcome in our midst a new Member of the United Nations, Brunei Darussalam.

197. Not quite 200 years ago, on 5 May 1798, in the land which today hosts the United Nations, a national hero of both Poland and the United States penned these words:

> "I, Tadeusz Kosciuszko, being on the point of departure from America, declare and resolve that, unless I make other disposition in my will of my property in the United States, I hereby authorize my friend Thomas Jefferson to use it in its entirety to purchase Negroes . . . and to grant them their freedom in my name . . . teaching them to be defenders of their freedom, their country and social good order."

198. These words bear witness to the Polish ideals which inspired the noblest minds in our country's past, its will to freedom and social aspirations. It is well-nigh symbolic that Tadeusz Kosciuszko was the name conferred during the last war on the First Division of the reborn Polish Army, which, fighting alongside the victorious Soviet forces, brought freedom and independence to Poland.

199. Let me take advantage of this solemn occasion to draw attention to the fortieth anniversary of the Polish People's Republic, which we have recently celebrated in our country. Historically speaking, it represents only a fraction of the thousand-year annals of the Polish State but it marks the consummation of the profound social changes that have been accomplished in a spirit of socialist ideals.

200. For centuries Poles sought an answer to a question summed up as follows: our country is Poland, but what kind of Poland is our country to be? For it was by turns strong and weak, enlightened and backward; a land of justice and of privilege; long partitioned, briefly independent between the two World Wars, then struck down by Nazi occupation and in danger of total annihilation by German fascism. And yet it never stopped being Poland, for our people, owing to its love of fatherland and freedom, had withstood even the most dramatic upheavals of history.

Mr. Tsvetkov (Bulgaria), Vice-President, took the Chair.

201. The achievement of the last 40 years is the final resolution of the dilemma: what kind of Poland? The answer was given by democratic social forces, left-wing intellectual movements and the political parties of the working class.

202. The Manifesto of the Polish Committee of National Liberation, published on 22 July 1944, called on the Polish people to fight "for a Poland which would never again be threatened by the Germanic hordes, for a Poland which could be sure of lasting peace, the opportunity for creative work and a flourishing future".

203. This programme resulted in Poland—devastated by the war of which it was the first, albeit victorious, victim—ceasing to be a pawn in international relations, gaining permanently secured frontiers and anchoring its existence to a natural, good-neighbour alliance and inviolable friendship, in accordance with that simplest of wisdoms, that friends are best sought close at hand.

204. This is why subsequently the Poland which, to quote the words spoken by Prime Minister Wojciech Jaruzelski in the Polish Parliament,

> "was at loggerheads with her neighbours, entangled in 'exotic alliances' and banked naively on the goodwill of the Western Powers, has receded far into the past. Today Poland's place is unambigu-

---

*Mr. Olszowski spoke in Polish. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

> ously and enduringly defined. Her international position depends directly on her significance in the socialist community. Our national interests are all on one side—on the side of peaceful coexistence between nations . . . To live among friends, to have their joint guarantees and at the same time to be one of the underwriters of the postwar territorial and political order in Europe—this is the essence of the Polish *raison d'état.*"

205. The Polish People's Republic is the homeland of all Poles. Its identity is a blend of a continuity of history and a youthfulness of system. These have been at the basis of the Polish people's achievements and of the transformations of the past 40 years. This is not mere rhetoric. Only revolutionary political solutions could steer Poland on to a path of progress. Socialism was the only system that was capable of accomplishing this. We do not gloss over the shadow cast on the record of Polish achievements by the crisis of recent years with which we are still contending. We have gone into its sources frequently and frankly, in this forum as well as elsewhere.

206. As far as the internal causes are concerned, we are dealing with them ourselves, since Polish problems are the business of Poles alone. That we are succeeding is evidenced by the normalization of life at home, the closing of society's ranks behind its basic interests on the platform of the Patriotic Movement of National Renaissance, the results of the country-wide local elections and the advances in socialist democracy. Further proof is the broad amnesty sponsored by the Patriotic Movement of National Renaissance and recently enacted by the Sejm.

207. The external causes of the Polish crisis, like those of many other crises, should, however, be tackled by the joint efforts of the international community. By this I mean the removal from international relations of imperialist diktat and multipronged coercion. This is precisely the task of the United Nations, whose Charter lays down non-interference in the internal affairs of States and co-operation between them on equal terms.

208. In the last few years, hallowed principles of international intercourse have been brutally violated by certain North Atlantic Treaty Organization [*NATO*] countries in their dealings with Poland. The attempts to use blackmail, diktat and restrictions as instruments of political pressure on Poland, a policy of which the present United States Administration is the driving force, were bound to prove a fiasco.

209. The way in which some NATO countries have been treating Poland prompts thoughts that reach back beyond the current ideological confrontation. We encountered instances of attitudes of expediency towards Poland much earlier in our history. There were Western politicians in the past who applauded the partitions of Poland. We have not forgotten the cynical response of Horace Sebastiani, the French Foreign Minister, to the savage suppression of the November uprising in Poland in 1831: "Order reigns in Warsaw"—words that were to epitomize the whole of European reaction and feelings about Poland. We are familiar with the pro-tsarist, conservative attitude of America to the January uprising of 1863, which included the betrayal of the *Kosciuszko*, on which Polish patriots were sailing to assist their countrymen fighting in Poland. At Versailles in 1919, some Western States opposed the reversion to Poland of her native territories of Silesia and Mazuria and the restoration of our access to the sea. David Lloyd George, who questioned our right to Upper Silesia, later declared, after Hitler's aggression, that Poland had got what it deserved. The Poles remember who sneered at their claims at the Potsdam Conference, who tried to prevent Poland becoming the 51st signatory to the Charter of the United Nations, who temporized for years over recognition of the final nature of Poland's western frontier and who to this day deliberately underplays Poland's contribution to the defeat of fascism.

210. So, if anyone now sets out to lecture us on the management of our affairs and to expound the principles of tolerance, he had best make sure that there are no skeletons in his own closet and that he has a clear conscience as regards the Poles. Tolerance and reconciliation for the sake of the supreme national good have deep-seated humanitarian roots in Poland.

211. The Government of the Polish People's Republic feels obliged to inform the General Assembly that for a number of years our country has been the target of unparalleled propaganda aggression by the media of certain NATO countries, above all the United States. The broadcasts in Polish of "Radio Free Europe" and "Voice of America" consist of deliberate dissemination of disinformation and lies, incitement of social unrest and attempts to destabilize the internal situation in Poland.

212. We wish to state at this juncture that we fully support the proposal of the Soviet Union, announced yesterday from this rostrum [*10th meeting*], on the inadmissibility of the policy of State terrorism and any action by States aimed at undermining the socio-political systems in other sovereign States.

213. Poland's position with regard to the policy of the United States was spelled out in an official note addressed to the United States Government on 3 November 1983, and most recently in a document of 16 August 1984. A day later, a ceremony was held at the White House which demonstrated yet again that the United States means to press on with its blatant interference in Polish internal affairs. On this occasion, the objects of manipulation were not only recent developments but also more ancient history. The fortieth anniversary of the Warsaw uprising was used to hark back for manipulative purposes to such historic events as the Kosciuszko insurrection of 1794, the November uprising of 1830 and the January uprising of 1863, twisting their meaning to suit the current needs of the anti-communist crusade. Anti-Polish purposes dictated another attempt to reinterpret the Yalta and Potsdam agreements, the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, signed at Helsinki on 1 August 1975, and other international accords. It is therefore worth pointing out from this rostrum that the Charter of the United Nations, to which the United States President referred on this occasion, expressly states that: "Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorize . . . to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any State . . .".

214. It should be recalled that bilaterally, on 1 June 1972, the United States and Poland adopted a document in which they agreed that the development of peaceful co-operation between nations must be based on "the principles of territorial integrity and

inviolability of frontiers, non-interference in internal affairs, sovereign equality, independence and renunciation of the use or threat of use of force". Three years later the United States Government solemnly confirmed in the Helsinki Final Act its will to uphold those principles.

215. It is therefore reasonable to ask this. How do unlawful restrictions and other hostile measures in the political, economic, scientific, transport and other fields square with principle VI of the Helsinki Final Act, which requires the signatories "in all circumstances [to] refrain from any . . . act of military, or of political, economic or other coercion designed to subordinate to their own interest the exercise by another participating State of the rights inherent in its sovereignty and thus to secure advantages of any kind"?

216. How can the pledge made by the United States, in common with the other 34 European and North American countries, of its will to improve and expand mutual relations and further *rapprochement* and better understanding among nations accommodate a decision to continue propaganda aggression and to this end modernize the anti-Polish American broadcasting stations "Radio Free Europe" and "Voice of America"?

217. How is the unilateral, arbitrary suspension or severance of international agreements to be reconciled with international law's fundamental rule of *pacta sunt servanda?* What has a policy of carrots and sticks—dispensed by one of the world's great Powers according to the extent to which other States are prepared to toe its line and carry out its wishes—to do with observance of the principles of sovereign equality and non-interference in the internal affairs of States? Many more such questions present themselves.

218. We listened with attention to the address by the President of the United States [*4th meeting*] in which he offered to the world the arrangement of relations on a partnership basis; but still fresh in our memory was the statement he had delivered on the occasion of "Peace Through Strength Week", only two days before he appeared in this Hall, in which he resolutely spoke in favour of negotiations from a position of strength.

219. The world, however, awaits from the United States not merely a change of rhetoric. Something much more important is needed—namely, a departure from the policy of confrontation. In the case of Poland, this should mean the lifting of United States economic restrictions and the cessation of propaganda aggression. Only that would make possible the normalization of bilateral relations.

220. I wish to add that the various discriminatory restrictions applied heretofore against Poland have been in utter dissonance with the principles of the free flow of trade, about which the President of the United States spoke at such length in his address here. We expect those valid principles of international economic co-operation to be implemented by the United States with regard to Poland also.

221. Against the backdrop of the anti-Polish arbitrary policy of the United States and of certain other NATO countries, it is with particular respect and appreciation that we regard the independent and objective stand taken *vis-à-vis* our country by the non-aligned countries and the majority of the neutral countries, guided as they are by the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, and in particular the principles of sovereignty and the inalienable right of every nation to determine the directions of its internal development. We can give this full credit, especially as our bilateral relations with most of those countries are expanding fruitfully in a spirit of friendship, mutual respect and reciprocal benefit. This area of our foreign relations will be consistently developed in the future also.

222. The history of nations is not a collection of miscellaneous events into which one can dip as required, as if it were a storage room for property. International documents, based on reciprocity, embody an agreed balance of interests and determine the degree of States' interdependence. Concern has therefore been understandably aroused in Poland by the practice of challenging the validity of fundamental agreements that form the bedrock of security in Europe. This applies in particular to the decisions reached by the Big Three at Yalta and Potsdam, decisions that laid down the framework and guiding principles of the post-war peace settlement. These provisions were definitively endorsed in bilateral treaties and sealed at Helsinki by the signatures of the leaders of 35 European and North American States on the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. Without the Yalta and Potsdam agreements there would have been no Charter of the United Nations and no Helsinki. Those documents, which constitute an indissoluble whole, are the basis of the territorial and political organization of Europe.

223. The astonishing thing is that the numerous interpreters of Yalta invariably address themselves to what is not contained in the decisions of that Conference, while they skirt round their essence and purpose. These were clearly and unequivocally stated: the destruction once and for all of German militarism and fascism, as the main threat to peace. The Yalta document further proclaimed:

> "Only with continuing and growing co-operation and understanding among our three countries, and among all the peace-loving nations, can the highest aspiration of humanity be realized—a secure and lasting peace."

Such a peace would, in the words of the 1941 Atlantic Charter, which foreshadowed the United Nations, "afford assurance that all men in all lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want". That is an important heritage for contemporary and future generations. Only dialogue, understanding and co-operation between the great Powers and all the countries of the world can free humanity from the threat of nuclear holocaust. The policy of the arms race and confrontation, of the severance of agreements and suspension and obstruction of co-operation, increases the risk of such a catastrophe.

224. In political assessments it is actions, not words, that are the proper measure of the behaviour of States. The first of September was the forty-fifth anniversary of Hitler's invasion of Poland, the act of aggression which started the Second World War. If our minds go back to those years, it is not for the purpose of musing on the events which left Poland standing alone against an overpoweringly superior enemy, but in order to be wiser in the future. Paper guarantees failed to shield Poland from havoc and to prevent the death of millions of human beings.

225. The first and most crucial lesson that we have learned from our experience in September 1939 is that security cannot be guaranteed by "exotic alliances"; it can be guaranteed only by the natural ones that stem from a community of interests. We are bound by such an impregnable alliance with the Soviet Union and the other States members of the Warsaw Treaty Organization. The peaceful coalition of socialist States—the Warsaw Treaty—has for nearly 30 years been the guarantor of peace in Europe. The second lesson taught us by the Second World War is the necessity of developing a system of security in Europe which will ensure that the security interests of all its nations are equally protected.

226. On the other hand, the policy of arms race and confrontation and international tensions foster the mobilization of forces hostile to peace and destabilize the situation in Europe and other parts of the world. We perceive a particular threat to peace in attempts to change the political and territorial map of Europe as shaped by post-war developments. The problem is not that the Polish frontiers are in jeopardy. They are inviolable and permanent. Nevertheless, the resurgence of *Grossdeutsche* ambitions and revisionist currents in the Federal Republic of Germany, accompanied as they are by militarization, cannot be shrugged off by anyone in Europe—least of all, in view of our historical experience, by the Polish people. On issues of fundamental significance to the nation there are no differences between Poles. The tragedy of the Nazi occupation is still too fresh in their memory. That is the context in which we view the militarization processes of the Federal Republic and weigh the declarations against the facts. The declarations are full of peaceful reassurances; the facts often tell a completely different story. On 2 May 1984, the Federal Chancellor said at Oxford: "The security and peace policy of the Federal Republic of Germany serves an important political purpose: overcoming the division of Germany and Europe". On 28 June 1984 the Council of the Western European Union lifted the last remaining bans and restrictions imposed on the Federal Republic, allowing it to go ahead with production and possession of strategic bombers and medium- and long-range missiles. As a result of the deployment in Western Europe, and in particular on the territory of the Federal Republic of Germany, of new United States nuclear missiles systems, the security of Europe has diminished; the threat to world peace has increased. There is a close link between the forces professing *Grossdeutsche* ambitions and those seeking the military instruments for the pursuit of these aims.

227. We judge and shall continue to judge the Federal Republic of Germany as we do other countries: on the evidence of facts, actions and political practice. We listened with attention to the statement of the Vice-Chancellor and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany [*8th meeting*], and in particular to his remarks pertaining to the territorial integrity of all States of Europe within their present frontiers and proclaiming that the Federal Republic of Germany has no territorial claims at present and will have no such claims in the future, in accordance with the provisions of the treaties concluded by it with Poland and other socialist States.

228. We are ready to enter into dialogue with the Federal Republic of Germany and with all forces and States, regardless of their socio-political systems, that recognize the existing realities in Europe and wish to make an honest effort to further détente and improve East-West relations. I declare from this rostrum that we are prepared, as we have always been, to entertain any constructive proposals that could lessen the danger of war in Europe.

229. In the present extremely tense and complex world situation, a fundamental question looms ahead, namely, what to do to steer international relations out of the deadlock and on to a path of lasting peaceful co-operation among nations and States? To answer this question, what is needed is, first and foremost, authentic consideration of the good of one's own country and of the common good of humanity, bona fide political intent and bold imagination. The search for an answer ought to start in the most critical area, with improvement of relations between the Soviet Union and the United States, since those two leading nuclear Powers bear an exceptional responsibility for the fate of the world. Soviet-United States relations exert a decisive influence on the overall climate of relations in the world in all fields, as was so conclusively demonstrated in the 1970s. We express the hope that today's meeting between the First Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union and the President of the United States will contribute to recognition by the United States Administration of the realities of the contemporary world, a world of different socio-economic systems. There is no sensible alternative to the peaceful coexistence of those systems. The policy of confrontation can only lead to a catastrophe.

230. We attach supreme importance to averting the nuclear threat and to halting and reversing the nuclear arms race. This purpose would be served by following up the momentous initiative of the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Konstantin Chernenko, concerning the elaboration of and agreement on norms of behaviour among the nuclear Powers and other Soviet proposals currently on the table, namely, those concerning a ban on the militarization of outer space and a moratorium on the development of anti-satellite systems, as well as the most recent one, submitted yesterday [*A/39/243*], on the use of outer space exclusively for peaceful purposes for the benefit of mankind. A concrete contribution to reducing the nuclear threat has been made by the Soviet Union through its unilateral no-first-use pledge. We appeal once again to the other nuclear Powers to enter into a similar commitment.

231. We also hail the Soviet Union's readiness to abide by its earlier constructive proposals for armament reduction should the United States and the other States members of NATO show signs of being prepared to restore the situation that existed prior to the deployment of cruise and Pershing II missiles in Western Europe.

232. Our programme is also aimed at the elimination of current regional conflicts and tensions. Behind most of them we detect both the goals and the results of an imperialist policy based on a position of strength and designed to preserve the remnants of colonialism and reinforce neo-colonial practices and racism. Ample evidence of this is provided by the history of the prolonged and appallingly tragic conflict in the Middle East. Now that the sterility and

fragility of any settlement predicated on forcing the Arab world to conclude separatist agreements with Israel have been so starkly revealed, solutions of a universal, equitable and lasting nature can be all the more irrefutably seen to be the only effective ones. They are guaranteed by the programme of action set out in the Soviet Union's proposals on a Middle East settlement of 29 July 1984 [*see A/39/368*]. Poland reiterates its complete readiness to make a positive contribution to the implementation of that programme.

233. We are greatly disturbed at the conflict between Iraq and Iran. It is draining the life-blood of two nations which are members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, delaying their development and exacerbating their mutual antagonisms.

234. We condemn the imperialist policy of aggression, destabilization and intervention in Central America. The brutal occupation of Grenada continues. The people of Nicaragua, who are fighting to decide their future free from outside interference, enjoy the deep sympathy and support of Poland.

235. We categorically demand that the NATO States responsible for the situation in southern Africa respect the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council concerning the independence of Namibia and the ending of the policy of *apartheid* and its degradation of human dignity.

236. We avow our solidarity with the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan in its defence of its revolutionary gains and with the policy being pursued by its Government in the interests of the normalization of the situation in South-West Asia.

237. We are in favour of the settlement of the disputes in South-East Asia by means of political dialogue between the States directly concerned, without any outside interference whatsoever, and of the immediate reinstatement of the People's Republic of Kampuchea to its rightful place in the United Nations.

238. We support the consistent struggle of the Korean people for reunification on the basis of the recent constructive proposals put forward by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

239. Ten years have elapsed since the adoption by the General Assembly of the historic Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [*resolution 3281 (XXIX)*]. To this day it remains a document of immense significance. Although we are still a long way from application of the principles of international economic relations, the intervening period has borne out the rightness and justice of the objectives which that Charter delineated. In the light of that Charter, we can clearly see that tensions in the political area are being used to destabilize economic co-operation and that disruptions of the latter in turn impede the improvement of political relations. This lowers the threshold of international security in its various fields.

240. A serious problem for the world economy is the global debt crisis, which cannot be solved on a long-term basis without profound reforms in the world monetary system, the removal of protectionist barriers to the exports of debtor nations, a substantial cut in effective interest rates and a flow of fresh financial resources. Consequently, we are in agreement with the recommendations of the meeting of Ministers for Foreign Affairs and Ministers of Finance of 11 Latin American countries at Cartagena in June 1984 [*see A/39/331*], especially with regard to the desirability of joint discussion of financial problems by the debtor and creditor States.

241. The way to remedy the situation is to place economic co-operation on an equitable and democratic footing, as was urged by the States members of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance in their Declaration of June 1984 [*see A/39/323, annex II*]. Awareness of the dangers inherent in the deterioration of economic relations led Poland to submit a proposal to the United Nations for the reconstruction and reinforcement of such relations. We welcome and acknowledge the report of the Secretary-General on confidence-building in international economic relations [*A/39/312 and Corr. 1 and Add. 1 and 2*], prepared pursuant to General Assembly resolution 38/196, containing the replies of over 20 Governments and international organizations. The implementation of this initiative would make possible a gradual increase in economic security and an expansion of economic co-operation that would be beneficial to all. We consider it our duty to follow up our initiative and are counting on further support for it in the United Nations.

242. An extremely important factor in strengthening international security is the broad process of preparing societies for life in peace. This concept was first given codified form in the Declaration on the Preparation of Societies for Life in Peace [*resolution 33/73*], which my country had the honour of sponsoring. At the current session of the General Assembly another review will be made of the implementation of that Declaration. The record does not give cause for optimism, but that makes discussion all the more necessary. Societies expect greater involvement by politicians in efforts to further understanding among nations, to eradicate prejudice, intolerance and arrogance and to show moderation in speech and responsibility in action. We hope that these aims will be reflected in the document which the General Assembly will most likely adopt in conjunction with the commemoration of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations.

243. Our perception of the responsibility and the role of heads of State or Government is in tune with the initiatives of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. The correctness of our opinions was confirmed at the Meeting of Ministers for Foreign Affairs and Heads of Delegation of the Non-Aligned Countries to the General Assembly at its Thirty-eighth Session, held at United Nations Headquarters last October on the initiative of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, which was also attended by the Chairman of the Council of State of the Polish People's Republic, Mr. Henryk Jabłoński. It significantly broadened our comprehension of the position of the non-aligned countries and the very positive role played by the Non-Aligned Movement in a number of matters of vital concern to the contemporary world.

244. In a year we shall be celebrating the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations. Its second 40 years will be launched by the International Year of Peace. On 9 May 1985, we shall also have the fortieth anniversary of the victory of the united forces of democracy over fascism. We shall observe this date as a day of struggle for peace and international security and against fascism, racism, hatred and intolerance. I should like to announce here that a World Congress of Intellectuals will be held at Warsaw on this occasion. We count on all

peace-loving forces in the world to support this undertaking.

245. At this session and in all its international endeavours, Poland, which is open to co-operation with all States, will faithfully implement the lofty goals of the United Nations. Our programme is the programme embodied in the Charter of the United Nations.

The meeting rose at 1.40 p.m.

NOTES

[1] See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fifth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1980*, document S/13951, annex.

[2] *Ibid., Thirty-sixth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1981*, document S/14649, annex.

[3] *Ibid., Thirty-seventh Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1982*, document S/15317.

[4] *Ibid., Supplement for October, November and December 1982*, document S/15510, annex.

[5] See *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* (Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1982), vol. 18, No. 35, p. 1081.

[6] United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 75, No. 973.

United Nations
GENERAL ASSEMBLY
THIRTY-NINTH SESSION
Official Records

13th
PLENARY MEETING
Friday, 28 September 1984,
at 3.20 p.m.
NEW YORK

President: Mr. Paul J. F. LUSAKA (Zambia).

AGENDA ITEM 31

Policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa:

(*a*) Report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid;*

(*b*) Report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against *Apartheid* in Sports;

(*c*) Report of the Secretary-General

1. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decision taken yesterday afternoon [*11th meeting*], the Assembly will consider draft resolution A/39/L.2, entitled "Situation in South Africa". I call on the representative of Botswana, in his capacity as Chairman of the Group of African States, to introduce the draft resolution.

2. Mr. LEGWAILA (Botswana): I stand here on behalf of the Group of African States at the United Nations to commend to the sympathetic consideration of the Assembly the innocuous draft resolution contained in document A/39/L.2.

3. It is generally agreed and appreciated that the current explosion of violence in South Africa is a direct consequence of the recent imposition of a racist constitution on the people of South Africa, even though the South African authorities may have a different explanation for it. It is quite possible that, true to character, the leaders of South Africa do not see why the majority of the people of South Africa should rise against a constitutional dispensation which, for the first time in the history of that country, allows South Africans of Asian descent and Coloureds to play a role as peons in South Africa's now three-legged Parliament. Indeed, the riots and demonstrations currently rocking South Africa are seen by the authorities in that country as the work of criminals, people without a cause, unemployed tsotsis who exploit, for no respectable purpose or cause, grievances over rental increases, unemployment and Bantu education. Put differently, the black man, so they say, has no reason to rebel against a constitution which negates his existence in South Africa because he has already been taken care of constitutionally, that is, he has been driven into the so-called homelands, barren waste lands on the periphery of "White South Africa", where he is "free" to exercise his tribal self-determination.

4. But, of course, the reality is quite different. The reality, as Professor Peter Vale of Rhodes University in South Africa has aptly observed, is that: "The timing of the riots (which purportedly began as anti-rent demonstrations) was a reminder to the Government that the black majority won't be duped by reforms which have given them nothing". The *Rand Daily Mail* observed two years ago: "It is clear that blacks who remain totally excluded [from the constitutional dispensation] will find no pleasure from the plan".

5. Yes, the message to the ruling white minority and its new junior partners is very clear indeed, and it is that: first, even the most intricate and grandiose constitutional stratagem contrived to convert millions of black South Africans into citizens of tribal archipelagos will not be mistaken for meaningful change by the disenfranchised and denationalized majority; secondly, not only will the black majority derive no comfort from a constitutional dispensation which regards them as non-existent, but also their deep sense of alienation and rejection in their own land will drive them to resort to the weapon of hopelessness and desperation, that is, the weapon of violent revolution as an instrument of liberation; and thirdly, the central issue in South Africa is not one of finding space in the white man's laager for South African Indian and Coloured communities; it is one of creating the necessary conditions for the establishment of a common non-racial society born of a true sense of community.

6. Yes, the South African society will remain a violent society so long as millions of its members are denied their basic human rights, among which is the right to freedom and liberty and to life itself. And in the past few weeks, as we all know—a tragic few weeks during which many leaders have been detained without trial—the people of Sebokeng, Soweto and other townships have been denied even the right to bury the victims of police bullets in a manner they deemed appropriate, and the right to worship their God in peace has been proscribed. And we wonder why there is so much violence in that tormented country. *Apartheid*, as we all know, is a violent policy. It can only be applied through the constant use of violence, and violence, as history attests, always begets violence.

7. By this draft resolution which we are about to adopt—and adopt, we hope, unanimously—we, the Group of African States, do not mean to exacerbate the situation in South Africa, but to contribute to the search for a solution to it. The African Group derives no pleasure from the shedding of blood by either side of the widening chasm of racial polarization that divides the people of South Africa, but we deem it

our responsibility, our duty as Africans, to bring this intolerable situation to the General Assembly so that together we can vent our collective revulsion and anger and express the very serious concern of the international community at a situation that, in our view, clearly poses a serious danger to the peace and stability of southern Africa and the world at large.

8. The draft resolution rejects South Africa's racist ethnocentric constitution foisted on the people of South Africa three weeks ago—a constitution already declared null and void by Security Council resolution 554 (1984). It points out, in Professor Vale's words, that "the black majority in South Africa will not be duped by reforms" which regard them as aliens without rights in their own country, and the draft resolution reaffirms, in paragraph 6, that

> "only the total eradication of *apartheid* and the establishment of a non-racial democratic society based on majority rule, through the full and free exercise of adult suffrage by all the people in a united and unfragmented South Africa, can lead to a just and lasting solution of the explosive situation in South Africa".

We have to repeat this truism, if only to make it abundantly clear time and time again that no constitutional artifice designed to modernize *apartheid*, no solution which pretends that South Africa belongs exclusively to the minority whites and a handful of Indian and Coloured opportunists, will spare South Africa the ghastly consequences of its refusal to learn the lessons of history.

9. It is my honour and privilege, in my capacity as Chairman of the Group of African States for this month, to commend to the unanimous support of the Assembly draft resolution A/39/L.2.

10. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now take a decision on draft resolution A/39/L.2 and Add.1. I shall first call on those delegations wishing to explain their votes before the voting.

11. Mr. MIZERE (Malawi): The draft resolution before us is an embodiment of the world's opposition to the policy of racial discrimination, and it reminds us of four principal elements: first, total rejection of the policy of *apartheid*, which relegates the blacks of that country to a status of permanent inferiority and humiliation; secondly, reiteration of the international community's opposition to the constitutional dispensation in South Africa which has deliberately excluded the blacks from the parameters of political power in that country; thirdly, rejection of the policy of homelands earmarked for the blacks; and, fourthly, expression of sorrow at the continued blood-letting in South Africa and a demonstration of sympathy with the political have-nots, some of whom have laid down their lives in their endeavours to create a unitary State in which all South Africans can live in peace and friendship, sharing a common commitment as a people, as a nation and, indeed, as a Government.

12. History and geography have placed my country in a southern African political destiny, and therefore Malawi cannot and will not be indifferent to the political developments in that part of Africa.

13. It is against this background that my delegation will vote for the draft resolution. It wishes, however, to take this opportunity to reiterate its deep-rooted belief in the policy of contact and dialogue as a means of solving disputes and to point out that it does not advocate public condemnations as solutions for problems that obtain in that part of the continent.

14. Finally, my delegation would like to appeal to the appropriate South African authorities to create a political atmosphere that will promote peace, security and stability and will allow political participation by all South Africans as equals.

15. Mr. PIERRET (France) (*interpretation from French*): France has certain reservations concerning some of the terms used in the second preambular paragraph and also in paragraphs 1 and 3, but my delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution in order to make clear its condemnation of the brutal repression of the recent uprisings in South Africa.

16. Those uprisings coincided with the implementation of constitutional changes which would continue to entrench the system of *apartheid* in that country. They reflected the exasperation of a black majority deprived of any prospects for a future, and they expressed rejection of an unjust and inhuman order. The violence unleashed by the forces in power will change nothing and will settle nothing. South Africa will live in peace only when its laws recognize equality and dignity for all its citizens. A peaceful evolution of the situation is possible, and this is what France ardently hopes for.

17. Mr. STEFANINI (Italy): We wish to take this opportunity to state once again our firm support for the long-standing call by the General Assembly for the abolition of *apartheid* and the establishment in South Africa of a just society based on equal rights for all.

18. We need not recall either our condemnation of *apartheid* or our position on the constitutional changes in South Africa. Our record is consistent. Last year we voted in favour of General Assembly resolution 38/11; more recently, our views have been reflected in the Declaration on South Africa adopted on 11 September 1984 by the Foreign Ministers of the 10 member States of the European Community [*see A/39/487*].

19. With regard to the draft resolution before us, Italy has some reservations on paragraph 3 and on some of the wording, particularly in the seventh preambular paragraph and paragraphs 4 and 7. We also have doubts whether it is appropriate for the United Nations to decide on the legal validity of constitutions or of electoral laws, no matter how much we disapprove of them. Nevertheless, in accordance with our long-standing position, we shall vote in favour of the draft resolution.

20. The PRESIDENT: We shall now vote on draft resolution A/39/L.2 and Add.1. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Canada, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Djibouti, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lesotho, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

Against: None.

Abstaining: United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

The draft resolution was adopted by 133 votes to none, with 2 abstentions (resolution 39/2).[1]

21. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their votes.

22. Mr. MILES (United Kingdom): Although we shall have a more appropriate opportunity to consider the serious matter before us when the remainder of the debate under agenda item 31 takes place, I must briefly place on record some formal reservations of the United Kingdom on parts of the resolution just adopted.

23. Events in South Africa arouse deep emotion. It is often extraordinarily difficult to take a balanced and objective view of them. But it is all the more important that the General Assembly should take account of the facts and respect the Charter of the United Nations.

24. My Government's profound anxiety about the situation within South Africa has been expressed here many times. Our concern at the recent violence, rioting and detentions was reflected in the Declaration on South Africa [*ibid.*]. However, we regret that some of the language in the resolution just adopted, notably, where it refers to "wanton killing", "virtual martial law" and "continued massacre", distorts an already grave state of affairs. Nor can we endorse the implicit preference for armed struggle over peaceful solutions; moreover, this is not a question of national liberation. The policy of *apartheid* violates the civil and political rights of the people of South Africa, but it is going too far to describe it as "a crime against humanity and a threat to international peace and security".

25. As my delegation explained on 15 November 1983, at the thirty-eighth session [*56th meeting*], and in the Security Council on 17 August 1984,[2] the United Kingdom is looking for progress towards constitutional arrangements which are acceptable to the people of South Africa as a whole, but considers it wrong to make a final judgement now about the new arrangements. We believe that the recent disturbances were caused by a number of factors, not simply the new constitution.

26. Finally, with reference to the first two preambular paragraphs and paragraph 1 of the resolution just adopted, we must reiterate that no organ of the United Nations—neither the General Assembly nor the Security Council—has competence to declare the constitution of a Member State null and void.

27. Mr. AOKI (Japan): We strongly oppose the institutionalized system of racial discrimination in South Africa and have long been calling upon the Government of South Africa to heed the call of the international community totally to abandon *apartheid.* We fully understand the plight of the majority of the people in South Africa, and we are gravely concerned at the ongoing demonstrations and protests against the so-called constitutional reform in various parts of the country which are being repressed by the authorities of South Africa. My delegation fully shares the sentiment behind the resolution just adopted and that is why we voted in favour of it.

28. However, my delegation feels obliged to point out that this resolution was adopted without any substantive debate and even before all the Member States were given a chance to express their basic positions in the general debate. We believe that on a matter such as this, which is of major concern to the world community, efforts should have been made for a consensus resolution so as to ensure that it would more effectively exert pressure on South African authorities.

29. In addition to these procedural points, I would also like to state that, as with other resolutions on this agenda item adopted previously, my delegation has reservations on some of the elements contained in the present resolution.

30. Mr. CARLSON (Canada): My delegation has joined the majority of the Assembly in voting in favour of the resolution before us. We did so because we reject policies designed to perpetuate *apartheid* and racial discrimination. This was made clear most recently in the statement of Canada's Secretary of State for External Affairs to the Assembly on 25 September [*7th meeting*]. While opposed to *apartheid* and other forms of racism, my delegation has certain legal and policy reservations about some of the language used in this resolution, in particular the latter part of paragraph 3. Our vote in favour of this resolution should not be taken as an indication of a change in the Canadian position adopted in this regard in both the General Assembly and other forums.

31. Miss DEVER (Belgium) (*interpretation from French*): Belgium has publicly and on numerous occasions condemned the policy of *apartheid* of South Africa. Regarding the entry into force of the new constitution in that country, you have been informed of the Declaration on South Africa adopted by the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the 10 member States of the European Community.

32. In referring to the resolution which has just been adopted—and my delegation voted in favour of it—I should like to express reservations on the formulation of certain provisions which, in particular, do not sufficiently take into account the respective competences of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

33. Mr. KEYES (United States of America): The delegation of the United States regrets that it is unable to join in support of this resolution, which comes before the General Assembly in the wake of the serious and deeply troubling events in South Africa. The recent upsurge of violence there illustrates once again the tragic consequences of denying

the natural human passion for freedom. We join with other members of this body in condemning the inherent injustice of *apartheid*. We join them as well in calling on the Government of South Africa to abandon this policy, which we believe to be a violation of fundamental human rights and a betrayal of the dignity and conscience of all South Africans and of human beings everywhere.

34. At the same time, we believe that our strong revulsion against the injustice of *apartheid* and our deep compassion for the victims of the recent disturbances in South Africa does not authorize us or the General Assembly to indulge in violent rhetoric that can only exacerbate an already tragically violent situation. On the strength of this belief, we have in the past consistently opposed language such as that contained in paragraph 3 of the resolution before us. We oppose it now. This language, as well as other formulations in the text before us, are simply not justified by the facts. Nor is it within the competence of this body or of the Security Council to declare the constitution of South Africa or that of any other Member State "null and void".

35. We believe that the fate of South Africa is and should be in the hands of the people of South Africa. The struggle to eliminate injustice and to establish a democratic system that respects the rights of all is a process as complex as it is vital. Recent events highlight its urgency but also its dangers. If this Assembly's response to that urgency aggravates those dangers, it only increases the likelihood that the process of change will become instead a cycle of self-destruction. Because we care about all the people of South Africa, we cannot favour such a response. We will continue our efforts to support those who seek a more hopeful solution to the South African dilemma. We urge all States and Governments here represented to do the same.

36. Mr. KURPERSHOEK (Netherlands): The Netherlands voted in favour of the resolution just adopted.

37. The new South African constitution falls far short of the fundamental reforms necessary to bring an end to *apartheid* in South Africa. We cannot but disapprove in the strongest terms of the fact that no provision was made in the constitution for the political rights of the black majority of South Africa.

38. However, we have some reservations on the text of the resolution. I shall refer to two of them. First, in my Government's opinion, it is not for the United Nations to pass judgement on the legal validity of a Member State's constitution and declare it null and void. Secondly, the situation in South Africa is not a colonial one; therefore, we cannot endorse a call for national liberation.

39. The recent recurrence of violence in South Africa is, in my Government's opinion, not related only to the imposition of the new constitution. However, it points to the urgent need for *apartheid* to be abolished forthwith in the interest of the people of South Africa and in the interest of peace and stability in the region.

40. Count YORK von WARTENBURG (Federal Republic of Germany): My delegation voted in favour of the resolution just adopted because we find ourselves in support of its main thrust.

41. Our position on the matter has already been made clear in the following statement issued by my Government on the result of the parliamentary chamber elections for Coloureds and Asians in South Africa:

> "The demonstratively low turn-out (less than 20 per cent) of eligible voters among the Coloured population and even less in the case of the Indians confirms the concern felt by the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany that the majority of those affected fail to see the new South African constitution either as a constructive step forward or as a sufficiently large concession. From the outset, the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany has been greatly concerned that the constitutional reform contains no measures aimed at granting political rights to the black majority, despite the fact that blacks make up 73 per cent of the population.
>
> "The new constitution has a considerable 'legitimacy deficit'. The black majority is fully excluded from political activity and only a small minority of Coloureds and Indians are willing to co-operate in the narrowly defined limits of the new system."

The latest developments in South Africa have reinforced our apprehensions.

42. However, I have to stress our strong reservations concerning paragraphs 1 and 3 of the resolution just adopted. As much as we may doubt the wisdom of the new constitution, it cannot for juridical reasons alone—that is, the lack of competence of this body—be declared null and void. Furthermore, with respect to paragraph 3, we maintain the position that it is not a matter for the General Assembly to pronounce itself on questions reserved by the Charter of the United Nations to the Security Council.

43. Mr. MALINGA (Swaziland): The delegation of the Kingdom of Swaziland voted in favour of the resolution which the Assembly has just adopted and wishes to make the following points.

44. The delegation of Swaziland fully supports the main thrust of the resolution, which appropriately addresses itself to the urgent need for the establishment of a non-racial society based on the fundamental norms of democracy, whereby participation by all the people, irrespective of their colour, race or creed, is sacrosanctly observed. The new constitution excludes the black majority; and it is my delegation's belief that they should be included in the decision-making process of the country of their birth.

45. We reiterate Swaziland's position that we recognize every nation's right to self-determination and independence. But we find it very, very difficult to go along with certain prescriptions designed to solve the situation inside South Africa. We stand opposed to the use of violence, for our geographical position and economic vulnerability impose a heavy burden on our country.

46. Finally, Swaziland strongly believes in the philosophy of peaceful negotiations, for history has taught us that violence has never resulted in anything but counter-productivity.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

47. Mr. TERÁN TERÁN (Ecuador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I bring to this world forum the fraternal greetings of the people of Ecuador and its

constitutional Government, presided over by Mr. León Febres Cordero.

48. My congratulations go to the President of the General Assembly on his election, which reflects the universal importance of the African continent and the prestige he has earned as the representative of Zambia in the exercise of important functions in the United Nations.

49. I also greet the President of Panama, Mr. Jorge Illueca, who so brilliantly conducted the work of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly; and the Secretary-General, a distinguished Latin American diplomat.

50. Ecuador is also happy to welcome the newest Member of the Organization, Brunei Darussalam, a member of the Association of South-East Asian Nations [*ASEAN*], with which my country maintains cordial relations through the Andean Group.

51. We are all very much aware of the gravity of the present time. The poorest peoples, grouped or identified within that miscellany which is called the third world, call, with varying degrees of urgency, for immediate efforts by the other world blocs to avert dangers that could lead to a veritable catastrophe if they are not overcome. The indifference of some, the worsening living conditions of most and the trend towards aggression rather than solution of others are to blame for this. Global negotiations gain importance daily at the international level, and they should be such as to strengthen the movement towards co-operation rather than confrontation.

52. Ecuador agrees with the demands for a prompt and equitable solution to the most important problems of our time made by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries at various times. That Movement will gain greater authority to the extent that its proposals are characterized by austerity, objectivity and the absence of extremism or partiality to any of the other world blocs.

53. Foreign debts, particularly, but not exclusively, those of Latin American countries, have required slow and exhaustive renegotiation. Certain demands that ignore economic realities and threaten the survival of peoples have faced many countries with tragic dilemmas.

54. The problem of indebtedness is the common responsibility of debtors and creditors, of those that control the main economic currents in the world and the peoples subjected to them. The solution must involve them all. Once again, co-operation is essential, but from time to time the threat of aggressive confrontation looms ahead.

55. Ecuador maintains an open attitude regarding dialogue and negotiations with the industrialized countries and financial organizations, but it stresses the inescapable need for renegotiation to leave free an essential margin not only for the survival but for the progress of debtor countries.

56. The extension of deadlines for debt renegotiation, the opening of new lines of credit and other similar measures will not provide a real solution to the problem of Latin American indebtedness. The only effective and definitive solution will have to come through the restructuring of economic policies. These should no longer be inspired by ill-conceived protectionism, which is largely to blame for the fact that Latin America has a growing current account deficit in its balance of payments and that it has become a net exporter of capital.

57. Latin America calls upon the developed world—the first and second worlds—to open the door to trade in the products that Latin America can export and in so doing to abandon the series of restrictive measures or the groupings inspired by political principles rather than by the norms of sound economy—political principles which have consistently been prejudicial to Latin America's opportunities for export and foreign trade earnings.

58. Like all Latin American countries, Ecuador is aware of the need for a policy of austerity. It is true that the effects of indebtedness induced Latin American Governments to overspend, but it is no less true that international creditors stimulated such policies in their desire to invest capital not only in productive sectors, as had always been the tradition with banks and private international financial mechanisms, but also in Governments, and that which could eventually have helped and relieved Latin American countries undoubtedly prompted the overspending. But austerity must not mean the death sentence for Latin American communities, which cannot be compelled to lower the standards of their economic life, of their productivity, of their sources of employment to levels at which the problem no longer affects Latin American communities only but becomes an explosive world problem, with masses of people impoverished not because there is any lack of resources from which they may benefit but because of an economic system that stresses payment mechanisms for an old debt and forgets or minimizes what is necessary for the people's subsistence.

59. Ecuador supports any initiative that can strengthen understanding and unity in the world, in regions and in subregions. This applies within the Andean Group, where Ecuador advocates practical and positive rather than theoretical economic and cultural integration, just as it does within the group of South Pacific countries, within which it reaffirms the legitimacy of their defence of their sovereign right over their seas and the natural resources therein, as well as over the sea-bed as an integral part of the heritage of and a promise of well-being for our peoples. It applies, too, within the group of Amazonian countries, in order to safeguard its national destiny and sovereignty in a region where we reaffirm Ecuador's rights as an Amazonian country from the epic discovery of the Amazon River by the Quito expedition of 1541 to the time when Ecuador, faithful to its tradition of peace and legality, sought to strengthen friendly relations with Peru and sought a sincere climate of mutual understanding in order to promote a just and honourable solution to its territorial controversy.

60. At a time when it is imperative for the peoples to hear constructive voices in favour of concerted action and the common good, Ecuador will not rest in its efforts to draw closer to all countries of the world, in particular those to which it is bound by history and geography, by nature and blood, by culture and common objectives.

61. Ecuador's sense of universality demands defence of the principles of non-intervention, the self-determination of peoples, the peaceful settlement of disputes, respect for ideological pluralism and human rights, and the rejection of all forms of intervention, aggression, colonialism and the acquisition of territory by force. Just as we respect the sovereignty of others, so we demand respect for ours.

62. Ecuador observes with satisfaction the progress achieved towards a peaceful solution of the question of the Beagle Channel. This was inevitable since it involves two sister countries united by the moral and spiritual voice that carries most authority on our planet.

63. Ecuador has supported and will continue to support initiatives aiming at peace and understanding among peoples. This is why the Ecuadorian delegation supports the efforts to settle the differences concerning the question of the Malvinas Islands.

64. In the United Nations, Ecuador has supported and will continue to support the need for the withdrawal of foreign forces from all territories which do not belong to them, whether in Afghanistan, Lebanon and the Middle East as a whole, Cyprus, Kampuchea, Namibia or Chad. Similarly, Ecuador rejects any form of violence, destabilization of States, intervention or deployment of forces of any foreign origin in Central America. That is why Ecuador has given its full support to the actions taken by the Contadora Group of Latin American Governments and trusts that they will achieve practical results. It hopes, therefore, that it may soon be possible to hold completely free elections in those Central American countries still governed by non-democratic Governments, and it reaffirms the concept of a democracy not as a formal system that merely appears to be one but as a real, vital system, in which the principles of the Charter of the United Nations find concrete and unrestricted application; in which the freedom of individuals and groups is a categorical imperative for the organs of public power; and where power and force bow to the need to respect the dignity and freedom of individuals.

65. Since its accession to independence, Ecuador has been a constant defender of the freedom of man. It was one of the first countries to abolish slavery entirely, within a process which sprang from the genius of the ideas of Bolívar, the Liberator, when we were a part of "Gran Colombia". In 1851 Ecuador eliminated the last remnants of the slave system. The eradication of racial discrimination has also been the subject of considerable legislation throughout Ecuador's history and it is fully enshrined in the political Constitution of the State.

66. Within the United Nations the Latin American countries have contributed to the universalization of the passion for freedom. As a result, Ecuador has supported everything contributing to decolonization and, consequently, the admission of new Members to the Organization. Similarly, we have been opposed to exclusions of any kind. It is the right of all States to belong to the world Organization, and it is in the interest of the United Nations to attain universality in the most complete manner possible. Consequently, Ecuador would be pleased to see the admission of both Koreas, either jointly, which would give cause for satisfaction, or individually or, better still, as one unified Korea, if the ongoing negotiations yield successful results.

67. As in the case of the maritime extensions, so in the new geographical, historical and juridical dimensions of outer space, above all in the matter of the geostationary orbit of satellites, Ecuador renews its appeal for such areas to remain solely within the realm of peaceful use, free from any warlike purpose, and it reaffirms its rights as an equatorial country as well as the need to apply the benefit of the orbit, a limited natural resource, in favour of developing countries in general and equatorial countries in particular.

68. The same sense of universality, the awareness that it is the human condition that sets juridical values and not the reverse, inspires the attitude of Ecuador with respect to the promotion and defence of human rights. All States are committed to the promotion and defence of those rights. No selective or discriminatory criterion, be it inspired by political order or by ideology, justifies any dichotomy in this system. Human beings are the direct and inevitable object of the unrestricted recognition of certain elementary rights, and the ignoring of them cannot be justified on the basis of the imperatives of power or the organization of States, whatever may be the philosophy that inspires them. In Ecuador, human rights are fully respected. The rule of law has prevailed. The State is the first to abide by the Constitution and the law. The Government strictly observes and respects the rights of individuals and groups. The present Government, the result of an overwhelming electoral process, which has received the broad backing of the majority of the citizens, is inspired by the principles of Christianity as a doctrine which defends the equality and the dignity of the individual, and it is oriented towards the exclusive aim of working untiringly in favour of the people, in keeping with freedom and justice.

69. For the reasons I have mentioned, the National Government will devote maximum efforts to the preservation of true democracy and peaceful coexistence and the rejection of all threats of terrorism, which we consider as a crime against humanity, just as we consider the traffic in narcotic drugs. These concepts were set forth and incorporated in the Quito Declaration against Traffic in Narcotic Drugs of 11 August 1984 [*A/39/407, annex*].

70. Collective responsibilities for disarmament and development are also universal. The primary objective of the United Nations continues to be development, and to attain this it is imperative to achieve peace, which has so often been disturbed and threatened in past years. Disarmament is not merely a mechanical activity for dismantling war machinery; it must be a moral attitude, whereby respect for individuals and collectivities prevails over the imperatives of power. The kind of disarmament that must be attained is moral disarmament, that which eliminates the aggressive instinct from the actions and the conscience of man and which curbs the arrogance and desire for dominance of whoever feels strongest.

71. Atomic explosions for warlike purposes are to be condemned wherever they take place, and those in the South Pacific are of particular concern to my country. Given the danger which those tests represent for the ecological balance of the region, such explosions have been condemned by the South Pacific Permanent Commission, an organization comprising Colombia, Chile, Ecuador and Peru.

72. Development must become, as it has not yet become, a shared task, in which the rich and the poor have something to gain and something to bring and in which a political attitude of willing co-operation and not a bureaucratic fiction of pseudo-co-operation prevails as an ordinary circumstance in the international community.

73. The most powerful countries are inevitably committed to expressing an unequivocal political will for co-operation, so that the world economy may recover and international economic relations may become less unfair.

74. The co-operation of the world Powers with the developing world must be extended in a pragmatic way. Not only risk-capital flows, direct investment, the transfer of technology, and opening credits and markets, but also the processes of multilateral co-operation must be expanded and intensified. An end must be put to that absurd restrictive criterion of discouraging investments by the richest countries in the areas of the developing world, whether such discouragement springs from financial, protectionist or political motives. There must be an awareness of the fact that the contribution in technology, people and capital from the more developed countries is an essential requirement for the rapid and harmonious progress of the so-called developing world.

75. Ecuador was one of the founding countries of the United Nations. We are on the eve of celebrating 40 years of existence of the Organization. My country reiterates that the United Nations system is of paramount importance for peace, stability and progress in the world. It is necessary to enhance the Organization, refine it and, if necessary, transform it, so that it may be not only the forum for national declarations but much more: the grand stage on which the peoples may reach an ever greater measure of understanding, friendship and common action. Moreover, this fortieth anniversary must be an occasion for revising procedures, reducing organizational costs and proliferation throughout the system, and accentuating the technical service role of the specialized agencies, in order to concentrate within the United Nations itself responsibility of a political nature. Any confusion in the matter of objectives, any interference by technical organs in political matters, will only imply a loss of authority and efficiency for the entire system.

76. It is therefore imperative, in the year that lies before us, so to consolidate concrete actions that the General Assembly may attain viable results, stressing common denominators and agreement, rather than tension, extremism or sectoral interests. The Economic and Social Council must be the ideal forum for development issues, where progress is made in the search for higher standards of living for the poor majorities in the world, which is the primary and concrete objective of today's international system in the economic, social and cultural spheres; and the Security Council must fulfil the purpose for which it was established, particularly through an operative system that enables it to reach peaceful solutions for international disputes.

77. All these criteria and the endeavours I have mentioned, among the many others, altruistic and positive, of the Organization constitute one of the substantial elements in the restoration of balance to the interdependent and planetary world we inhabit. It can make the difference between human co-operation and devastating strife, between the hope that the approaching century may truly be better and the tragic pessimism that misunderstanding and blindness may prevail in international relations. It can be the great dividing line between a holocaust and redemption.

78. Mr. ANDREI (Romania) (*interpretation from French*): I have the greatest pleasure in conveying to you, Sir, our warmest congratulations and best wishes for success on the occasion of your election to the presidency of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly.

79. The work of the Assembly is taking place in a very complex international situation and in an environment marked by particularly grave tension. The policy of maintaining and redividing zones of influence and spheres of domination and the policy of force and the threat of force are intensifying. Old conflicts among States have been aggravated while new ones have emerged. Manifestations of the current economic crisis—which affect practically all States and particularly the developing ones—have been amplified, thus further heightening world economic and political instability.

80. A particularly aggravating factor in the international situation is the acceleration of the arms race and, first and foremost, the nuclear-arms race, which has increased the danger of a new world war which, under present circumstances, would inevitably become a destructive thermonuclear war. The switch-over to deployment by the United States of medium-range nuclear missiles in the countries of Western Europe and the consequent use of nuclear counter-measures announced by the Soviet Union have further aggravated the entire world situation, and especially the situation in Europe.

81. The interests of peace, the policy of détente, co-operation and security demand that everything be done to halt this dangerous course of events leading towards tension and war, to avoid a nuclear catastrophe, which, for all practical purposes, would mean the very destruction of human civilization and of those conditions necessary for the existence of life on our planet.

82. Romania, and its President, Nicolae Ceaușescu, believe that the fundamental issue of our time is the halting of the arms race and the implementation of substantial measures of disarmament, first and foremost nuclear disarmament, thereby defending the supreme right of man and of peoples to existence, to life, to freedom, independence and peace.

83. In the current international circumstances, Romania and its President stand for and resolutely militate for the halting of the deployment of United States medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe and the establishment of a programme with a time-limit for the withdrawal of those already in place, as well as for the cessation of Soviet nuclear countermeasures and the establishment of a programme with a time-limit for the cancellation and elimination of measures which have already been implemented. Likewise, we consider that everything must be done for the urgent resumption of Soviet-United States negotiations aimed at achieving adequate agreements, which must ensure the elimination of medium-range and tactical missiles and of nuclear weapons from Europe.

84. Romania believes that European countries on whose territory medium-range nuclear missiles have already been deployed—or where such deployment is envisaged—bear a special responsibility for the fate of their own peoples and for the fate of peace in Europe and throughout the world. Those countries must be the first to act resolutely to stop the deployment of United States weapons, to cancel the

countermeasures and to bring about resumed negotiations between the Soviet Union and the United States.

85. Since the deployment of nuclear missiles concerns the life and existence of all European peoples, it is necessary for all States of the continent to participate actively in the conclusion of agreements and understandings providing for the elimination of missiles from Europe, thus barring the way towards a nuclear catastrophe. In this spirit, we hold that, simultaneously with the resumption of the Geneva negotiations between the Soviet Union and the United States, it would be necessary to set up a consultative commission of the countries belonging to the two military alliances in which other European States, including neutral and non-aligned countries, would also take part. Such a commission would consider the proposals put forward and make its contribution towards achieving an agreement between the two sides.

86. Given the special importance of these problems for the peace and security of the entire world, we believe that it is the duty of all States Members of the United Nations to do everything possible to contribute to finding adequate solutions responding to the interests of the peoples and the need for détente and stability throughout the world.

87. The Romanian delegation intends to hold wide consultations, in an open spirit of co-operation, with all interested delegations in order to find the best ways by which the General Assembly can contribute to the attainment of these objectives.

88. In defence of peace, a huge movement of peoples is developing in Europe and in other regions of the world. This powerful movement has already achieved some important results. Many cities have declared themselves nuclear-free zones. The Romanian people, using all its strength on the great front of peace, nourishes the conviction that by acting in a firm and united manner the peace movement, progressive forces and peoples throughout the world can put a halt to the dangerous course of events leading towards tension and war and can promote disarmament and peace.

89. Giving expression to the will and fundamental aspirations of the entire Romanian people for peace, President Nicolae Ceaușescu stated in a speech delivered on the occasion of the fortieth anniversary of the National Day of Romania:

> "From this solemn meeting we appeal to all heads of State and Government, to all peoples of Europe and to the entire world to unite our efforts in order to bar the way towards a world war and a nuclear catastrophe. We have succeeded for close to 40 years now in preventing a new world war, but now we are facing a very grave situation. We must do everything possible before it is too late, we must go beyond all considerations and put an end to the arms race, and above all the nuclear-arms race, to ensure the supreme right of all peoples to existence, to life, to independence, to freedom and to peace."

90. Faced with the grave danger posed by the unceasing escalation of the arms race, and first and foremost the nuclear-arms race, it is imperative to draw all the necessary conclusions and to take action to eliminate nuclear weapons, fully taking into account the severe warning of those scientists who have demonstrated that the use of only a part of existing nuclear arsenals would result in the destruction of all of civilization and would obliterate even those conditions necessary for life on our planet. In a future world war, in a nuclear war, there would be neither vanquished nor victors; nuclear weapons would not take into account differences between social systems; they would destroy nearly all of mankind.

91. This is why it cannot be argued in any way that the production and deployment of new nuclear weapons would constitute a means of enhancing security and peace. Quite the contrary: any new nuclear weapon increases the insecurity of peoples and the danger of the destruction of civilization and mankind. Attempts to play down the seriousness of the danger of the use of nuclear weapons are aimed solely at deceiving peoples and at influencing and hampering the struggle of the masses for peace and disarmament and for the cessation of the policy of confrontation and the use or threat of the use of force. The peoples must be openly told that their survival and the survival of future generations are in danger, that there could be no justification for the continuation of the arms race or for testing and producing new nuclear weapons.

Mr. Bucci (Italy), Vice-President, took the Chair.

92. Taking into account the huge quantities of nuclear arms that have been stockpiled, when each side—the United States and the Soviet Union—can destroy all mankind at least 10 times over with the weapons they already possess, there is really no point in maintaining that several hundred missiles more or less could affect the balance of forces between the two sides. There is therefore no justification whatever for continuing to test and produce new nuclear weapons. That is why it is necessary to act with all due responsibility for the interests of the peoples and of mankind, and to cease the production of new nuclear weapons and eliminate the existing ones; that is fully in accordance with the interests of civilization and of all the nations of the world.

93. Consequently, Romania has resolutely stood, and will continue to stand, in favour of the cessation of the arms race, and first of all the nuclear-arms race. We believe that a wide range of firm measures are required in this field, including the achievement of a turning-point in the disarmament negotiations, which for several years now have been practically at a total stalemate.

94. We also believe that the Soviet Union and the United States must resume their negotiations in all fields of nuclear disarmament and that a conference should be convened, with the participation of all nuclear-weapon States, with a view to achieving the cessation of the production of new nuclear weapons and of proceeding to the gradual reduction of existing ones and eventually to their complete elimination.

95. We believe also that, within the framework of the Conference on Disarmament, at Geneva, the time has come to intensify negotiations designed to reach, without delay, a generally accepted agreement on the banning and destruction of chemical weapons, on the basis of the proposals submitted to the Conference. The actions envisaged for the attainment of that objective must be an integral part of the efforts to achieve the prohibition and elimination of all weapons of mass destruction.

96. We attach great importance to the work of the Conference on Confidence- and Security-building Measures and Disarmament in Europe, meeting at

Stockholm. Romania will continue to do everything in its power, in co-operation with all the other delegations, to ensure that that Conference makes a contribution, through its proceedings and its practical results, to the strengthening of confidence and security in Europe and that it fully meets the expectations of peoples for disarmament—and, in the first place, nuclear disarmament—and for the building of a united Europe, free of nuclear weapons, a Europe of peace and co-operation between all its States, whatever their social systems.

97. In our view, it is also necessary that everything be done to reach agreement urgently on concrete measures at the Vienna Talks on Mutual Reduction of Forces and Armaments and Associated Measures in Central Europe; those negotiations have been deadlocked for many years now. If both sides acted responsibly, demonstrating the necessary political will, an understanding could be reached. Even if it did not ensure substantial reductions, it would have a positive impact upon the peoples. It would thus be proved that it is possible to reverse the trend of escalation of the arms race and to make progress on the road to the achievement of a balance of forces based not on an increase but on a decrease in armed forces and armaments.

98. Romania has consistently stood and acted for developing co-operation with all the Balkan States, enhancing trust and co-operation among those countries and turning that region into a zone free of nuclear weapons and foreign military bases. We likewise support the creation of such zones in northern and central Europe as well as in other parts of the world.

99. In our view, it is absolutely necessary to agree on concrete measures for the cessation of the arms race in outer space and for strict observance by all States of the obligations they have undertaken, pursuant to the international agreements in force, to begin serious negotiations with a view to preventing the extension of military competition to this area and ensuring the effective use of outer space for exclusively peaceful purposes, in the interest of all mankind. We therefore support the proposal by the Soviet Union that negotiations for the prevention of the militarization of outer space should start.

100. In Romania's view, a realistic way to achieve tangible progress towards disarmament is the freezing of military expenditures by all States—and in particular by the great Powers, which are heavily armed—to be followed by the reduction of military budgets. The funds thus saved could be channelled to the development of the countries making such reductions, as well as to support the efforts of the developing countries. We appreciate the activities to this end carried out within the United Nations, and Romania will act in favour of continuing the process of drafting principles to guide States in their negotiations of international agreements for freezing and reducing military expenditures.

101. An essential cause of the extremely grave tension in the international situation and the increasing danger of war is the fact that now, almost 40 years after the end of the Second World War, military confrontations and conflicts are taking place in various regions of the world, resulting in huge human and material losses and in the widening and perpetuation of tension and suspicion, which prevent solutions by means of negotiations and threaten peace throughout the world ever more seriously. That is why Romania constantly acts in favour of the political settlement of all disputes between States. We consider it imperative that the highest responsibility should be shown, in the overriding interests of peoples and of international peace and security, to ensure the cessation of military conflicts and the elimination of hotbeds of tension and to solve all issues in dispute among States by the only possible means: negotiations and peaceful methods. No matter how difficult and long the negotiations may be, they are preferable to any military confrontation, for such confrontation does nothing but complicate relations among States and worsen the international situation.

102. It is in this context that Romania, as always, stands and firmly acts for a comprehensive solution in the Middle East and for a just and lasting peace, based on Israel's withdrawal from the territories occupied following the 1967 war, on the guarantee to the Palestinian people of its right to self-determination and to the establishment of its own independent State, and on the safeguarding of the right to a free and independent existence of all the States of the region. I would recall that, to that end, President Nicolae Ceaușescu, as long ago as 1978, took the initiative of proposing the convening of an international peace conference on the Middle East, in the framework and with the active participation of the United Nations, a conference in which all the parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization [*PLO*]—the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people—the Soviet Union and the United States would participate, as well as other States that could contribute to the solution of the complex problems of that part of the world. Romania considers that this initiative, which has recently been endorsed by an ever-increasing number of States, is completely valid today and that increased efforts by the international community are required so that such a conference may be convened as soon as possible.

103. With regard to the situation in Lebanon, Romania has been calling for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli troops from that country, for wide reconciliation among the internal political forces, and for guaranteeing the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Lebanon.

104. Deeply concerned about the continuation of the war between Iraq and Iran, which is causing great human and material damage and creating new threats to the stability and peace of the region, Romania stands firmly for the immediate cessation of hostilities, for the withdrawal of troops by both sides within the internationally recognized borders that existed before the beginning of the conflict, and for the solution of all the issues between the two countries exclusively by the peaceful means of negotiations. We are concerned also about the trend towards escalation of the conflict in the Gulf area, and we stand for the immediate cessation of all military action in that region, as a first step towards the peaceful solution of the war between Iraq and Iran.

105. The fundamental interests of strengthening world peace and security require that everything possible be done and increased efforts made to ensure an urgent political settlement of the problems in other parts of the world, that a definitive end be

put to interference in the internal affairs of other States and that the inalienable right of each people to its free and independent development be strictly respected.

106. In accordance with those guidelines, Romania reaffirms its solidarity and active support for the stand and the initiatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in its efforts and actions aimed at the peaceful, democratic and independent unification of the country. Romania once again stresses its full solidarity with the struggle of the peoples of Africa for the total elimination of colonialism, for the protection and strengthening of their national independence and for their free advance towards economic and social progress. In that connection, we extend our full support to the struggle of the Namibian people, under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization [*SWAPO*], to achieve independence and for the immediate implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) concerning Namibia's accession to independence. We firmly oppose the policy of *apartheid* and we call for full equality for all the citizens of South Africa and their full participation in that country's political life.

107. In general, we consider it necessary that the United Nations act to fulfil its responsibility to bring a halt to military conflicts and to find peaceful solutions to all disputes between States solely through negotiations and other methods of peaceful settlement based on the fundamental principles of international law.

108. In the spirit of the Manila Declaration on the Peaceful Settlement of International Disputes, adopted in 1982 [*resolution 37/10, annex*], we believe that the implementation of the proposal submitted at the last session by Nigeria, the Philippines and Romania on the establishment of a permanent commission on good offices, mediation and conciliation for the settlement of disputes and the prevention of conflicts among States[3] is of the greatest importance. That body should act promptly and efficiently to prevent the emergence of new military confrontations and to promote the peaceful settlement of conflicts and any other controversial issues between States.

109. An important contribution to the strengthening of world peace and security and to the development of broad international co-operation can be made by the creation of good-neighbourly relations between States. The debates held up until now on this subject within the United Nations and the proposals and suggestions that have been advanced form the bases for proceeding to the elaboration of an international document that would contribute to developing and encouraging good-neighbourliness between States.

110. An essential requirement for the peace and security of all peoples and for the very future of mankind itself is the elimination of underdevelopment, the reduction of the gap between rich and poor countries and the establishment of a new international economic order.

111. It is well known that in recent years, as a consequence of the world economic crisis and of a policy of excessively high interest rates, the overall economic situation has deteriorated considerably. Against that background, the gap between developed and developing countries has continued to widen. All the negotiations conducted between North and South have up until now yielded virtually no results.

112. Under these circumstances, Romania suggests that, during the course of the discussion of international economic problems at the current session, efforts should be concentrated on seeking ways to get real negotiations under way, within the United Nations, between developed and developing countries so as to overcome the world economic crisis, to solve in an equitable manner the problems of underdevelopment and to establish a new international economic order.

113. In that spirit we favour the urgent launching of global negotiations within a special committee, either by making use of the experience gained by the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea or within the framework of a United Nations conference open to the participation of all Member States. Within such a context, a programme of measures designed to assist the developing countries could be worked out, along with a comprehensive treaty on new principles to govern international economic relations. Romania is convinced that it is in the interest of both developed and developing countries to reach, without delay, a new understanding and to turn to a new policy with regard to world economic problems. It is high time that we do everything possible to find ways effectively to support the developing countries, to eradicate underdevelopment and to establish a new international economic order, which is an objective necessity for the stability and economic development of the entire world.

114. Particularly compelling is the need to find a radical, comprehensive solution to the problem of the foreign indebtedness of the developing countries. The policy of high interest rates, together with the effects of the economic crisis, can be blamed to a great extent for the current situation. In light of the serious situation that exists in this area, Romania believes that a comprehensive, rather than a selective, solution is required, one that can enunciate general principles for settlement of the foreign indebtedness of the developing countries.

115. In our view, such a solution must include complete cancellation of indebtedness for the least developed countries and a reduction by a significant percentage of the indebtedness of other developing countries, as well as a general, longer-term rescheduling of all debts at a reduced rate of interest or even without interest. At the same time, it would be necessary to set a maximum ceiling for the interest rate for older loans, not to exceed 7 to 8 per cent, and to deduct from the total debt any interest paid above that level. For new loans to developing countries, the interest rate should not exceed 5 per cent. A comprehensive solution would also have to make provision for a debt-service ratio of no more than 10 to 15 per cent of the annual export earnings of the countries concerned.

116. The solution we are proposing would also have to allow the developing countries access to international credits under favourable conditions and provide for the creation of a replenishment fund for credits that would be created by contributions from the developed countries.

117. At the same time, in the interest of fostering the entire process of world economic development, the existing international monetary system must be reorganized on new and equitable bases, with strict observance of new principles governing relations between States, so that the system can contribute to

the stimulation of economic development in all countries, and, primarily, in the developing countries.

118. We believe it is necessary to redouble our efforts in order to secure broad and unhindered access for the developing countries to the discoveries of modern science and technology and a substantial transfer of technology to those countries on favourable terms appropriate to their specific development needs. It is also essential to expedite the process of negotiation in the framework of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development in order to complete the drafting and adoption of a code of conduct on the transfer of technology and to finance, through existing United Nations mechanisms, the implementation of technical assistance projects in developing countries in order to assist in creating and improving the scientific and technological capabilities of those countries.

119. Romania attaches the greatest importance to the problem of countering the extremely harmful practice of the outflow from developing countries of trained manpower, which is depriving those countries of an essential element of their potential for economic and social development. While we express our appreciation for the efforts of the intergovernmental group of experts set up within UNCTAD, we believe it is necessary to increase efforts to work out, in the shortest possible time, an appropriate framework for international co-operation to forestall the adverse consequences of the outflow of trained personnel from the developing to the developed countries. We consider that an international convention or agreement to regulate this problem should contain provisions making incumbent on persons with a higher education or on the companies hiring them the obligation to reimburse the countries of origin for the expenses of their training and education and to compensate for losses incurred.

120. In the endeavours to restructure international economic relations and establish a new international economic order, and to overcome underdevelopment, particular importance must be given to expanding and deepening economic co-operation among developing countries and to strengthening their solidarity and unity of action. To this end, Romania favours the convening of a summit meeting of those countries, with a view to developing their economic co-operation and defining a common strategy for negotiations with the developed countries.

121. In a world dominated by contradictions and insecurity and by grave threats to peace, the problems of the younger generation should occupy a place of primary importance in the preoccupations of States. The future of each nation and of all of mankind is directly linked to the education of youth in the spirit of the most noble ideals of work, freedom and peace.

122. The observance in 1985 of International Youth Year with the theme "Participation, Development, Peace" is an expression of the great responsibility which devolves on the United Nations in this field. International Youth Year, through preparations and activities carried out for many years, will become a significant event in the life of the young generation, designed to make a contribution of great importance to the unification of the forces of the younger generation and to increasing its participation in the economic and social development of all countries and the struggle for social progress, co-operation and peace all over the world. We should like to express our conviction that the decisions that will be adopted by the General Assembly at its current session, on the basis of the recommendations formulated by the Advisory Committee for the International Youth Year, will give new impetus to intensifying the participation of the young generation in the overall efforts for a settlement of major problems of our time and for building a more just and better world.

123. In view of the complexity of the problems of international life, Romania believes that it is necessary for all States, irrespective of their social systems, to participate in the settlement of those problems, and consequently it favours the enhancing of the role of small and medium countries, of developing and non-aligned countries, which are the ones most interested in promoting a policy of co-operation, independence and peace.

124. We believe that the United Nations and other international bodies have an important role to play and that they should contribute more and more actively to efforts to ensure the participation of all States in international life on an equal footing, in the interests of détente, independence and peace, and to the democratization of all of international life.

125. For its part, Romania is firmly determined, now and in the future, to expand its relations with all States, irrespective of their social systems. We are actively developing co-operation with all socialist countries, first of all with our neighbours, and with the developing as well as with the developed countries and, indeed, with all States of the world.

126. Our international relations have always been based on equal rights, strict observance of the principles of national independence and sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs, mutual advantage, renunciation of force and the threat of the use of force, and the right of each people to choose its own means of economic and social development, without any outside interference.

127. In the spirit of Romania's foreign policy of broad international overtures, of peace and co-operation, on the basis of the mandate entrusted by the President of my country, the Romanian delegation is firmly determined, together with other delegations, to make its full contribution to the success of the proceedings of the current session of the General Assembly, which has on its agenda items of particular importance. We are deeply convinced that through responsible commitment and through efforts on the part of all States and Governments and of all peoples, it is possible to avert a world war and a nuclear catastrophe; it is possible to preserve peace, the most precious possession of mankind, to ensure the triumph of a new policy of equality and respect for national independence, and to build a better, more just world.

128. As was recently stressed by the President of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceauşescu:

> "Despite the differences in the social systems of our countries or different political and philosophical concepts, even despite the existing divergences and disputes among some States, we must overcome them all and bring to the forefront the interest of each and every people, of all of mankind. We must act with great determination and

must respond to the expectations of the peoples and of all of mankind."

129. Prince Saud AL-FAISAL (Saudi Arabia) (*interpretation from Arabic*): It gives me great pleasure to congratulate Mr. Lusaka on his election to the presidency of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. I should also like to congratulate his friendly country on the prominent international role which it plays. I am confident that his excellent qualifications will facilitate his effective contribution to the success of our deliberations and to the achievement of positive results.

130. On behalf of my Government, may I also take this opportunity to express our appreciation for the able and objective manner with which Mr. Jorge Illueca, the President of the Republic of Panama and President of the General Assembly at its thirty-eighth session, conducted the work of that session. I should also like to mention here that President Illueca, as the first Head of State to preside over a session of the General Assembly during his term of office, has helped to reinforce, through his prominent position and great competence, an enhanced public awareness of the increasing importance of the United Nations in relations between States and in the life of the peoples of the world.

131. I should like also to express appreciation for the great efforts exerted by the Secretary-General in the various fields and activities of the United Nations. With commendable dedication and perseverance, he has guided the Organization in its endeavours through difficult circumstances in a manner which deserves our appreciation, good wishes, and full support.

132. It gives me great satisfaction, furthermore, to express the happiness of the Government of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia upon the admission of a sister State, Brunei Darussalam, to the United Nations. We are confident that its wise leadership and ancient history will enable it to make an effective contribution to the work of the Organization.

133. The capacity of the United Nations to continue to serve as a safety-valve, trusted and respected for the preservation of international peace and security on the one hand and for the establishment of a just basis for co-operation among States in the political, economic and social fields on the other hand depends to a great extent on its ability to perform its role, not only in confronting problems that endanger international peace and security, but also in finding effective solutions to those problems.

134. However, if we review the events of the past 12 months it becomes evident that we have returned to the General Assembly after a year in which there has been no sign of a breakthrough in resolving international and regional conflicts which threaten peace and security in one region or another. Peoples who have been robbed of their rights and who have been oppressed still survive, but in conditions of deprivation and injustice and in the grip of aggression and expansionism. The world has witnessed no progress towards the resolution of the problems posed by the inequitable economic, financial and trade relations between States. Numerous countries are, moreover, now afflicted by critical social problems, such as the problem of drug addiction, which, in certain areas, has reached epidemic proportions. It could become difficult to contain such problems within the geographic confines of specific States. Thus, concerted action by the international community is called for to confront and overcome such problems and eradicate their roots, in order to ensure the protection, safety and vitality of societies.

135. The lack of progress in the efforts to find solutions to the key problems threatening peace and stability and to tackle effectively their underlying causes, in their human dimensions, on a just and balanced basis, will hinder our ability to ease for present and future generations the increasing fear of a life filled with crises and disputes.

136. Nevertheless, the discouraging spectacle of the past 12 months, which persists, makes it even more necessary for us to do everything possible to unravel the intricacies of these problems, whether economic, political or social, and to find solutions to them.

137. The role of the United Nations should not be limited simply to stating the prevalence of international problems and crises. Rather it should be to articulate practical suggestions which will enable the international community to confront imminent dangers and find solutions based on justice and objectivity.

138. The non-acceptance by certain States of the supremacy of law, the absence of moral inhibition in their actions and the lack of preventive measures are among the basic factors that cause such States to prefer aggression and expansion and to depend on force for resolving problems. Therefore, if we really want to establish peace and security in the world, we have no alternative but to adopt moral and legal principles to guide us through the intricacies and complexities of modern international relations.

139. In this regard, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, by adhering to Islam as its creed and conviction and to the Koran as its constitution and guide, has established firm foundations for its dealings with other States. Because Islam is a creed that promotes freedom, stands in the way of aggression and exploitation, opposes injustice in all its forms and strives for equity and fairness, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia deals with others on a basis of equality, refrains from interfering in the internal affairs of others and respects the principles of national sovereignty. In the international arena of the United Nations, we comply with its Charter, support its efforts and oppose any action that attempts to weaken it or to replace the authority of international law with the instruments of force and the means of terror. The conduct of relations by the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has reflected, and will continue to reflect, its sense of belonging to the whole international community as one family, as well as its belief in the principles of peace based upon right and justice.

140. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, like all the other members of the international community, formulates its position on international matters and crystallizes its foreign relations through its adherence and commitment to international bodies and organizations. In this context, the Kingdom is proud of its membership of the Gulf Co-operation Council, which was established in conformity with the charters and resolutions of the League of Arab States and the Organization of the Islamic Conference, and with the principles of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the Charter of the United Nations. The Kingdom's membership of that Council is not a mere political commitment or temporary attachment; it represents the reality of our destiny, reflect-

ing our common aspirations for a future based upon stability, prosperity and progress. The Council has taken—as Sheikh Sabah Al- Ahmad Al-Jaber Al-Sabah, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs and for Information of the State of Kuwait pointed out in his speech yesterday [*11th meeting*]—effective and constructive steps towards the attainment of political, economic, social and cultural co-operation, as well as security, between its member States. It has thus demonstrated that it is a positive factor for stability in the region and a deterrent to foreign interference, especially in problems that are the prime concern of the Gulf States themselves.

141. The prestige of the United Nations, which embodies the hopes and aspirations of nations and peoples for peace, the confidence placed in it by the international community and its capacity to carry out its responsibilities depend on its ability to find effective solutions to the problems that confront Member States on the one hand, and those that threaten international peace and security on the other.

142. Some of the problems which the United Nations has faced for a considerable time but for which it has been unable to find solutions are becoming increasingly serious and threatening. This is simply the result of a fundamental disregard of the basic reasons underlying these problems. The questions of Palestine, Jerusalem and the Middle East, which confront us and are under consideration here, are clear examples of such an approach.

143. The question of Palestine is the most serious example of international political injustice. It reflects the reality of Israel's reckless attitude towards human principles and established norms and its flagrant defiance of the resolutions adopted by the international community, as represented by the United Nations, as well as its determined pursuit of aggressive policies and racist practices.

144. Israel is without doubt making every effort to create the impression that the question of Palestine has reached such heights of complexity that it is impossible to find a solution to it, and that the Middle East is a region prone to crises and conflicts, aiming by all such claims to perpetuate instability in the region and foment disputes and trouble, thus arousing fear and despair in people's hearts. It seeks thereby to frustrate efforts aimed at establishing a stable peace in the region so that it may carry out its aggressive, expansionist designs without restraint or control.

145. The logic and reality of the situation refute these Israeli claims. The Zionist presence is the reason why this region suffers from crises and conflicts. The claim that the Palestinian question has become so complicated that it is incapable of solution is therefore baseless and should be rejected. The truth at the core of this problem is clear and completely unambiguous. The numerous United Nations resolutions condemning the aggressive acts of Israel and confirming the right of the Palestinian people to their homeland and the Arab character of Jerusalem need no further reiteration here.

146. However, the real impediment and basic obstacle is the reckless attitude of Israel to all the resolutions adopted by the United Nations, its obstruction of efforts by the United Nations to solve these problems, its total rejection of any genuine movement towards peace based on right and justice and its lack of seriousness with regard to all initiatives aimed at establishing peace in the region.

147. While the Camp David agreements cannot serve as a framework for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East, as has been proved, Israel claims that its signature on those agreements and its withdrawal from the Sinai prove its inclination towards peace. In reality, however, its ratification of the agreements was a pretext to enable it to annex the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, Jerusalem and the Golan, to expel the legitimate populations of those areas and to install Israeli colonies. It considers those agreements to be an alternative to any other peaceful solution to the problem of the Arab territories it still occupies and in which it practises the ugliest forms of oppression and terror, denying not only the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people but also their right to exist as an entity. Consequently, the Zionist aggression against the Arab States is continuing, despite the false claim that Israel will respond to just demands if it considers that the security it asks for has been realized.

148. The reality of the situation indicates otherwise. Israel still demonstrates through both its conduct of affairs and its aggressive practices that it is seeking land and not peace. That is why we witness the full-scale Israeli effort to stockpile its arsenals with the most modern and destructive weaponry. The extended interpretation of its security claim beyond the Arab fold proves, furthermore, that it is the Arabs and not Israel who are in need of security. Israel has always been the aggressor and has devastating weapons not possessed by any Arab State, while its security is being assured by East and West alike.

149. For their part, the Arabs have proved that they seek peace based on justice, not a peace imposed by force and oppression. The Twelfth Arab Summit Conference, held at Fez in November 1981 and September 1982, demonstrated the definitive Arab momentum towards peace. The Arab States articulated their understanding of the peace process in the decisions contained in their Final Declaration,[4] decisions based on international legitimacy and conforming to the international will reflected in resolutions of the United Nations.

150. This deep conviction of the Arabs of the necessity of establishing a just and lasting peace in the region should not lead to their paying a high price for believing in justice, right and peace. The Arab States have carried out their historic responsibility and have given all they can to establish peace and stability in the region, thereby affirming their genuine belief in peace as a policy. The Fez decisions once again demonstrate the Arab consensus for a peace based on justice. Those decisions have taken into account the reality of the situation in the region and contain the basic principles that can serve as an objective point of departure for the establishment of a just and durable peace. Among those principles is the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to the establishment of their own independent State, on their land, under the leadership of the PLO, their sole legitimate representative.

151. The land of Palestine lies in the midst of a large area inhabited by hundreds of millions of people, deep in the geographical heartland of a vast Arab and Muslim world, a fact Israel, by its aggression, continues to defy. Nobody has ventured so far

in imposing such a heavy burden upon the international community, in breaking international laws and conventions and in defying the international will as have the Israelis. As a matter of fact, Israel constitutes a political, economic and moral burden on the States which support it.

152. We believe that what we need now is to make a determined effort towards taking the necessary effective actions and measures for applying and carrying out what has already been adopted in resolutions, as well as to take a definitive stand on the way in which the initiative for peace can be launched.

153. Consequently, it is imperative to address the basic components of a just solution for the question of Palestine, foremost among which is the realization of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, a people tyrannized in their own country, displaced from their homeland and deprived of their natural rights—rights which peoples of all nations of the world enjoy—as well as the withdrawal by Israel from all occupied Arab territories, especially Jerusalem.

154. In this connection, I should like to reiterate the warning given by the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, by all Muslim countries and by all peace-loving States in the world with regard to the gravity of Israel's schemes to alter the physical character of Jerusalem and to violate the security and sanctity of the Al-Aqsa Mosque, as well as of other Muslim and Christian shrines in Palestine.

155. A definitive momentum towards peace exists in the Arab and Muslim world. The great fear is that the inability of the United Nations to handle this persistent problem, as well as the stubbornness of Israeli extremism in violating the sanctity of the holy shrines in Palestine, will force the Arab and Islamic nations to mobilize all their capabilities to confront Israeli extremism, at great cost and with consequences which will not affect only the Middle East.

156. The situation in Lebanon remains fully charged with dangers that risk an explosion at any time. The continuation of the Israeli military presence in Lebanon and the persistence of Israel in fomenting disputes and friction among different Lebanese factions, as well as its interference in internal Lebanese affairs, are further proof of its expansionist intentions and aggressive designs.

157. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and its sister Arab States have exerted great efforts to co-operate with the Lebanese Government and to support its endeavours to return conditions to normal. We will continue to spare no effort in this direction, but such efforts will not be fruitful and will not bring about genuine peace in Lebanon unless the Israeli invasion and occupation is ended in all its forms and manifestations.

158. Preventing Israel from interfering in the internal affairs of Lebanon and the total unconditional withdrawal of Israeli forces from all Lebanese territory are two prerequisites for the normalization of the situation in Lebanon and for the rededication of efforts aimed at the realization of a just and total peace in the Middle East.

159. The war between Iraq and Iran has entered its fifth year and continues to rage. The toll it has exacted from both the Iraqi and the Iranian peoples has been heavy in all areas. It is a senseless and totally unjustifiable war. The Organization of the Islamic Conference, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the United Nations have all called for and worked towards putting an end to this tragedy between two neighbouring countries. Furthermore, the Gulf Co-operation Council, as stated yesterday [*11th meeting*] by Sheikh Ahmed bin Saif Al-Thani, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of the State of Qatar, has exerted extensive efforts in this direction. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has supported and contributed to all these efforts. Iraq has announced its readiness to stop the war. Iran has not yet responded to that call. This war can have no victors, given the damage it has inflicted upon both countries. The positive attitude displayed by Iraq should be matched by Iran, and an end brought to this bloodshed between two neighbouring Islamic countries. As their immediate neighbour which perceives the gravity of events taking place, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is concerned for the security and stability of those two countries.

160. I should like to recall here the complaint lodged by the States of the Gulf Co-operation Council, including the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, over the attacks upon shipping in our territorial waters and in adjacent water lanes two months ago. On behalf of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, I should like to thank the 13 States in the Security Council which understood the facts of the matter and appreciated the truth. Guided by their realization of the interest that all parties, especially those in the area, have in warding off aggression, they voted on 1 June 1984 in favour of the draft resolution before the Council [*resolution 552 (1984)*]. That important stand taken by the Security Council has strengthened our hope that the Council will pursue its efforts and that the Secretary-General will continue his good offices to bring about the cessation of the Iran-Iraq war, with its possible repercussions upon the region and the world at large.

161. Among the major problems confronting the international community and requiring urgent and effective solutions is the situation in Afghanistan and the continuing Soviet military occupation of that country. The Soviet presence there has entered its fifth year. The Afghan *mujahidin* are waging a fierce war in defence of their religion, their fatherland and their rights. We reiterate our appeal to the Soviet Union, as a super-Power with a correspondingly great obligation with regard to peace and security in the world, to withdraw from Afghanistan and let the Afghan people determine their own destiny and choose the system that they desire for themselves.

162. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is committed to the stand taken by the Organization of the Islamic Conference, which has called, in particular, for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan and the granting to the Afghan people of their right to self-determination, this stand being in support of the Islamic people of Afghanistan, their holy war and their right to liberate their country. Furthermore, we support the efforts exerted by the Secretary-General in this regard and draw attention to the fact that any such efforts should take into consideration the rights and demands of the Afghan *mujahidin*.

163. We also wish to express our gratitude once again to the Islamic Republic of Pakistan for its great humanitarian role in offering hospitality to more than 3.5 million Afghans. This represents a considerable economic and social burden, which Pakistan continues to bear generously and graciously. Such a noble stand by Pakistan should not expose it to

aggression and violation of its territorial integrity by the puppet Government in Kabul.

164. South Africa—that natural ally of Israel, by virtue of the similarity of their circumstances and interests—still practises the most repugnant form of discrimination, despite repeated world-wide condemnation and rejection and in spite of the international community's call on the South African Government to desist from such policies. We reiterate our denunciation and condemnation of this racist policy and support all the steps taken by the United Nations. South Africa has rejected all humanitarian considerations, as well as appeals made by numerous countries of the world, and has ignored historical realities, being induced by the lure of short-term gain which will lead it to the inevitable and tragic consequences that have befallen every society founded on profound structural contradictions.

165. The persistence of South Africa in rejecting solutions to the problem of Namibia, thereby denying all Namibian rights, can scarcely help it to perceive the consequences of negating the rights of the Namibian people in their own territory. The moral of the lesson of Rhodesia has not yet been grasped by the forces of expansionism and conquest despite the short time that has elapsed since the fall of racist Rhodesia. Namibia must recover its rights in their entirety. All African citizens must live freely in their own land. We support the rights of the Namibian people and stand behind the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity [*OAU*] in their efforts to eliminate racist practices and end the alien occupation in Namibia.

166. Disarmament has become a vital issue today for the security and progress of the world. The arms race and the gigantic sums being spent to finance it have resulted in increasing tension in the world. This situation has forced many countries, especially developing countries, to earmark a substantial part of their limited resources for defence, at the expense of their progress and social and economic development. In this context, I should like to express our appreciation of the initiatives and resolutions the United Nations has attempted to implement over the years. At the same time, we hope that the efforts by the Organization, which is respected by the whole world, will achieve some progress in protecting humanity from the imminent dangers and safeguard the developing countries from being drawn into the conflicts and the struggles for influence which threaten all humanity. Among the matters on which the United Nations can take decisive action is an embargo on armaments for Israel, South Africa and other States already possessing devastating weaponry, especially because these further complicate global disarmament.

167. Today, as throughout history, economic problems are among the major causes of international tension, whereas they could be among the major factors for the generation of mutual understanding and co-operation. In spite of the increasing signs of economic recovery in some of the major industrialized States, the world still faces a decline in international trade, especially in the trade of developing countries. The rate of unemployment is still high in the industrialized countries, while exchange rates for the major foreign currencies and interest rates are marked by sharp and frequent fluctuations. Moreover, the foreign trade balance and the balance of payments of many industrialized countries continue to suffer from serious inconsistencies, while the protectionist trend in the developed States is still on the rise.

168. The great disparity among the States of the world with regard to the quantity and kind of natural and material resources they possess renders co-operation between the peoples of the developed and developing countries imperative. That disparity should promote understanding, encourage dialogue and strengthen solidarity among the States of the world, rather than be the pretext for consecrating the imbalance and widening the gap between rich and poor States.

169. As a developing country, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia recognizes from its own realities what difficulties developing nations go through in order to attain the standard of living they desire. Our Kingdom, being aware of its responsibilities as a member of the world community, is anxious to strengthen the bonds of co-operation among States and is eager to participate actively in solving the development problems confronting the developing countries of the world. Accordingly, as soon as it had the financial means, it sought to invest a significant portion of those means in supporting efforts aimed at strengthening the development drive in developing countries. It has become our established and traditional policy to fulfil our commitments in that regard.

170. In this context, the Kingdom reaffirms its belief in the necessity of positive action to achieve the objectives of total development and genuine progress and prosperity for all the peoples of the world. To realize this goal, it is necessary for development assistance both to continue and to increase, which in turn requires genuine co-operative efforts to strengthen existing development organizations and to increase their resources and their capacities to play a more effective and realistic role in meeting the demands of this critical phase. Total development is the basic prerequisite without which we cannot hope for a continuously developing world in which nations can exchange benefits and complement each other's needs.

171. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia believes that it will be possible to secure the requisite financial resources to effect the necessary economic changes, and to achieve during this decade a reasonable standard of development in the developing countries generally, when the industrialized countries of both the Eastern and the Western blocs shoulder their responsibilities fully and meet their financial obligations under the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade [*resolution 35/56, annex*] and the targets of official development assistance defined therein. It is no longer possible to accept the excuses given by industrialized States with regard to either the size or the terms of their assistance or their international responsibility in connection with the economic difficulties faced by developing countries.

172. The increasing trade protectionism in the industrialized countries is a regrettable trend which has been proved both useless world-wide and destructive to the foundations of international trade. In the light of this, we repeat our appeal to the industrialized countries to recognize the need to abolish the protectionist measures they have adopted and confirm their commitment to the letter and spirit of the free international trading system. Further, we call upon them to address problems through existing

international channels and in accordance with valid international agreements and covenants.

173. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has pledged its full support for the efforts being exerted to develop and strengthen economic co-operation among developing countries and for the strategy of collective self-reliance. I wish to reiterate and confirm our continued support for these efforts. We consider them to be an integral and complementary part of the efforts being exerted to promote wider international economic co-operation. We accordingly welcome efforts to strengthen trade co-operation among developing countries and to establish a comprehensive system of trade preferences among developing countries, and we wish such efforts success.

174. The complete interdependence of the problems and interests of world trade—commodities, finance and development—means that they must be handled in a comprehensive and complementary manner. This is because focusing on one factor alone will lead to a temporary solution that favours that factor above the others and thus to the dead end to which all previous attempts led us. Consequently, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia supports the idea of global economic negotiations and finds no sound alternative for reaching a fair solution of international economic problems that will prove stable and durable.

175. The consciousness of peoples is one of the strongest motive forces of the events of its history. We are living at present in an age in which the most detailed economic data reach the furthest corners of the globe to reveal the full picture of what is taking place. Consequently, the importance of interdependence has become obvious and undeniable. It has also become evident how important for the improvement of international economic conditions is serious collective effort, together with extensive economic co-operation in the solution of international economic problems. The developing countries have demonstrated their genuine desire for sincere co-operation to promote the welfare of the international community through their great flexibility and distinct inclination towards practicality and objectivity in making their demands in the field of international economic co-operation for development. They have long been awaiting a positive response from the industrialized countries. The world community is called upon today to reinforce confidence in the institutions and mechanisms of international economic co-operation and especially in the programmes of the United Nations and its specialized agencies.

176. I take this opportunity to call upon the industrialized countries not to lose a golden opportunity for establishing the foundations of fruitful co-operation between themselves and the developing countries, and to be instrumental without further delay in reviving a serious dialogue and starting a new round of global economic negotiations, in a spirit of mutual confidence and sincere co-operation, for the good of the international community. At the same time, we call upon the developing countries to maintain the momentum in a realistic and flexible manner. I want to reiterate our firm belief that the difficulties which face our efforts to activate international economic co-operation and build a new international economic order based on justice should not in any circumstances become a reason for despair. On the contrary, they should motivate us to continue our efforts for the well-being of humanity.

177. Reviewing present international conditions, we find that international problems have but increased in depth and gravity. This is confirmation to us that the role of the United Nations acquires greater importance whenever the possibilities and opportunities for interaction and co-operation among States increase.

178. Peace based on justice and not peace based on the balance of terror is the objective of this international Organization. Indeed, it is the only path to security and stability. The consciousness of injustice among peoples deprived of self-determination is the most explosive time bomb threatening the world.

179. All of us, I am sure, hope that this session of the Assembly will provide an excellent opportunity for the peoples of the world to find solutions to their regional and global problems, with wisdom and a sense of collective responsibility. Certainly it is in our common interest to strive for the superiority of law and justice over oppression, and for freedom over subjugation, so that peace may prevail and nations may realize their dreams in progress and prosperity.

180. Mr. SCEBERRAS TRIGONA (Malta): I would like first of all to congratulate Mr. Lusaka on his election to the presidency of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly and to welcome to our midst a new Member of the United Nations, Brunei Darussalam.

181. The essential task of the international community is to identify collective action leading to the peace and prosperity in which the citizens of each Member State can pursue their individual destinies. Each year in the General Assembly we take stock of our endeavours in this direction. For the region of the Mediterranean, this year has witnessed significant developments in the process aimed at transforming our region into a zone of peace, security and co-operation.

182. At the beginning of the year, when the Conference on Confidence- and Security-building Measures and Disarmament in Europe opened at Stockholm, all the non-aligned Mediterranean States were given an opportunity to address the participants in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe on confidence- and security-building measures in the Mediterranean as part and parcel of the process of confidence- and security-building measures in the whole of Europe. As I had the opportunity to state in my address to the opening meeting of the Stockholm Conference, "tension and confrontation in the Mediterranean are both a result, and in turn a cause, of tension and confrontation in other parts of Europe". For that reason, Mediterranean countries would examine all confidence- and security-building proposals at Stockholm in the light of their applicability to Mediterranean security issues, especially the seriously deteriorating naval military confrontational situation in our region.

183. A second important development in our region concerned the first-ever ministerial meeting of the Mediterranean members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, which took place at Valletta on 10 and 11 September 1984. The Foreign Ministers of Egypt, Libya, Malta, Morocco, Syria, Tunisia and Yugoslavia and Ministers from Algeria and Cyprus, together with the Head of the Political Department of the PLO, participated in that important meeting and agreed on a declaration which lays down the

basis for transforming the Mediterranean into a zone of peace, security and co-operation.

184. The non-aligned countries of the Mediterranean are conscious of the continuing need to intensify their efforts for peace in a world which, unfortunately, is progressively becoming a more dangerous and a much less kind place for our citizens to live in. The Secretary-General has once again focused attention on the two related elements of the dilemma—the headlong rush towards nuclear catastrophe and the callousness with which pressing development needs are denied the necessary resources.

185. The reckless reliance upon increasing armaments, especially nuclear armaments, exacerbates tension, rather than increasing security. The accumulating and expanding grievances owing to poverty, malnutrition, disease and illiteracy are fast reaching explosive points at both national and international levels. The most outrageous fact of all is that so many resources continue to be poured into the armaments race instead of being devoted to redressing the needs and pressures of development.

186. Underlying this dangerous reality is the phenomenon of two contending military alliances, each led by a massive super-Power which places its interests and objectives as inevitably superior to those of other nations. The majority of mankind today faces the supreme arrogance of a handful of industrially and technologically advanced nations which take it for granted that, nearly as a divine right, their citizens should increase their already well-established well-being and enhance their already well-protected security even at the cost of denying the most basic needs of livelihood and existence to the rest of their fellow beings.

187. Those nations consider that the pursuit of their security is primordial, even to the extent of intruding upon the stability of other regions and countries. They assume automatically that because they possess might of armaments they also possess wisdom of action and that, consequently, whatever they decide as being good and useful for themselves must and should be good and useful for others.

188. We have witnessed over recent months even more disconcerting manifestations of this phenomenon. In the Middle East, in Central Asia and in Central America, the two super-Powers have felt no inhibition in using force or manifestations of force to thwart local developments which they have unilaterally defined as inimical to their interests. They have felt no inhibitions in continuing to pour new and more lethal armaments into already tense areas like the Mediterranean, the Indian Ocean, particularly near the Gulf region, and the Pacific, because their interests so dictated. In spite of their protestations in favour of freedom and democracy, they have failed to act effectively to redress the injustices of *apartheid* in South Africa and the oppression in Namibia. In spite of their claims to humanity, they have found it more useful to send costly satellites into orbit, to deploy new missiles and to develop ever more expensive and lethal weaponry than to encourage and implement measures to relieve the hunger and the poverty of so many peoples or to soften the massive debt burden of so many nations.

189. As has often been noted, the objective of the United Nations is to replace the arbitrary action of individual nations by collectively agreed action. The United Nations is a substitute for, not an extension of, the Yalta arrangements. Individual nations do not lose their identity or sovereignty but, rather, enhance their dignity and freedom of action by participating in the decision-making possible through the United Nations.

190. It is perhaps logical that it has been the emergent nations of the world which have most appreciated the essential value of collective action. All of us pursued our individual struggle for liberation within the framework of the global revolt against colonialism. Today, as free and sovereign States we pursue the security and prosperity of our peoples in the full knowledge that unless our actions are mutually supportive we will fail to escape from the poverty and oppression which still engulf most of us.

191. The movements and initiatives which the emergent nations have originated have therefore been intimately linked with the work of the United Nations. Malta's work in the Security Council comes to an end this year. It is perhaps appropriate to recall that on this very day, the members of the Council have unanimously agreed on a second report on the strengthening of the Council's work which Malta was entrusted to prepare. Our initiatives at the international level have found their fullest expression in the creation of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the Group of 77, which this year is celebrating its twentieth anniversary. Both of those groups define their objectives and pursue their actions in strict conformity with the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations.

192. Our more specific initiatives at the regional level have been conceived just as strictly in the context of our pursuit of collective action at the global level. The need for collective action at the regional level arises both from the disparate needs of different regions and the different manifestations of super-Power rivalry in various parts of the globe. In contrast with the initiatives of the industrialized nations, however, the regional initiatives of the developing and non-aligned nations, in both the economic and the security fields, remain integrally linked with their initiatives at the global level.

193. Over recent years such initiatives have assumed concrete form and achieved a clear substance. In South-East Asia the countries of ASEAN have pioneered the new road towards regional initiatives. Moving away from the series of regional military arrangements imposed earlier within the framework of the armed alliances, the ASEAN initiative rests upon the foundation of enhancing security and co-operation throughout their region, without at any point jeopardizing security and co-operation at the wider level.

194. Malta has followed with interest and encouragement the calm and constructive manner in which the ASEAN nations have been pursuing the objective of securing the withdrawal of foreign forces from Kampuchea; the forms of economic co-operation among themselves which they are forging not in isolation but as a formative link in their economic relations with other countries; and the openness of their actions to the involvement of other nations in their region and beyond so that they may join in the collective endeavours towards regional and global security and co-operation.

195. The initiative of the Gulf Co-operation Council, while dealing with different security issues and relating to different economic conditions, is, how-

ever, conceived in the same mould. The tragedy of the fratricidal struggle between Iran and Iraq is a matter of the gravest concern to all non-aligned and developing nations. Malta's objective is not to favour one side over the other or to foment differences but, rather, to impress upon both sides the need for an immediate cessation of hostilities leading to a peaceful, just and lasting resolution of the differences which divide them. Malta is encouraged to see that all the initiatives taken by the countries of the Gulf Co-operation Council are intended in that direction. We support their aims to avoid an enlargement of the conflict, to discourage super-Power meddling or involvement and to maintain sea and air lanes free for commercial traffic, while at the same time seeking to protect their security interests and to encourage the contending nations to resolve their conflict.

196. In Central America the Contadora Group initiative provides yet another successful example of how developing and non-aligned countries can serve as a motivating force for a resolution of conflicts and tensions in their region. The struggle of the peoples of Central America to rid themselves of the oppression of foreign economic and military interference has been long and arduous. Those who through bitter and heroic struggle have achieved their objectives still face the hidden intrigues and open aggression of outside interference. The proposals which the Contadora Group has formulated for resolving the suspicions and hatreds, the pressures and intrigues and the outside military interference which harass the region are constructive and far-reaching. They deserve the full co-operation of all countries directly concerned and the support of peace-loving States world wide.

197. These and other regional initiatives by developing and non-aligned countries share common foundations in spite of the different circumstances in which they are unfolding. They all stress the need for regional States themselves to take the leading role in resolving problems of their region. They prove that approaches based on dialogue and co-operation are much more fruitful than reliance upon armed might in resolving problems. They emphasize the need for outside Powers, and in particular the super-Powers, to stop meddling in the destinies of different regions, either directly through military presence or indirectly through the use of proxies.

198. It is a great satisfaction to report further on the meeting which—acting upon a mandate given to them by the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi in March 1983—the Mediterranean members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries held at Valletta earlier this month to concert their views and devise initiatives for co-operation and for strengthening security in the Mediterranean.

199. Since time immemorial, the Mediterranean has been considered by predominant military Powers as a special preserve for their global empire-building. Much of the fighting of the Second World War was undertaken in or around our region. A string of military bases then dotted our shores. The flow of commercial traffic has traditionally been punctuated by the flow of military hardware.

200. The end of the Second World War spelt the demise of the colonial era. In the Mediterranean, however, the withdrawal of the colonial Powers was immediately replaced by the intrusion of super-Power presence. First, the United States Sixth Fleet and soon after, the growing Soviet naval capability invaded and took over our waters. For Mediterranean peoples the struggle against colonialism therefore merged into the struggle to rid the region of the military presence of outside Powers. Even after the achievement of our independence, the pressures upon us to maintain and even increase the military facilities available in our region for use by the military alliances, very often even against our own interest, remained in force.

201. Dedication to the policy of non-alignment has therefore meant an uphill struggle for those Mediterranean countries which chose to pursue it. Malta's experience exemplifies the difficulties we have had to surmount and the determination that was required to secure our objectives. We have had to struggle consistently to escape from the shackles of post-colonial tutelage and to eliminate all foreign military presence from our soil, in order finally to be able to adopt the status of neutrality, based on non-alignment, which we defined as the most appropriate manner in which we could pursue our national development and at the same time contribute towards security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region.

202. The policy measures we applied to pursue our objectives have been the object of slander and attack, open and covert opposition, even outright aggression from reactionary forces both inside and outside our country. Our internal social and economic policies were deliberately misconstrued and our expanding relations with other countries maliciously misinterpreted in an attempt to distort our objectives and obstruct our endeavours. Even such measures as the introduction of free hospitals and medical services and free education for all our citizens have been and in some cases are still being accompanied by the rabid opposition of vested interests. That we have prevailed is due to our tenacity and to the strength we derived from our friends in the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and elsewhere.

203. Together with the other Mediterranean countries which have accomplished their national struggle for freedom and dignity, we realize that the elimination of all foreign military presence from our territories is only the first step in ridding our region of the tension and confrontation that characterize it. As long as the Mediterranean remains a focal point of super-Power confrontation we cannot feel free and secure to pursue our national destinies and resolve our regional problems in the manner we consider most appropriate. We cannot feel free and secure as long as our sea remains the playground for the United States Sixth Fleet to flex its muscles whenever it desires, as long as the Soviet Navy uses our sea as its backyard, as long as two major navies and a number of smaller ones use our sea as the domain of their ever-enlarging war games, as long as our region is riddled with staging posts for rapid troop deployment, and as long as nuclear weapons beneath and above our waters, and even on the adjoining mainland, remain the frightening daily reality.

204. The concern and dismay voiced by non-aligned Mediterranean countries at these developments do not spring from any sense of antagonism to either one or the other of the super-Powers. Neither is it our wish to stand in the way of the pursuit by any country, regional or not, of its legitimate commercial and security interests. Our sea has always been a point of contact and a means of transit for different

cultures and peoples. Our aim is to enhance this traditional function by transforming it into a zone of peace, co-operation and security based on the principles of non-alignment.

205. The Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the non-aligned Mediterranean countries, meeting at Valletta, were deeply conscious of the far-reaching significance of the action they were taking and the widespread support that accompanied their initiative. Their deliberations were followed directly by representatives of the Chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, India, and the Secretary-General of the League of Arab States, who attended as observers. Messages of support from sympathetic foreign ministers came from many countries, including China, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Kuwait and Saudi Arabia. The Deputy Foreign Minister of Greece personally attended the formal opening session of the meeting. These expressions of support in themselves constitute an acknowledgement that the initiative of the non-aligned Mediterranean countries is not a self-enclosed one but rather opens itself up to the involvement of the aligned States of the region. In this context, it is to be hoped that future meetings of this nature will be followed even more closely and attentively by the southern European States of the Mediterranean.

206. The Final Declaration adopted at the Valletta meeting has been distributed as a document of the General Assembly [*A/39/526 and Corr.1*]. I should like to underline some of the most significant elements that emerged from this first ministerial meeting of the non-aligned Mediterranean countries ever held.

207. In the first instance, particular importance is to be attached to the fact that the Ministers of the non-aligned countries devoted their special attention to "the presence of foreign fleets, military bases and facilities to be used for aggression against non-aligned members" [*ibid., para. 11*], which they considered as having serious consequences for their security interests. In the light of this assessment, the non-aligned Mediterranean countries agreed upon what turns out to be the central point of their declaration, namely, their solemn reaffirmation of the three fundamental and interrelated aspects of their whole approach to questions of security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region: first, their commitment not to use force or the threat of force among themselves; secondly, their undertaking never to permit military bases or facilities for great Power presence in their region; and, thirdly, their invitation to other Mediterranean European States to adhere strictly to the principle of the non-use or threat of force, and in particular not to use their own armaments and forces, nor allow the use of bases and military facilities against non-aligned Mediterranean members. We have here the essential foundation upon which a peaceful and secure Mediterranean can be achieved.

208. At the same time, the Valletta meeting conclusively demonstrated that whatever problems exist in our region they do not preclude the possibility of collective action for security and co-operation. Individual differences between any of the participants did not prevent them from asserting together that the Valletta meeting constituted

> "a step of major political significance aimed at strengthening the efforts of the Mediterranean non-aligned countries to transform the Mediterranean into a region of peace, security and co-operation, in conformity with the decisions of the Non-Aligned Movement and the relevant resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly, in particular resolution 38/189 . . . " [*ibid., para. 4*].

209. The non-aligned Mediterranean countries have now clearly identified the measures which need to be pursued both for the resolution of the specific problems of their region and to reduce the overall level of tension and confrontation in the Mediterranean.

210. On the Middle East they reiterated the fundamental position that

> "a just and lasting peace in the Middle East and the solution of the Palestinian question cannot be achieved without the total and unconditional Israeli withdrawal from all Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied since 6 June 1967, and the full exercise of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization, their sole legitimate representative, including the right of return, self-determination without external interference and the right to national independence and sovereignty, including the right to establish an independent Palestinian State in its homeland, Palestine" [*ibid., para. 9*].

To this end the Ministers of the non-aligned Mediterranean countries expressed their support for the convening of an international peace conference on the Middle East in conformity with General Assembly resolution 38/58 C.

211. On the question of Lebanon, the Ministers "decided to intensify efforts to bring about the withdrawal of Israeli forces, as the continued Israeli occupation is the main factor obstructing national reconciliation in Lebanon" [*ibid., para. 7 (d)*].

212. On the question of Cyprus, the Ministers "called for the withdrawal of all foreign military forces" and "pledged their full support to the efforts of the United Nations Secretary-General in the solution of the problem and urged him to continue and intensify his current efforts" [*ibid., para. 10*].

213. Finally, the Mediterranean non-aligned countries made it clear that they envisage the process of Mediterranean security and co-operation as involving a dialogue of full equality between them and the aligned States of the Mediterranean. They identified two major areas in which this dialogue has to be conducted with the utmost urgency. One concerns the process of confidence and security-building. It was stressed that, "for the process begun at the Stockholm Conference on Confidence-and Security-building Measures and Disarmament in Europe to unfold effectively, adequate measures for the Mediterranean region must be agreed to, through a dialogue on the basis of equality" [*ibid., para. 14*]. The other concerns the economic relations between non-aligned Mediterranean countries and the European Economic Community [*EEC*]. It was stressed that co-operation must "take due account of the legitimate concern of the non-aligned Mediterranean members, especially in the sectors of human resources, trade and economic development" [*ibid., para. 19*].

214. The results of the Valletta meeting therefore provide a sober and firm basis for action aimed at reversing the tension and confrontation which exist in the Mediterranean and which pose a threat to the

peace and security not only of the region itself but also of the international community in general. We expect other countries in our region and the super-Powers themselves to take up the challenge which has been set. They should recognize that the Valletta Declaration, far from being an isolated and soon forgotten expression of solidarity, reflects with precision and clarity the political realities of our region. Mediterranean countries, not only the non-aligned among them, are seriously concerned at the security situation in the region; they are worried and dismayed at the growing manifestations of super-Power confrontation around them; they are keen to see a peaceful, just and lasting resolution of the problems of the region, notably the question of Palestine and that of Cyprus.

215. It has to be recognized that in the background of the Valletta Declaration lies the political will and action of the various protagonists in our region aimed at resolving the problems which exist. It would be a great mistake on the part of either super-Power to ignore the positive implications of recent developments regarding problems in North Africa, to misjudge the common desire for national reconciliation and the return to full sovereignty over their territory of the people of Lebanon, or to bypass the process of healing of wounds taking place in Cyprus.

216. The members of the EEC should accept the hand of co-operation which is being extended to them by the developing countries of the Mediterranean. They should respond to this call by transforming their present tight-fisted and protectionist attitude into policies which open their markets for the products of other Mediterranean countries on equitable terms and conditions and which utilize resources available in the region on the basis of mutual benefit. The forthcoming Venice seminar on economic, cultural and scientific co-operation in the Mediterranean of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, which in its turn is a follow-up to the Valletta meeting of February 1979, offers an ideal opportunity for the EEC member countries to demonstrate a new and more positive attitude towards co-operation in the Mediterranean. We shall go to Venice expecting that the EEC will not miss this opportunity, albeit already belated, to reverse a trend which, if maintained, could not but contribute towards a further polarization of attitudes in the region.

217. The nations participating in the Conference on Confidence-and Security-building Measures and Disarmament in Europe, meeting at Stockholm, should now respond to the call for a full dialogue on Mediterranean security, in the light of their acknowledgement that there can be no security in Europe without security in the Mediterranean. The attempt to hide behind such technicalities as the assertion that the whole of Europe does not include the European waters of the Mediterranean, or that the massive naval deployment in the Mediterranean can somehow be considered a phenomenon independent of what happens on the European mainland, is certainly not the proper spirit in which to consider the question of Mediterranean and European security in a serious manner.

218. Non-aligned Mediterranean countries want to ensure that their territorial waters are fully respected, that their enclosed high sea is used scrupulously and exclusively for the purpose of peace and that the question of whether or not nuclear weapons should be deployed barely 100 or so miles from their populations should be a matter on which they are fully consulted. Unless these questions are considered in detail both within the Conference on Confidence-and Security-building Measures and Disarmament in Europe and in separate and equal dialogue between Conference participants and the non-aligned Mediterranean countries, security and confidence-building cannot be achieved either in the Mediterranean or in Europe itself.

219. The non-aligned Mediterranean countries are determined steadfastly to pursue and reinforce the regional process which they launched at Valletta. For this purpose, they have agreed to meet again in the future and to utilize all available forums, especially the General Assembly and the Security Council and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries itself. Those of us who are participants in the process of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe will also follow-up at Stockholm all the relevant questions raised at Valletta.

220. What non-aligned countries of the Mediterranean are doing in their region forms an integral link with what other non-aligned countries are doing elsewhere. Reference has already been made to other regional initiatives. I should also like to mention here the initiatives concerning transforming the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace, as well as the efforts by the front-line States of southern Africa to bring justice and stability to their region.

221. The people of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, it must be remembered, are also still struggling to reunite their divided country. In this context, Malta wishes to reiterate its support for the proposals for tripartite discussions and the eventual solution of setting up a confederal republic in Korea. We urge all the parties concerned to approach these constructive proposals in an open and co-operative spirit. Like many other countries, Malta fails to understand the justification for a continuing presence of foreign troops in South Korea after a number of recent developments have taken place which significantly alter the factors which contributed to the placing of those troops there in the first place.

222. A few peoples, notably the Palestinian and Namibian peoples, are still engaged in the struggle to achieve freedom and sovereignty. To them we extend our fullest support, sympathy and encouragement.

223. For the large number of other emergent peoples, the national liberation struggle is today almost a whole generation *away*. However, we can look back and recognize that our struggle for liberation did not end when our people became free to hoist their own flag and play their national anthem on their own territory. Liberation means much more than that. It means, most significantly, the freedom to adopt those social and economic policies at the national level which we consider most just and applicable for our particular developmental and cultural conditions.

224. It is becoming increasingly apparent that the economic and social policies we adopt at the national level inevitably interface with the realities beyond our own frontiers. The structures supporting international economic relations, the methods governing the flow of information and the strategic conditions encompassing our regions both affect and in turn are affected by the social and economic policies we adopt at the national level.

225. Given the inequitable structures of existing international economic relations and information flows and the predominant position of a few industrially advanced nations, the realities beyond our frontiers have hitherto been more of a constraint than a help to our development process. It is for this reason that the developing countries have raised the call for new international orders both in the economic and in the information fields. It is equally for this reason that they are increasingly seeking an active role in matters relating to the security as much as to the economic situation in their regions.

226. It is in this spirit that Malta has been pursuing its national and regional policies under a socialist Government. Thanks to the far-reaching and comprehensive social and economic reforms we have introduced over the past 13 years, Maltese society today presents a much more humane and just picture than was the case while we were still under post-colonial tutelage. Our health and education policies, our pension systems, unemployment and sickness benefits, and a vast range of allowances for children, orphans and widows today ensure that no member of our society is downtrodden or forgotten. It has been our consistent endeavour to ensure that, while each individual in our society is given the fullest opportunity to enlarge and fulfil his or her own personality and pursue his personal aspirations, that person will not be permitted to do so at the expense of the legitimate rights and aspirations of other members of society.

227. In our economic and other relations with other countries we expect our partners in our region and elsewhere to co-operate with us in applying complementary and mutually beneficial measures to improve the well-being of our respective populations. Time and time again, the developing countries have emphasized that the existing structures of international trade and technology flows do not facilitate mutually beneficial relationships, but on the contrary favour the strong against the weak. Time and time again, we have complained how the terms and conditions of international payments are continually manipulated to work against our interests.

228. As long as these calls remain unheeded we have to take our own independent remedial action to safeguard our interests and hard-won gains. Over the past 13 years under its socialist Government, Malta, lacking all forms of indigenous natural resources, has built up, through careful planning, the collective efforts of its people and the assistance of its friends, an external reserve which permits it today to possess at least one sure means of defence against adversity. An indication of the extent of our collective effort emerges from the fact that for the last two years the Maltese people have succeeded in freezing both prices and earnings.

229. Obviously we are not prepared to see our years of effort and sacrifice undermined through the unjust and biased trading systems the industrialized market economy countries are seeking to perpetuate. To those countries that enjoy a continuous and substantial trading surplus with us we have made it clear that means of redress must be found on a mutually agreed basis. We are not prepared to keep on purchasing goods and services from those who are not ready to give us something in return—be it in terms of increasing their purchases from us, or in terms of a transfer of technology in our favour which would help us operate more effectively on their markets, or in terms of some other form of industrial and commercial co-operation which is acceptable to us.

230. We are certainly far from proposing some form of passive co-operation in which a one-way flow of assistance or aid does more to undermine our sovereignty and harm our productive capacity than anything else. On the contrary, what we seek is a partnership on the basis of equality where the efforts and benefits are shared both ways. We can offer to our partners the skills and expertise of our workers which have grown and developed over the years, as our economy has itself grown and diversified. We offer them the benefits of our many political initiatives through which, on the basis of reciprocal trading and banking arrangements with countries ranging from the Mediterranean region to the Far East, we have obtained for our products and services access to new and expanding markets.

231. The opportunities these achievements offer to the small number of industrialized countries that still need to reduce the huge trading surplus they enjoy with us are not limited simply to the possibility of increasing their purchases from us. There also exists the vast potential of joint investment with us, as our successful experience with some of our partners already demonstrates. For those countries who have yet to take up these opportunities, we continue to extend the offer of mutually beneficial co-operation. But we must make it equally clear that we will not tolerate any longer a biased and lopsided relationship where the benefits are only in their favour.

232. The battle cry of the developing world has always been "trade not aid". The Maltese people expect their legitimate rights, not any form of charity. With distant Japan, negotiations on this basis can now start.

233. All the more did the Maltese people expect Italy to translate good-neighbourly relations into positive acts. Our commercial disequilibrium with Italy has reached alarming proportions. This is no longer tolerable. From now on, no Maltese will buy anything from a country which does not buy Maltese products in return. Malta's legitimate rights cannot be assured by Italy's empty promises but by concrete actions—actions alone speak louder than words.

234. Together with other countries in our region, in the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, here in the United Nations and elsewhere, we are determined to continue to work in pursuit of just and equitable relationships. The difficulties facing us are indeed daunting, but not unavoidably overwhelming. What many like us in Malta have achieved at the national level, what so many non-aligned and other developing countries are achieving at the regional level, are elements of hope and encouragement for ourselves and for others.

235. We realize that without the full co-operation of the more fortunate and advanced members of the international community our difficulties will be unduly compounded. We trust that they will finally appreciate the desire for peace and justice which inspires all our endeavours and will join us in seeking to transform this planet from one of crisis which it currently is to a home of serenity and prosperity which it has such an immense potential of becoming.

236. Mr. NZEYIMANA (Burundi) (*interpretation from French*): Once again I am honoured to head the delegation of Burundi in the work of the annual session of the General Assembly. I can say that I see

in this not a ritual presence but a special responsibility and a very acute awareness of the numerous serious concerns of all Member States, of regions and of the entire international community assembled here.

237. But my first duty is to tell Mr. Lusaka how gratified I am at the confidence which the General Assembly, in electing him President of this session, has shown in Zambia, a neighbouring friendly country, as well as in its distinguished President, Mr. Kenneth Kaunda. I whole-heartedly congratulate him as well as the other officers of the Assembly.

238. My delegation also is happy to welcome Brunei Darussalam. We warmly greet it as a new Member of the United Nations family.

239. Recently, following presidential elections by direct universal suffrage—the first which were ever held in the history of our country and which marked the culmination of the process of the establishment of definitive democratic institutions in our political system—a solemn ceremony was held for the investiture of the President of the Republic of Burundi, Colonel Jean-Baptiste Bagaza, for a new term of office. On that occasion, Colonel Bagaza stated the following, which is quite appropriate in this forum:

> "We appeal to all countries throughout the world to join efforts to ensure the development of all parts of the world, to contribute to the acquisition of and respect for the freedom and independence of countries and peoples and to struggle for international peace and security."

240. That message by the most authoritative spokesman of our people shows that the Republic of Burundi places great hopes in international solidarity and co-operation, for which the United Nations is the best possible instrument. None the less, we must note that the era when the United Nations was established—an era when wisdom, resulting from fear, prevailed—has long since passed, and the Organization is now tending to fall apart and to lose the essence of its ideal. It seems to be lending itself to immobility, to impotence, and public opinion appears to have lost faith in it.

241. How can one assess what has happened since the last session of the Assembly without using the word "failure"? This is seriously disquieting both in regard to peace and security and in regard to world development—and yet these are the two major concerns of our time.

242. With regard to peace and security, one would seek in vain any reasons for satisfaction—whether we are talking about wars, conflicts, tensions or the rights of peoples to freedom or independence in the Middle East, in the Persian Gulf, in South-East Asia; whether we are talking about the intolerable situation in southern Africa or the insecurity reigning in Central America; whether we are talking, finally, about rivalries of ideological blocs or about disarmament negotiations. The only ray of light in this rather sombre international picture is the recent initiative to resolve the situation in Chad. With all our hearts, we desire for that country so dear to our region a process of national reconciliation, unity and reconstruction.

243. As for world economic development, the situation has become even worse, for the majority of countries, in the last 12 months. Indeed, a turning inward, resulting from both selfishness and incomprehension, is seriously compromising international co-operation. The economic recovery which is spoken of in some industrialized countries is scarcely noticeable in the developing countries, which are more than ever before burdened by debt, the fall in the prices of raw materials, the trade deficit, the effects of natural disasters, and the slowing down of economic and commercial activities. The recession which has struck the developed countries has strengthened protectionism, thereby worsening the debt burden of third-world countries and their balance-of-payments difficulties.

244. And so it seems that the world is in the grip of a multidimensional crisis, which has tragic effects on the developing countries. Despite the great achievements of research and of scientific and technological development, which opened up prospects of unlimited progress, a large part of the world's population has no access to the fruits of those achievements. The gap between the developed world and the developing countries, between the rich and the poor, is constantly widening.

245. At the same time, the United Nations system—which was to be the framework for dialogue and joint efforts and was designed to harmonize varying positions—engenders neither cohesion nor compromise. On the contrary, it is becoming a place for confrontation, for cruel indifference, for the sterile expression of hitherto repressed feelings, for contradictory or propaganda speeches. But, in establishing the United Nations, the international community entrusted it with the objectives of maintaining international peace and security and promoting international co-operation. Those objectives were the reflection of the sentiments of reconciliation and generosity of a world that had just emerged from the horror of war. Its sole ambition was to ensure the full development of the human being.

246. To be sure, during the almost 40 years of the Organization's existence, progress has been made and should continue to be made. For instance, the establishment and functioning of the United Nations, of its specialized agencies and of its operational instruments have contributed to the improvement of human well-being, to the decolonization of many countries, to the elaboration of a wide juridical system of international norms. I am ready to recognize that the co-operation between Burundi and the United Nations system has been a real source of satisfaction and hope to my Government.

247. But the United Nations system has gradually become discredited. Within it, trends have emerged that are contrary to the feelings which prevailed at its birth. There is an ever more marked lack of faith in multilateral co-operation.

248. And have not the United Nations conferences on trade and development become the almost living symbol of a world at odds with itself? That kind of conference is no longer anything but a forum for false meetings, for dialogues of the deaf, or, quite simply, for the lamentable confrontation of two monologues: that of the North and that of the South. The developed countries have become less and less interested in this framework on which the developing countries had based their future. The aspirations of peoples and countries have once again met with the opposition of forces that are doing everything possible to perpetuate the unequal relations and the privileges that history gave them.

249. UNIDO is also a long way from meeting the challenge of the industrial take-off of the developing countries. Its most recent conference—the Fourth General Conference of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization, held at Vienna from 2 to 19 August 1984—only confirmed, unfortunately, that the selfishness of the privileged countries is still very much with us.

250. Whether on the monetary, financial, commercial, industrial, or development aid level, international co-operation has come to a standstill. This situation has been a catastrophe for entire peoples.

251. The 1984 study on the world economy[1] is clear on one point: the situation in the sub-Saharan regions of Africa is especially serious. That part of the continent is experiencing a crisis that is unfortunately accelerating and worsening. Per capita income is constantly decreasing, the rate of production growth is lower than the rate of population growth, the cost of debt-servicing continues to rise and the budgetary and balance-of-payment situations continue to deteriorate. Forecasts by such highly respected technical authorities as the World Bank and the Economic Commission for Africa predict a very dark future for Africa, going from a 1 per cent decrease to an infinitesimally small annual growth of 0.1 per cent in per capita income—I repeat, a 1 per cent decrease to an infinitesimally small annual growth of 0.1 per cent in per capita income.

252. Unfortunately, contingent problems accompany such structural problems. Unpredictable weather conditions have caused a noticeable decrease in agricultural production, which has, in turn, created a serious food crisis and led to a massive population exodus.

253. A high-ranking United Nations official, speaking of Africa, recently said: "Today, a kind of permanent state of emergency prevails there." It is imperative, therefore, that the urgent measures be taken that alone can enable Africa to escape from this situation into which it has been plunged by the constraints of history and an economic system built on inequitable foundations. These odds cannot be overcome without the active goodwill and solidarity of the entire international community. The assistance of the most advanced countries is indispensable to Africa, a land of unexploited potential, a continent experiencing acute growing pains.

254. Indeed, in the history of nations, each people, each country, each continent, is indebted to the contributions of others—in culture, in technology, in inventions, in natural resources; every empire and every economic power has been built thanks to the assistance of others. It is only fair that Africa be given its chance. And it is important to emphasize that assistance based purely on specific cases will not meet the situation. It is necessary, as the French Minister for Foreign Affairs emphasized in his statement to the Assembly [*8th meeting*], to support and put into effect the proposal to establish a special fund. Such a fund would be used to support the programmes of structural reform and recovery measures which the majority of African countries are now courageously undertaking.

255. This also seems to me to be the moment to make a new appeal to the sense of responsibility of the leaders of those developed countries that have not yet met the target set by the United Nations for official development assistance. In this connection, we must congratulate those countries that have met or exceeded that target and that have shown that the standard of living and well-being of their own citizens have not been adversely affected thereby.

256. Similarly, we must follow closely the efforts and attempts being made to implement the special programme for the least developed countries, which are not prepared to resign themselves to relegation to the scrap heap of development.

257. At a time when we are preparing to celebrate the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, the Organization should become a driving force for international co-operation. But that cannot happen without the massive, increasing and continued support of the international community for the restoration of multilateralism. Confidence in the capability of international institutions is in the interest of all peoples.

258. However, it will take more than good intentions and mere hopes to get the world out of the present crisis, which is a structural one. Development must become the problem of all the peoples. Decision-making on questions of vital interest to the peoples must no longer be the monopoly of certain countries. The developed countries must make up their minds to engage in serious negotiations to find workable solutions to the world economic crisis, which has been created and is exacerbated by the inequalities and injustices in international economic relations. In a world in which resources are limited and unequally distributed, where poverty, deprivation, ignorance and destitution are the daily lot of the majority of peoples, only the establishment of a new international economic order can provide a lasting source of peace and security.

259. Similarly, we consider that the negotiations under way on the establishment of a new information order should be pursued. Is it not partly owing to the unilateral nature of information that there is no equality or equity among the different cultures mentioned by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany just two days ago [*8th meeting*]? Is it not because information is unilateral that the problems of development are poorly or little understood by the world public?

260. How, in an interdependent world, can we ignore the implications and the importance of communications in establishing harmony among the peoples, avoiding disputes and wars and establishing peace and collective security?

261. Just as it longs for economic prosperity, so the world of today also longs for peace and security.

262. Current trends in the international situation give real cause for concern. Recourse to the threat or use or force, military intervention, interference in the internal affairs of States have become everyday practice, in violation of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

263. The developing world, a realm of poverty, is also becoming the realm of violence. The third-world countries are also, unfortunately, the testing grounds for the new weapons of the Powers that produce them.

264. Every year at this rostrum we deplore the state of war that has now become a familiar background in certain regions. The Middle East, the Persian Gulf, Central America, southern Africa, South-East Asia—to mention but those few—have gradually become accustomed to war.

265. Mankind has retained only a distant and rapidly fading memory of the collective peace that was called for at the end of the Second World War. Each day, pacifism loses ground to militarism. Every country, beginning, paradoxically, with the most powerful, is seeking so-called security based on the stockpiling of weapons, and every country claims that it is arming solely in order the better to defend itself.

266. Would it not be wiser and more sensible to forestall the event, to avert the outbreak of war, than to resign oneself to awaiting it as if it were a predestined and natural phenomenon, by establishing a framework of good-neighbourliness, co-operation and solidarity that would lead to a climate of mutual trust?

267. In keeping with the principles that led to the establishment of the United Nations, as well as those on which the OAU is based, my Government, for its part, will contribute to anything that can promote the stability and security of the countries of our region. Thus, in our own geographical environment, thanks to formal or tacit agreements of good-neighbourliness, Burundi lives in total peace and security with bordering countries, notwithstanding the problems that may exist in any one of them. This is an essential pre-condition of the development of our country and we cannot allow countries from outside our region to disturb this balance which we have not always enjoyed in the past. We believe that this is the best way to behave if we are to act in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and to contribute to establishing a climate of peace and security for the whole world.

268. With regard to troubled regions, the most disquieting and dangerous situation in Africa and the one which can least be tolerated is to be found in the southern part of the continent. We must not only condemn but vigorously combat the system of *apartheid* institutionalized by the racist régime of Pretoria. The inhuman policy practised by South Africa is a source of instability for the subregion and constitutes the most outrageous violation of the Charter of the United Nations. The non-white peoples of South Africa are humiliated daily. They live like foreigners in their own country.

269. The so-called consultations of the people recently organized by the Pretoria régime and intended to mislead world opinion can deceive nobody. The so-called constitutional reforms, which exclude blacks from participation in the power structures, are nothing but a perpetuation and further strengthening of *apartheid*.

270. South African attacks on neighbouring countries hostile to the Fascist policy are an affront to all States faithful to the principles of the United Nations. The entire world has followed with great interest the most recent developments in the region. The recent agreements concluded between the Republic of South Africa and its neighbours, Angola and Mozambique, a test of good faith for South Africa, must not lessen the vigilance of the States concerned and must give rise to no illusions as far as the African countries are concerned as to the real intentions of the South African régime.

271. The Government of the Republic of Burundi deplores the political, economic and military support given by certain Member countries of the United Nations, without which the Pretoria régime could not have gone so far along the path of intransigence. It is important to stress that the contempt shown by that régime is a challenge to the entire international community.

272. As regard the South African presence in Namibia, neither law nor common sense can justify this in the eyes of the international community. The Government of Pretoria continues to occupy Namibia illegally, violating the many relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

273. Even more than the occupation of Namibia, nothing could justify the present intensive exploitation of that Territory. What will become of an independent Namibia deprived of its enormous resources by the Pretoria régime and its allies?

274. The Government of the Republic of Burundi opposes any attempt to establish a link or a parallel of any kind between the independence of that Territory and the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola. The presence of those Cuban troops in Angola, through an act of sovereignty by the latter, could not lend legitimacy to a blatant act of aggression.

275. In any event, the situation which results from the policies of oppression applied by the Pretoria régime against the Namibian people and the policy of intimidation and terrorism against neighbouring countries constitute in themselves a serious threat to international peace and security and should therefore discourage support of Pretoria by its allies.

276. For its part, the Government of the Republic of Burundi reiterates its support for the struggle of the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO and calls for the application of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). It rejects the policy of Pretoria, with all its forms of oppression, exploitation and domination based on inequality and discrimination.

277. The southern part of Africa is unfortunately not the only danger point in the continent. The situation which prevails in north-west Africa is a cause of great concern to my Government, which condemns all manoeuvres aimed at blocking the process to self-determination of the Saharan people under the leadership of the Frente POLISARIO.[6]

278. The resolution adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its nineteenth ordinary session, held at Addis Ababa in June 1983, and endorsed by the General Assembly in resolution 38/40—which contains the text of that resolution—should be followed up. My Government hopes that the parties to the conflict will enter into negotiations with a view to reaching a just and lasting solution. That is the only way to restore peace and stability in the region and avoid foreign intervention and the internationalization of the conflict, which could only increase the suffering of the peoples involved. The OAU has done everything possible to bring about the decolonization of Western Sahara. The obstruction of the process is the fault not of the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic but rather of the party which has rejected the organization of the referendum.

279. Also in Africa, Chad is a cause of particular concern and interest, especially for my country's region. The peace plans prepared outside the region, and satisfying foreign interests only, should give way to a Chadian plan drawn up within the society and based on the desire for unity and national reconstruction. In line with this, the international community

should assist the people of Chad to bury the hatchet of war. Support for the rebuilding of Chad must be based on respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the country and the cessation of hostilities, so that negotiations among the people of Chad may begin. In this connection, we welcome the decision with regard to the withdrawal of foreign troops, which should be followed by a process of national reconciliation and the definition by the people of Chad themselves of a final, stable institutional framework.

280. The situation prevailing in the Middle East is another source of great concern to my Government. The fate of the Palestinian people, the instability in Lebanon and the war between Iran and Iraq are all obstacles to lasting peace in the region. The current session of the General Assembly must give those questions the attention they deserve.

281. The deadlock over the Palestinian problem, which is the greatest obstacle to peace in the Middle East, continues, owing to the obstinacy of Israel. The refusal of Israel to recognize the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to existence and to self-determination is dangerous and threatens the future of the entire subregion. Israel is jealous of its own rights; it should act constructively and recognize its obligations to other peoples, in this case the Palestinian people.

282. Convinced that no respite in the Middle East is possible without recognition of the Palestinian people, followed by the free exercise of its rights, Burundi supports the courageous Palestinian people in its struggle to recover its homeland and its fundamental national rights.

283. In addition, the situation in Lebanon, another hot spot in the Middle East, is a threat to regional and international peace and security. The Government of the Republic of Burundi, in solidarity with the people of Lebanon, supports that country's efforts to maintain its security, its territorial integrity, its independence and its sovereignty, within its internationally recognized borders.

284. Also in the Middle East, the war between Iran and Iraq is acquiring increasingly alarming dimensions and is threatening to extend to neighbouring countries. The Government of the Republic of Burundi encourages the various initiatives and the mediation aimed at ending that painful, fratricidal and costly conflict. In that connection, the parties to the conflict should show sufficient wisdom to open negotiations. That would be a major contribution to peace in the region and to the development of the third world, which has been seriously harmed by a host of ills resulting from that war.

285. Peace must also be built on the other side of the continent of Asia. The Korean people, whose unity was broken 30 years ago, has legitimate aspirations to reunification. My Government firmly supports the peaceful reunification of Korea. Aware that the solution of the Korean problem requires a political settlement, Burundi encourages the holding of talks to permit a reduction of tension in the Korean peninsula and the peaceful reunification of the country. It supports the holding of tripartite talks.

286. Burundi continues to be concerned about the serious tensions resulting from the ongoing conflicts in Kampuchea and Afghanistan. My Government reaffirms its firm support for the principles of non-interference in the internal affairs of States and the inadmissibility of the use of force against sovereign States. We remain convinced that the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Democratic Kampuchea and from Afghanistan is the only way to end these grievous situations once and for all.

287. Latin America and the Caribbean, which form another region of the third world, is also the scene of instability brought about by all kinds of foreign domination and interference in the internal affairs of States. Burundi supports the Latin American peoples, and the Contadora Group in particular, which are working for peace and stability in Central America.

288. While the world lacks the means to achieve economic prosperity and peace and security in its various regions, it seems, on the other hand, to possess a talent for self-destruction. Never before has the arms race accelerated at such a pace as today. In some countries, resources devoted to weapons are far greater than those devoted to economic activities. At the world, continental and regional levels, States are arming themselves in a frenzy which finds expression in the atrocities of localized wars.

289. What is even worse, the world accepts the possibility of nuclear war. Now then, what more serious danger hangs over us than that to which a nuclear conflagration would expose the survival of mankind? Scientific and technological advances, which should serve to enhance our well-being, are resulting in the deployment of new generations of nuclear weapons and increasingly deadly chemical weapons. As if our planet did not provide enough scope, there is a risk that the arms race may be extended to outer space.

290. It is pure hypocrisy, in these circumstances, to speak of peace and security. In their absence, it is Utopian to think of the well-being and future of mankind. International peace and security cannot be assured without general and complete disarmament. The arms race, which threatens the survival of mankind, cannot be halted without a freeze on the development, production, stockpiling and deployment of nuclear weapons and the rapid conclusion of a comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty.

291. In this context, the major Powers with the most destructive weapons have a major role to play, and history will judge them by their sense of responsibility. The peoples of the world, including those of the nuclear Powers, are demanding that these Powers sit down at the negotiating table without further delay and without pre-conditions, in order to agree first on a freeze of nuclear and chemical weapons, then on their limitation and reduction and finally on the destruction of stockpiles. It does not matter who is right and who is wrong; the only reasonable person is he who decides to assure the survival of mankind.

292. It is clear that the future of the world depends on disarmament, because that will guarantee not only survival but the quality of life for future generations. It is no longer necessary to prove the considerable impact that it would have on the socio-economic progress of peoples.

293. I could not conclude without stressing that the world today longs for peace, security and co-operation. The aspirations expressed in 1945 remain unfulfilled. The world must also return to its roots. Only by becoming convinced that the three purposes of the United Nations form an essential whole and by uniting in good will can our States achieve them.

294. In that connection, as is deplored in the report on the work of the Organization by the Secretary-General [*A/39/1*], whom my delegation congratulates on his courageous efforts, it seems pointless to go over the same questions year after year and leave them with a clear conscience after shifting the responsibility to the Secretary-General and asking him to produce another report. No! The time has come to re-examine the working of the United Nations in order to make it credible.

295. On the eve of the celebration of the Organization's fortieth anniversary, the time has come to take a critical look at the past. Each Member State should ponder its contribution to the realization of the Organization's noble purposes and should honour its own commitments. The United Nations can only emerge strengthened, for the greater happiness of all the peoples of the world.

296. Mr. BARRE (Somalia): On behalf of my delegation and on my own behalf, I should like first to extend our warm and sincere congratulations to Mr. Lusaka for his well-deserved election as President of the General Assembly at this thirty-ninth session. His predecessor, Mr. Illueca, of Panama, deserves high praise for the dedication and skill with which he directed the affairs of the thirty-eighth session and we also wish to express our appreciation to him for his achievements.

297. I also wish to extend my congratulations to the delegation of Brunei Darussalam on its admission as the 159th State Member of the United Nations.

298. The year that has passed has seen the Secretary-General once again employ his renowned diplomatic skills and his good offices to strengthen the role of the United Nations in international affairs. We pay a heartfelt tribute to him for his valuable efforts.

299. On the other hand, there must be grave concern over the lack of progress towards the solution of certain other political problems, whether they are of long-standing or of more recent origin. The continued increase in, and escalation of, regional conflicts is particularly troubling. The world community can ill afford the consequences of tension and conflict in the Horn of Africa, in Afghanistan, in Kampuchea, the Arabian Gulf and elsewhere, while it is still far from achieving a just and lasting settlement in the Middle East, the elimination of *apartheid* and all forms of colonialism in Africa, the peaceful resolution of the Cyprus and other issues and, above all, the halting of the suicidal nuclear-arms race.

300. There should be wide recognition by all States and groups of States that new destabilizing political problems which increase human misery and threaten regional and international peace and security can be of benefit to no one in our interdependent world. Strong and renewed efforts should be made to resolve long-standing disputes and those of more recent origin before they, too, become fixtures on the international scene.

301. It is our earnest hope that efforts at mediation will soon bring to an end the tragic conflict between Iraq and Iran—two non-aligned neighbouring States. That fratricidal war continues to exact a terrible toll in human lives and wasted material resources. Neither State can hope to profit from a continuation of the fighting. We appeal to Iraq and Iran alike to respond positively to proposals and appeals for negotiations which can lead to lasting peace in the region.

302. My Government also hopes that the world community will intensify its efforts to bring about the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Afghanistan and from Democratic Kampuchea. The military occupation of Afghanistan and of Democratic Kampuchea have had strikingly similar consequences. Large-scale armed interventions in the internal affairs of neighbouring States have inevitably given rise to protracted and bloody civil wars, to the disruption of development plans and national life, to disastrous refugee flows and to the heightening of regional and international tensions. Certainly, they have added greatly to the sum total of human misery in the modern world.

303. In our own region, the Horn of Africa, tension, conflict and human suffering remain endemic as a result of foreign military intervention, military aggression, the violation of basic human rights and the harsh denial of the right to self-determination and independence for colonized people—all with the gravest consequences for Somalia.

304. The central destabilizing factor in our region's turmoil is the continued denial by the Ethiopian empire-State of the right to self-determination to colonized people still languishing under its rule. The territories in the Horn of Africa acquired by European colonizers during the nineteenth century have all long since gained their independence in accordance with the provisions of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). Ironically, the people of territories acquired by Ethiopia at the same time or later and with the collusion of the European Powers are still struggling for their inalienable rights.

305. It was to suppress the liberation struggles waged by the peoples of Western Somalia, Eritrea, Tigre and other areas that the Ethiopian régime called in the forces of a super-Power and its surrogates, making the Horn of Africa once again a focus for super-Power rivalry. Policies of extreme repression, even genocide, are enforced, causing the mass exodus of refugees from the occupied territories into Somalia and other countries in the area.

306. As the world community is already well aware, Somalia continues to be gravely affected by the overwhelming burden occasioned by so many refugees. Thousands are in camps and settlements, and perhaps an equal number eke out a living in the countryside and towns. It has been truly stated that every family supports its refugees; nor does there seem to be any end to this human tragedy; substantial new flows have been reported this very month.

307. My Government is, of course, particularly grateful that the international community, at the Second International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa, held at Geneva from 9 to 11 July 1984, and bilaterally, has recognized the intolerable burden that massive refugee flows place on weak and fragile infrastructures in the least developed countries. The principle of burden-sharing is to be implemented to some extent through the support of specific projects, but periodic and often severe shortages of fuel and balanced foodstuffs still occur. The day-to-day sustenance of so vast a refugee population is an enormous problem. In truth, the whole situation has been allowed to go on far too long. As we concentrate, in line with our undoubted humanitarian duty, on the alleviation of the problems of today's refugees, we must never forget that those problems are but a symptom of the most

serious underlying issues: persistent colonialism, racism, genocide and drought. It is they that are the real problems: refugees flee from persecution and oppressive policies which a just world should declare unacceptable, and from deteriorating environmental conditions which are not invariably beyond the possibility of amelioration.

308. It is the hope of the Somali Government that the necessary political climate will be created which will encourage voluntary repatriation. This hope remains unfulfilled, since repressive policies continue to be enforced in Ethiopia. The continued arrival of refugees in Somalia attests to this fact. Furthermore, the claim of the Ethiopian régime that there have been substantial numbers of refugees returning for whose rehabilitation it needs international assistance is without substance. International workers in the field have seen at first hand the unwillingness of the vast majority of refugees to return to their homelands until their safety and their basic human rights can be guaranteed.

309. The refugee problem is not the only one suffered by Somalia as a result of Ethiopia's imperialist policies. Over the past two years, the Ethiopian Army, made bold by the support of surrogate forces, has repeatedly launched military aggression by land and air against our country. Somali territory has been invaded, townships captured and occupied and hundreds of innocent people killed—including recently 36 children whose school was destroyed in a wanton and barbarous air attack on the town of Borama and a nearby refugee camp on 30 January of this year.

310. Even today, Ethiopian forces are still occupying two portions of Somalia's territory, and an insidious policy of destabilization is being actively pursued in a vain attempt to undermine the sovereignty, integrity and national independence of my country. We call once again on all Member States to condemn the Ethiopian régime for its acts of aggression and to demand that it withdraw its forces from Somalia's territory and end its unwarranted attacks. Moreover, let me state clearly that no peace can be achieved in the region unless the Ethiopian régime totally and unconditionally withdraws its forces from Somali territory and also guarantees to the colonized people of Western Somalia and Eritrea their inalienable right to justice and self-determination. For its part, Somalia will continue to deploy all possible efforts to bring about the peaceful resolution of the problems in the region.

311. The persistence of southern African problems on the Assembly's agenda signifies one of the most serious failures of the United Nations. Although external details may change, the core of these problems continues to be South Africa's racist and colonial policies, which have given grave cause for concern since the earliest days of the United Nations.

312. In our view, the United Nations must continue to insist on the isolation of the South African régime until it puts an end to the crime of *apartheid* and truly represents the people. It must recognize the legitimacy of liberation struggles against *apartheid* and against the illegal occupation of Namibia. Security Council resolution 435 (1978) remains the only valid and legal basis for Namibia's independence, and its implementation should be vigorously pursued in the General Assembly and the Security Council.

313. The most recent flare-up of conflict in the Middle East has subsided for the moment, but, as elsewhere, unless the root causes of such conflicts are removed, the area will continue to suffer from violence and bloodshed. Nor can there be any permanent and just peace in the region while Israel remains in illegal occupation of Lebanese, Palestinian and other Arab territories, while it persists in illegal settlement and annexationist policies and while the Palestinian people are denied their inalienable right to self-determination.

314. We believe that the General Assembly must continue its support for recognition of the rights of the Palestinian people and must demand Israel's withdrawal from Lebanon and from all other occupied Arab territories, including the Holy City of Jerusalem, in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the Security Council. The time has surely come for concrete global actions aimed at bringing about a comprehensive settlement of Middle East problems.

315. A new and balanced initiative is likewise urgently needed in the case of Cyprus, where differences of long standing are rapidly becoming irreconcilable.

316. I turn now to the international economic situation, which is as significant for peace and progress as any political question on the Assembly's agenda. Regrettably, the deadlock in the dialogue between countries of the North and the South remains unbroken. This situation represents the blunting of an important purpose of the United Nations—namely, the solution through international co-operation of international problems of an economic, social, cultural and humanitarian nature.

317. While deadlock continues, developing countries are reeling under the impact of closely related economic forces which are beyond their control. High interest rates, increasing debt burdens, rising protectionism, declining export earnings and low levels of development assistance severely affect even the more prosperous developing countries, but they can reduce least developed nations to most desperate straits.

318. The adverse effects of the current international economic situation are most apparent in Africa—the continent with the greatest number of least developed countries. The widespread return in recent years of catastrophic drought conditions and other factors, including the presence of large refugee populations, have dealt additional cruel blows to economies already weakened by external forces.

319. The Secretary-General has launched a most timely initiative in calling the attention of the world community to the critical economic situation in Africa. We congratulate him on this initiative and welcome the emphasis he has placed on Africa's special needs. Indeed, the extent and gravity of the crisis in Africa must not be underestimated. The problems of our continent, translated into human terms, could mean the disintegration of the social and economic fabric of many African societies. It could spell hunger, malnutrition and untimely death for millions in the years ahead. Africa today stands in need of massive assistance to combat drought and desertification more widespread and devastating than in the two previous decades, when they took hundreds of thousands of lives and displaced millions of people. Today, food aid for the starving is an immediate, primary need, but more fundamental approaches must also be set in motion. In many cases

infrastructures must be strengthened before relief and development projects can be implemented.

320. The Lagos Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Monrovia Strategy for the Economic Development of Africa[7] makes it clear that African States are quite prepared to accept primary responsibility for their own development. We understand well the need for integrated national policies and for closer economic and technical co-operation with each other. We know that agriculture must be high on our list of priorities so that food sufficiency can be attained.

321. We appeal to the developed countries to recognize that the interdependence of North and South is an inescapable reality. The easing of debt burdens, the promotion of just and stable commodity prices and the roll-back of protectionism are fundamental remedies to restore the health of African and other third-world economies. Significant infusions of international economic assistance remain of vital importance for tiding African States over the present crisis and for giving us the boost we need to put us firmly on the road to economic recovery, stability and true independence.

322. Without doubt, there is no issue on the agenda of the General Assembly that is as pressing and as important as disarmament, in particular nuclear disarmament.

323. If the world survives the nuclear age, future generations studying our history may well ask how we were able to plan, to build and to organize our affairs at local, national and international levels while living under the threatening shadow of opposing systems of nuclear weapons. They may well ponder the priorities of an age when unimaginable sums were spent on the production and refinement of weapons capable of global destruction while millions of human beings suffered the deprivation and indignities of abject poverty. The consequences of the nuclear-arms race and of the arms race in sophisticated conventional weapons are evident in every aspect of world affairs. We see their effects in world inflation, in the widening gap between rich and poor countries and in regional tensions, which have increased under the pressures of super-Power confrontations.

324. It is clear that a new resolve is needed on every front—political, humanitarian and technical—to work for the attainment of the goal of disarmament. Sanity and common sense call for a comprehensive test-ban treaty and, as a further step, a freeze in the production, testing and stockpiling of nuclear weapons. Nor should a supposedly advanced civilization have any place for chemical weapons; they should be totally prohibited without further delay.

325. The difficulty of containing the quantity and destructive capacity of existing nuclear weapons points to the folly of extending the nuclear-arms race to space. We hope that negotiations for the banning of space weapons along with other weapons of mass destruction will soon be undertaken. My Government has always welcomed initiatives such as the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones, which can make a valuable contribution to general and complete disarmament. As an Indian Ocean State, for example, we strongly support the principles that underlie the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace [*resolution 2832 (XXVI)*].

326. We appeal once more to the nuclear Powers to work with urgency to remove the nuclear threat and to allow the world's people to plan and build a future of hope, security and peace.

327. Finally, the annual session of the General Assembly provides both large and small Member States with an opportunity for renewed dedication to the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. Clearly we must all find the political will to work for the solution of the many problems that confront us all and endanger world peace and security. We must all contribute to the search for peace and progress.

328. Mr. da LUZ (Cape Verde) (*interpretation from French*):* It is with great pleasure that, on behalf of the delegation of Cape Verde, I extend to Mr. Lusaka our warm congratulations on his election to the presidency of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. His experience in the sphere of diplomacy and, in particular, his deep understanding of the United Nations system and his known competence are for us a guarantee that he will successfully guide the General Assembly in the conduct of its work and the discussion of the items on its agenda, some of which are extremely complex and of vital importance for the harmony of the international community and for the very survival of mankind. His election is a cause of special satisfaction and pride for the African continent and, in particular, for Cape Verde, which maintains ties of solidarity and brotherly co-operation with his country, Zambia. We are therefore delighted to be able to assure him of the co-operation of our delegation in the fulfillment of his delicate task.

329. We should like also to convey to his predecessor, Mr. Jorge Illueca, our full appreciation and our gratitude for the capable and intelligent manner in which he guided the work of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly and for the sense of balance which he brought to the analysis of the questions debated by the Assembly during his term of office.

330. To the Secretary-General we reiterate our deep appreciation of his commitment and dedication to the promotion of the ideals of the United Nations and for the dynamism which has inspired his action. This has contributed greatly to the strengthening and the effectiveness of the United Nations. We also want to thank him for the enlightened and responsible way in which he has undertaken new initiatives for the peaceful promotion of just solutions to the problems raised by the important questions of our time.

331. Similarly, the admission of Brunei Darussalam as a Member of the United Nations is another step towards the achievement of the Organization's goal of universality. In welcoming this new Member, we are certain that our capacity for collective analysis in the search for peaceful solutions to problems will be enhanced.

332. Cape Verde has been following with deep concern the systematic deterioration of the political climate and the progressive worsening of the international situation. The present climate in international relations and the recent alarming increase in tension between the major Powers have made the international political situation very precarious and disturbing. In several regions of the world we are witnessing the use of force as a means of resolving conflicts

---

*Mr. da Luz spoke in Portuguese. The French version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

among States; military intervention and interference in the internal affairs of States are proliferating, in flagrant violation of the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations; and attacks are being made on the right of peoples to decide freely on their own socio-economic system. The extreme gravity of the situation, which is reaching alarming proportions virtually everywhere, and its inevitable social and political consequences are threatening stability, progress and peace in the world.

333. The arms race, especially the nuclear-arms race, is ever more increasing the possibility of a nuclear confrontation. At the same time, partly as a consequence of that situation, the economic and social gap between the developing and developed countries is widening. The enormous material and human resources consumed every year by the war industry could be used to contribute significantly to alleviating the hunger and underdevelopment affecting the majority of the world's population were they put at the service of the well-being and development of peoples. Given such a situation—which has not been experienced since 1945 and which some have likened to real anarchy—it is becoming more evident that in today's world there can be no alternative to the policy of peaceful coexistence, détente and co-operation among States, regardless of their economic and social systems, region or geographic location.

334. Faithful to the principle of peaceful coexistence, Cape Verde has been advocating the practice of dialogue and entente as the only way to solve international conflicts, and it has been categorically and firmly rejecting the positions and attitudes of those who would build a system of international security based on strength.

335. The current crisis situation has also contributed in large measure to the weakening, and now the vulnerability, of international institutions. The idea of an organized world, where war would no longer have a place, was at the root of all the declarations and all the plans developed since 1941, culminating in the San Francisco Conference. The hopes and aspirations of mankind, based on the will to avoid the catastrophe of a new war, led to the prohibition of the use of force in international relations and gave birth to the idea of a collective security system which, in turn, presupposed the renunciation of force by individual States whose protection against foreign aggression would continue to be guaranteed by the United Nations through its enforcement machinery.

336. We are witnessing a blocking of that system by the unjustifiable use of the right of veto, with the consequent bipolarization and political instability of the world. In practice, the Security Council has been rendered incapable of meeting its responsibilities as the guardian of international peace and security.

337. Ineffectiveness in the use of institutional machinery has led to an increase in criticisms recently directed against the United Nations, stigmatizing its incapacity, often even its paralysis, in resolving the great problems facing the international community. While some of these criticisms from certain sectors are meant to denigrate the role of the United Nations and to justify activities contrary to the Organization's goals, others legitimately voice the concerns and questions of a large part of the international community about the proper functioning and effectiveness of the United Nations as an instrument for development, co-operation and international peace and security.

338. These criticisms reflect the difficulty and complexity of the present situation and show that, in spite of the difficulties and listlessness, the process of adaptation of the United Nations to new circumstances and requirements is of concern to all those who see in the Organization the best possible, if not the only, instrument for establishing a permanent political dialogue maintaining and strengthening international peace and security.

339. Indeed, in spite of the difficulties and obstacles the United Nations faces, it has demonstrated its usefulness as an instrument available to the international community for pursuing collectively objectives; and it is through the United Nations that for the first time in history small countries have an input in the discussion of world issues.

340. As the international community is preparing to commemorate the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, we think it is time to carry out an in-depth analysis of the system of international institutions. We are convinced that the United Nations constitutes the most valuable instrument for the creation of a climate of peace and co-operation among peoples. As indicated in the report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization [*A/39/1*], its role in this area, in spite of obstacles, has been crucial. Indeed, the results thus far show that the United Nations has become in today's troubled world an irreplaceable instrument for dialogue on the maintenance and strengthening of world peace.

341. It is in that context that we view with concern the present trend to abandon the United Nations as the main instrument in seeking solutions to world problems, for there can be no doubt that the Organization is the appropriate framework for joint efforts and for harmonizing the interests of all, provided we accept the implications of our interdependence. For us, a world without the United Nations would be a set-back for international morality and legality and would give licence to the strongest to rule as they pleased.

342. The survival of mankind and the acuteness of international relations at present make it incumbent upon all of us, without exception, to do everything possible to strengthen our commitment to the United Nations system. Common sense and the need to preserve peace in the world require all countries and the international community in general to be unyielding in defending the United Nations system.

343. The fragility of international relations at present is having an impact on the African continent, worsening conflicts the solution of which must be found within a regional framework without foreign interference. Cape Verde, which is an integral part of that region, is making every effort, along with other African countries, to promote negotiated solutions to conflicts and to preserve our regional unity.

344. The situation in the southern part of the continent remains especially sensitive. With regard to Namibia, South Africa is continuing to defy the international community and United Nations decisions relating to the independence of that Territory.

345. Given its constant concern to make its contribution in the search for negotiated political settlements to international conflicts, the Republic of Cape Verde has done everything in its power to assist interested parties in finding a just and peaceful

solution leading to the independence of the Territory of Namibia on the basis of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). It is within this framework and in this spirit that the efforts that Cape Verde has made to facilitate dialogue between South Africa and SWAPO must be understood.

346. Recent developments in the situation in southern Africa can be analysed correctly only if we consider the impasse in the process of independence for Namibia and the attempts at destabilization that must be faced by the countries of the region, with resultant risks to their sovereignty and territorial integrity.

347. Nor can those developments be dissociated from the sincere desire for peace and development on the part of the peoples and Governments of the front-line countries or from their urgent economic needs, which demand action now. The developments also reflect the acute sense of responsibility that motivates the peoples and Governments of those countries.

348. We repeat our condemnation of the *apartheid* system, the baseness of which is repugnant to human conscience and dignity. The denial of their rights on the basis of race, which is the fate of most of the population of South Africa, can only get worse from day to day and lead to further violence such as that which recently brought grief to the martyred South African people.

349. We think that any measure that does not have as its aim the eradication of *apartheid* and the creation of institutional conditions that would guarantee equality of rights and opportunities for every South African citizen, regardless of race, should be rejected by the entire international community.

350. Decolonization will go down in history as one of the most valuable contributions of the United Nations to the building of a world of freedom and justice. History, none the less, also records in several regions of the world attacks upon the right to self-determination of peoples which have thus far been subject to foreign domination.

351. We would like to express our concern over the situation in other parts of our continent, especially because of the repercussions those events have on regional solidarity.

352. With regard to the situation in Western Sahara, the spirit of consensus which prevailed at the nineteenth ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, held at Addis Ababa in June 1983, must be maintained as the only way to achieve a just solution. Cape Verde renews its appeal to the two parties to the conflict, Morocco and the Frente POLISARIO,[6] to join as soon as possible in the search for a satisfactory solution on the basis of respect for the principle of self-determination of the Saharan people.

353. With regard to Chad, we still firmly hope that the urgent need for peace for the martyred people of that country will triumph over external influences and internal dissensions, regardless of their origin or reason. Cape Verde encourages every effort under way in the African context to find understanding among the different parties to the Chad conflict.

354. The Middle East remains one of the most dangerous hotbeds of tension in the world because of the continuing bellicose and expansionist policy of the Government of Israel. Cape Verde reaffirms its conviction that peace can be found in that region only if we take due account of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people and only if Israel withdraws from all Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem.

355. In Lebanon, despite recent developments, there has as yet been no possibility of putting an end to the instability and violence that prevail throughout the country. We hope that the Lebanese people will succeed in overcoming that situation and return to a normal life.

356. A war between fraternal peoples continues between Iran and Iraq, the grave consequences of which are reflected in the loss of thousands of lives and the destruction of goods and property acquired with such great effort by the peoples of those countries. Unfortunately, persistent efforts at mediation, which have taken place because of this war, have not yet achieved appreciable results. On the contrary, we see a trend towards the internationalization of the conflict, in view of the fact that it is taking place in a very sensitive region of the world.

357. We view with concern the situation that has developed recently in Central America, and we therefore support the efforts of the Contadora Group to establish conditions that will permit the people of that region to come up with the best formulas for restoring peace and promoting economic and social development.

358. With regard to Korea, it is our opinion that replacing the armistice agreement by a peace agreement would open the way to a negotiated solution between the parties concerned with a view to the peaceful reunification of the territory and re-establishment of the national unity of the Korean people.

359. The situation in East Timor is a typical case of a people deprived of freedom. The territory continues to be occupied by Indonesia in flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations and of international law. The occupation of the territory, which is an obstacle to the free exercise of the right of self-determination of the Maubere people, should be rejected by the entire international community. Many of us here have in the past experienced the situation which the fraternal people of East Timor are now going through. The most elementary rules of justice impose on us the moral duty to co-operate in the creation of the necessary conditions for the free exercise of the right to self-determination in this territory. We would like to reaffirm our firm support for the cause of the Maubere people and its avant-garde, the FRETILIN,[8] which has managed, at enormous sacrifice, to maintain a firm and courageous position in the face of the forces of occupation. We would like also to express our appreciation to the Secretary-General for the efforts he has made to carry out the mandate given to him by the General Assembly in its resolution 37/30. It is still our hope that in continuing his efforts with the parties concerned, especially with regard to Portugal, which has a special responsibility *vis-à-vis* the Maubere people and the international community, he will be able speedily to find ways of restoring justice and the rights of people which have been trampled upon by the invasion and occupation of the territory of East Timor by Indonesia.

360. The present international economic situation is the consequence of structural imbalances the repercussions of which have a negative effect on the economy of the developing countries, especially the

least developed among them. This situation is reflected in a whole range of negative manifestations which work against the growth and economic development of all countries and increase the vulnerability of the developing countries.

361. This discouraging picture, to which the widespread deadlock in the North-South dialogue is no stranger—constitutes a harsh reality for the developing countries. The efforts of those countries to establish more just economic relations and to build a truly interdependent world have unfortunately not found a response in the attitude of some industrialized countries, which have not shown the political will that is desired in the situation.

362. The most recent manifestation of this absence of political flexibility was found during the negotiations this year within the Committee on the Review and Appraisal of the Implementation of the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade and during recent activities in the process of launching global negotiations.

363. The Group of 77, on the basis of the proposal of the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi in March 1983, guided by a spirit of co-operation and wishing to contribute to the creation of favourable conditions for launching those negotiations, proposed a two-phased approach. We deeply regret that despite this new demonstration of good will and flexibility on the part of the developing countries, no progress was made during the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly.

364. None the less, we have confidence in the sensitivity of our partners of the North so that we can work together in this difficult but indispensable process of negotiations, of which the North-South dialogue is a part. All of us need to find a common solution to the common problems which affect us all.

365. As a representative of a developing country, I could not fail to express our deep concern over the low level of growth of the economies of the third world countries. The imbalance between economic reality in the developing world and the objectives laid down in the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade [*resolution 35/56, annex*] is a challenge to our collective capacity to resolve economic problems which affect a great part of the world population.

366. Africa is the continent which is most dramatically undergoing the effects of the prolonged crisis affecting the world. It is immersed in internal contradictions which are typical of a phase of accelerated change. Africa is undergoing a phase in which it is laying foundations for an economy which will be in keeping with national realities and objectives and will satisfy the aspirations of its peoples. It is therefore no surprise that the crisis should be felt in Africa with special intensity.

367. We are deeply concerned at the alarming proportions of the economic and social deterioration in the African region. It is becoming urgent to seek solutions to meet this situation. Although the main responsibility for solving these problems lies with the African countries themselves which are affected—because we are aware that realizing national objectives for economic development is a task which first of all lies with our countries—we think that, bearing in mind the collective effort required in the search for a global solution to the most acute problems in the underdeveloped countries, the international community as a whole must give them the necessary support so that they can, within the framework of their own development plans and priorities, get through the critical phase.

368. The emergency situation, particularly in terms of food, requires joint action by the international community. The initiative of the Secretary-General and the appeal of the Director-General of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations to alert world opinion to the critical food situation in Africa are praiseworthy measures and deserve an adequate international response.

369. The profound economic crisis in which the African continent has been plunged requires firm, coherent and immediate action at the national and regional levels, as well as at the international level, with a view to finding integrated solutions to the urgent problems and the development problems.

370. There is no doubt that several factors which have given rise to the present difficult situation in Africa are to be found within Africa itself, but it is no less certain that the international situation has a profoundly negative impact there. We are thus witnessing in our continent an attempt to impose the strategic interests of countries or groups of countries in order to perpetuate relations of domination which are incompatible with the interests of the African countries.

371. In the conviction that the present situation threatens peace and hinders the economic and social development of our countries, we think that Africa must grow stronger in order to overcome the crisis through a collective effort to make co-operation and dialogue the essential instruments in relations between States. But for this effort to be fruitful it must include above all a reduction in the internal imbalances and distortions which affect the economic and social system of each African country.

372. Last year, at the thirty-eighth session [*7th meeting*], the President of the Republic of Cape Verde, Mr. Aristides Pereira, in his capacity as Chairman of the Conference of Heads of State of the Permanent Inter-State Committee on Drought Control in the Sahel, made an appeal to the international community to increase its collaboration with the member countries of that regional organization in carrying out programmes for development and to combat desertification. In his statement, the President of Cape Verde hastened to point out, given the extent of the consequences of the drought and the extension year after year of the phenomenon of desertification, the serious dangers threatening the survival not only of the populations of the Sahel area but also, and more and more, of those countries in the peripheral zone which thus far had not suffered such disasters.

373. Over and above an awareness and limited or sporadic interventions, the international community must acquire the necessary means to act effectively and in concert and to assist the peoples and countries affected to face these calamities and to protect other areas from their effects. This should be done by finding global, simultaneous and permanent solutions.

374. In this context, there is clearly a need for the States concerned to define coherent development policies, to find adequate formulas for more active

participation by the people, to adapt structures to development needs and, finally, to undertake important actions in the fields of training and research. These measures are necessary because they are decisive factors for diminishing the food shortage, which is going to increase, and also for favouring agricultural production, which has now become a priority for the Sahelian Governments.

375. Several actions have begun for the purpose of mitigating the effects of drought and desertification. Resources have continued to be mobilized by the Inter-State Committee on Drought Control in the Sahel and the Club of Sahel. Considerable efforts have also been made at the national, regional and international levels. Recently, more sustained attention has been devoted to the question of combating drought and desertification through the work of international meetings held at the initiative of FAO. Moreover, coherent food strategies, as well as integrated development plans, are being progressively implemented.

376. The Inter-State Committee, the Institute of the Sahel, the Agrymeht Centre and other regional bodies are in this sense useful instruments for co-ordination, support and common thinking. They have been called upon to play a more and more important role in integrated regional development and in establishing the necessary conditions for food self-sufficiency and restoring the ecological balance in the Sahel.

377. We firmly believe that, through a united will and solidarity at the local, regional and international levels, we shall succeed in breaking the circle of desertification and drought and bringing about a favourable change in the present situation.

378. In Cape Verde, since independence, we have worked in this area to pursue a policy in harmony with our own concrete reality. To meet drought, which has now become endemic, our efforts have been directed not only towards the preservation of the soil and a systematic reafforestation policy, but also towards the development of our human resources. Popular participation in the fight against erosion and for reafforestation in our country has become a satisfactory approach, in spite of the difficulties created by the persistence of the drought.

379. In this huge effort to overcome the great difficulties imposed by a hostile nature, international assistance has been a fundamental and an indispensable component. We are sure that this effort will continue to find generous support and international solidarity.

380. The world today is a world of glaring paradoxes. One of the paradoxes is characterized by the persistence of hunger and underdevelopment at a time when world production is capable of meeting the needs of the population of the entire earth.

381. The survival of mankind demands a peaceful, unified world in which man is the centre of the great political decisions and the ultimate beneficiary of the moral and material progress which all aspire to. The creation of this world requires the active participation of all.

382. The PRESIDENT: I now call on those representatives who wish to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

383. Mr. ARIAS STELLA (Peru) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Peru joins in the appeal for understanding and unity in international relations just formulated by the Foreign Minister of Ecuador.

384. It would be difficult to find two countries as close as Ecuador and Peru. They have the same ethnic origins, the same historical and cultural experiences, the same view of the world and an identical concept of man. It is our wish that all of that will increasingly facilitate our coming closer together and aid the dialogue and co-operation which are essential for our common interests and our destiny of solidarity.

385. Peru, together with Ecuador, believes that the Andean Group represents not only an idea but also a concrete hope for the future of our countries. It believes that the parallel efforts of the South Pacific Permanent Commission and the titanic endeavour of imagination and labour which has gone into the Amazon Pact are irreversible paths towards international improvement in our region. That is why my delegation wishes to reiterate that "any doubt or disagreement" which might disturb this trend towards an historical *rapprochement* between Peru and Ecuador must be resolved within the existing applicable legal framework.

386. Mr. TERÁN TERÁN (Ecuador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Ecuador wishes to express its satisfaction with the words spoken by the representative of Peru, since they indicate a will towards understanding between the two countries. Ecuador, of course, maintains that differences on matters both *de facto* and *de jure*, the presentation of legal theses or points of view between States, must be resolved by peaceful means and mutual understanding.

The meeting rose at 8.05 p.m.

NOTES

[1] The delegations of Burkina Faso, the Dominican Republic, Equatorial Guinea, Guatemala, Jamaica, Liberia, Panama, Qatar and Samoa subsequently informed the Secretariat that they had intended to vote in favour of the draft resolution.

[2] See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-eighth Year*, 2551st meeting.

[3] See A/38/343, annex.

[4] See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-seventh Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1982*, document S/15510, annex.

[5] *World Economic Survey 1984: Current Trends and Policies in the World Economy* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.84.II.C.1).

[6] Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y de Río de Oro.

[7] A/S-11/14, annex I.

[8] Frente Revolucionária de Timor Leste Independente.

United Nations

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

THIRTY-NINTH SESSION

Official Records

14th PLENARY MEETING

Monday, 1 October 1984, at 10.35 a.m.

NEW YORK

President: Mr. Paul J. F. LUSAKA (Zambia).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. MASRI (Jordan) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Allow me, Sir, to extend to you my warmest congratulations on your unanimous election as President of the General Assembly. I am certain that your wide experience in international affairs and your commitment to the principles of justice and peace will ensure the success of this session.

2. [illegible] also wish to thank your predecessor, Mr. Jorge I[illegible]ca, for the outstanding skill and dedication with which he conducted the work of the Assembly's thirty-eighth session. His wise leadership contributed immensely to the achievement of positive results during that session.

3. The efforts of the Secretary-General, aimed at achieving international peace, also deserve our full appreciation. Despite the difficulties faced by the United Nations and the attempts made to undermine it, he has managed, through his sincere and persistent efforts, to keep alive the hope of collective action.

4. I also wish to welcome Brunei Darussalam on its admission to the United Nations.

5. A brief review of international events and developments since our meeting here last year reveals the extent to which international peace and security have deteriorated. As the old international disputes continue and even intensify, new ones have emerged. Despite the efforts to solve some of these disputes and the attempts to prevent the worsening of others, international relations remain fraught with tension. Danger is still hanging over the world's security and stability. Efforts to minimize the risks of existing conflicts and disputes have not yielded the desired results. On the whole, those efforts have failed to reduce the tension in the international situation; an atmosphere of helplessness and stagnation still hampers attempts to achieve peace on our planet and to prevent a world disaster.

6. I would say in all humbleness that we are moving in a direction opposite to universal peace and security. The repeated appeals and statements about the dangerous international situation emanating from all parts of the world and demanding action to halt the drift into the unknown have not been heeded. Rather, the escalation of international disputes has been accompanied by a dangerous trend, characterized by a lack of enthusiasm and desire for collective action and a disregard for the principle of collective security. The situation has been aggravated by the persistence of some States in ignoring their commitments to the principles of international law and to the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, in particular, those principles and provisions which prohibit the use or the threat of the use of force and provide instead for the peaceful settlement of disputes, non-intervention in internal affairs, maintenance of good-neighbourly relations, and respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of States.

7. A swift glance at the situation reveals the fact that war and the preparation for it remain the main instrument used by States in their foreign policies. Many States act on the implicit assumption that peace can be achieved only through military superiority and continuous preparations for war.

8. Despite the interdependence prevailing in relations between States, we are still looking for solutions to the problems that arise as a result of this very interdependence by using conventional concepts, in particular, the concept of power, which very often leads to unwise political prescriptions. Some believe that the security impasse resulting from the nature of the international system can be solved through armaments, alliances or the division of the world into spheres of influence by attracting supporters to one camp or another. Planning for war and the development of strategies to conduct war have overshadowed our capacity to determine the needs of our peoples for security and prosperity and to respond to their concern about their fate and their yearning for peace.

9. The present arms race between the two super-Powers and the freezing of efforts aimed at its containment are considered the greatest dangers to international peace and security today. In addition, the increased rivalry between East and West, the lack of détente, the revival of the cold-war atmosphere and the dangerous polarization prevailing between the two super-Powers have all had negative repercussions on international relations, particularly on various regional disputes. The cold-war atmosphere has resulted in an increase in and intensification of regional disputes, as well as in the faltering of efforts made to tackle them. It has also distorted the perception of the real causes of these disputes and of their origins. The legitimate interests of the aggrieved peoples have been relegated to second place in favour of the requirements of the rivalry between the two super-Powers. This rivalry, in turn, has overshadowed the economic, social and political causes of many regional disputes. Many have been led to view world problems only within the context of super-Power competition. The super-Powers, in turn, have come to the conclusion that the easiest way to solve their differences is through the acquisition and development of nuclear arsenals.

10. One of the most dangerous aspects of the intensification of rivalry between the two super-Powers is the paralysis that has afflicted the United Nations, in which we place great hopes for the maintenance of international peace and security. It has affected regional problems as well, especially by preventing a clear perception of their causes. The Security Council, the international organ entrusted with the task of safeguarding international peace and security, has become hostage to the rivalry between the two super-Powers, and its role has been subverted and paralysed, pending the achievement of détente. Consequently, the dangerous situation in which we live has now been made concrete, a situation characterized by the lack of deterrence to dissuade the aggressor and the lack of protection for the victim. As a result, aggression-prone States are now able to act with complete impunity. This has led to a loss of confidence on the part of peace-loving States in the efficacy of the United Nations, and those States have, in turn, been forced to seek protection through the formation of regional or international alliances and blocs.

11. We are required to choose between the use of force, on the one hand, and negotiation and compromise, on the other, as the way to achieve our legitimate goals. The future of humanity as a whole depends on which path we choose. Moreover, a prerequisite for the achievement of international stability is the renewal of mutual confidence and the elimination of fear and doubt. No State or bloc can be permitted to seek to lead the world and unlawfully influence the international system. This requires us to abide by the principles of the Charter, to respect its provisions and to support the United Nations as the practical framework of our commitment to the principle of collective action. We must curb the tendency to place narrow national interests above the higher interest of preserving the stability and advancement of the international system. Strict observance of the principles of the Charter and dedication to the United Nations through the acceptance and implementation of its decisions are the true measure of peaceful intentions and belief in constructive action. To ignore the role of the Organization and to refuse to comply with its decisions is a defiance of the international will and a violation of international law. Those who persist in doing so bear a political and moral responsibility for the existing state of despair and confusion in the world. We have among us a Member State which has set a record for disregarding the international will and the judgement of the majority.

12. Our concern over the aggravation of the international situation stems, basically, from the situation prevailing in our region—the Middle East. In fact, this region, comprising States from two continents with peoples of different cultures and schools of thought, has been plagued with a chronic and explosive dispute: the Arab-Israeli conflict. I should like once again to discuss the root causes of this conflict and the reasons why it has remained obstinately insoluble to this day, after yet another year full of numerous important developments. The events of the past year, as far as the Arab-Israeli conflict is concerned, have reconfirmed three basic facts.

13. First, the Arab States and the Palestinian people have expressed, on more than one occasion, their desire to achieve a just and comprehensive peace based on an international consensus which guarantees the legitimate rights of all parties.

14. Secondly, it has become clear that Israel not only rejects peace, but actively resists its achievement.

15. Thirdly, the super-Powers bear a basic responsibility for the achievement of a just and comprehensive political settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict. The position of some of those Powers is responsible for Israel's continued aggression against the Arab nation and its persistence in rejecting all peace initiatives put forward to resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict and the Palestinian problem.

16. Security Council resolution 242 (1967), which was adopted unanimously and was reaffirmed in resolution 338 (1973), embodies the basis for a political settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict, namely, territory in exchange for peace. That resolution satisfies what Israel demands or pretends to demand: its right to live within internationally recognized boundaries. It also satisfies legitimate Arab demands: withdrawal from the Arab territories that Israel has occupied since 1967. Since the adoption of that resolution, the Arabs have shown on more than one occasion their acceptance of the conditions for peace, while Israel has rejected the Arab demand—that it withdraw from the Arab territories occupied since 1967. Israel claims that the Arabs neither want peace nor accept its conditions, while the Arabs have declared repeatedly their willingness to accept peace and its conditions provided that Israel does the same.

17. Let us see now what was the basis of Security Council resolution 242 (1967), a resolution which Jordan accepted and for the implementation of which it has worked diligently. What was the basis of the declaration of the European Community, issued at Venice in 1980; of King Fahd's initiative of 1981; of President Reagan's initiative of 1982; of the resolutions of the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference, held at Fez the same year; of the Geneva Declaration on Palestine adopted by the International Conference on the Question of Palestine in 1983; and, lastly, of the Soviet proposals of last July? In our opinion, all those initiatives and efforts were based on one sole principle: territory in exchange for peace.

18. While the Arab side has accepted the principle of those initiatives and we in Jordan have endeavoured to realize that principle and maintain it as the basis for international political action, Israel has not only rejected all those initiatives but has also worked to foil them, thus undermining all prospects for peace. In fact, when Israel rejected those initiatives and endeavoured to block them by any means at its disposal, it not only rejected their form and framework but actually rejected the principle on which they are based, that is, "recognition in exchange for withdrawal". Thus it is evident that Israel wants both recognition and territory. That is why it has resorted to various means to justify its conduct, emphasizing the form at the expense of substance so as to thwart the real intent of the proposed agreement.

19. We have no doubt whatsoever about the real intentions of Israel. Israel seeks to annex the West Bank and Gaza, just as it has annexed the Holy City of Jerusalem and the Golan Heights. However, Israel cannot have both territory and peace.

20. As Jordan has stated, Israel must publicly declare, as the Arabs have done, that it accepts peace

and its conditions, that is, accepts the principle of complete withdrawal from the territories it has occupied since 1967 in exchange for the recognition and security it demands. With full awareness of our national and pan-Arab responsibility, we have declared that, although we are fully ready to take part in any peace process dealing with the modalities for implementing the principle embodied in Security Council resolution 242 (1967), we are at the same time determined not to bargain or negotiate away this principle, which has been articulated and adopted by the international community as the basis for a political settlement between the Arabs and Israel. The principle of "territory in exchange for peace" is an international one, approved by the international community and elaborated over the past 17 years, that is, since the Israeli occupation of the Arab territories. This principle is also an embodiment of a pillar of international law, that is, the inadmissibility of acquisition of territories by force and the need to prevent an aggressor from reaping the fruits of his aggression.

21. This concept stems from a careful and objective evaluation of the conduct of Israel since its occupation of the Arab territories in 1967. Israel's intention of annexing those territories has long been evident from its various practices. Since its occupation of those territories, Israel has embarked upon evacuating the indigenous Arab population from the West Bank, Gaza and the Golan Heights. It has perpetrated acts of repression continuously and systematically against the Palestinian people of the West Bank and Gaza and against the Arab citizens of the Golan Heights in order to create unbearable psychological and physical conditions that would compel them to emigrate. Paramount among the illegal practices resorted to by Israel are acts of terror it has assigned to its settlers in those territories.

22. The methods used by Israel in its policy of oppression against the Palestinian people in their own land are numerous and well known to the international community. But what is important now is to draw the proper inference from those practices: they are meant to force the Palestinian people to abandon their homes. Israel is seeking to implement this objective, while at the same time trying as much as possible to avoid creating any international outcry. The control of 80 per cent of the water resources of the West Bank, the closing down of universities, the confiscation of lands, the demolition of houses, the creation of a dual legal status—one for the Arab population and the other for the Jewish settlers—arbitrary arrest and torture, and the desecration and indiscriminate demolition of religious and historic places—all these interrelated and integrated methods are designed to achieve Israel's primary goal of forcing the Arab population permanently to leave the West Bank and Gaza.

23. This aggressive policy has recently taken the form of an Israeli plan to uproot tens of thousands of Palestinians from refugee camps in the West Bank and Gaza and to resettle them in the Jordan River region. We have every reason to be concerned about the consequences of this Israeli plan, particularly in view of Israel's previous practices and deliberate attempts to empty the West Bank of its legitimate owners. This act represents Israel's conception of the Palestinian problem, which it considers a simple demographic one to be solved at the expense of others.

24. Israel's plan to ratify its occupation, to impose a *fait accompli* and to annex the Arab and Palestinian territories, has been exposed to the whole world. More than one Israeli leader has revealed this intention and has made the plan the corner-stone of their campaigns in the recent Israeli elections. This has been evidenced once more in the outcome of those elections, in which those blocs and parties that explicitly called for the expulsion of the Arabs from their country—Palestine—were elected.

25. The salient aspect of Israel's rejection of the principle of exchanging territory for peace is the Israeli settlements policy. Israel's plan to annex and Judaize the occupied Arab territories is based on the establishment of colonial and settlement zones on the outskirts of West Bank cities, in order to encircle them, and in the midst of Arab villages, in order to divide them, as well as along the Jordan River Valley and around water sources. That plan is also aimed at bringing in large numbers of Jewish settlers so that they will soon become the majority in the occupied Arab territories, with the indigenous Arab population consequently becoming a minority. At that point, the problem will cease to be that of the number of settlement colonies and will become, rather, one of the presence of a Jewish majority. The Israeli settlements already number 182 and occupy approximately 55 per cent of the West Bank area.

26. I need not emphasize again that that policy is contrary to the principles of international law governing military occupation and that those settlements are illegitimate and illegal. The explicit international position on this question is testimony to the credibility of the United Nations and a guarantee of the success of its efforts and of any other efforts exerted to find a political solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict.

27. The security argument evoked by Israel from time to time to justify its settlements policy is baseless. The international community knows that peace cannot be achieved through expansion, aggression and the denial of the legitimate rights of others. Rather, expansion, intransigence and failure to recognize the legitimate demands of the Arabs are all a threat to the security of the entire region. In fact, it was the Israeli settlements in the occupied Arab territories and its policy of forced transfer of civilians which in the first instance caused the threat to Israel's security.

28. To justify its use of force, Israel has invented the myth of an Arab threat to its existence and has exaggerated its need for security in an attempt to rationalize its military buildup. That has served also to project an image of Israel as always being in a situation in which it has no choice. However, Israel's aggression against Lebanon and its continued oppression of the Palestinian people have proved again that Israel has chosen to wage war against the Arabs.

29. Another aspect of Israel's rejection of peace and its desire to expand at the expense of the Arabs is its construction of a canal linking the Mediterranean Sea with the Dead Sea. That canal, which begins in the occupied Arab territories and ends in the Dead Sea, violates and threatens Jordan's vital and legitimate national interests, besides being an act of aggression against the Palestinian people in the occupied territories. It is but another example of Israel's consistent tendency to threaten the stability of peace by undermining its foundations.

30. The danger of this Israeli project is not only that it is contrary to the principles of international law concerning the riparian rights of States and to the laws governing military occupation but also that it is another manifestation of a consistent Israeli policy of controlling the water resources of the region and refusing to recognize their legitimate owners. The problem of water is an important aspect of the Arab-Israeli conflict, and Israel has resisted every regional solution to it. Israel seeks to control the greatest possible quantity of water and to use that water to serve its expansionist settlements policy. One reason for its present occupation of southern Lebanon and its resistance to all pressures for an early withdrawal is its desire to realize its historic ambitions regarding Lebanon's waters. The increasing Israeli ambitions regarding Arab waters in southern Lebanon, the Golan Heights and the Jordan River region represents a dangerous escalation of the situation in the area.

31. Israel could not have persisted in its expansionist policy had the international community as represented by the United Nations been allowed to fulfil its responsibilities. The great Powers which have special relations with Israel bear direct responsibility for the failure of peace efforts because of Israel's intransigence and insubordination with regard to the international will. The complete bias of the United States in favour of Israel and its acquiescence in all the latter's illegal and aggressive practices have caused a set-back to the chances for peace and could destroy those chances. That bias has also undermined the effectiveness of a super-Power which has a fundamental role to play and must bear special responsibility for the deterioration of the situation and the lack of peace in the region.

32. One of the requirements for achieving a political settlement is the restoration of the balance by and between the great Powers *vis-à-vis* the Arab-Israeli conflict and the establishment of a balance between the Arabs and the Israelis. The experience of past years has proved that the imbalance which characterizes the role of the super-Powers in the region, in terms of both their relationship with each other and their relations with some of the parties in the conflict, is one of the main reasons for Israel's intransigence, its persistence in challenging the international will and its rejection of all peace efforts and initiatives. The history of relations between States and peoples contains not a single example of a situation in which genuine peace was achieved in a state of imbalance. We hope that the United States will reconsider its prejudicial position *vis-à-vis* certain parties to the Arab-Israeli conflict. This would not only enable it to regain its ability and effectiveness as a neutral mediator but also increase the chances of the success of its efforts to serve its true interests and those of both regional and international peace. There is still a chance, although it is quickly receding.

33. Peace is the central goal of Jordan's foreign policy. We have striven in various circumstances, by every legitimate means and within all international forums for the promotion and encouragement of sincere and balanced peace efforts. We have declared our commitment to Security Council resolution 242 (1967) and our willingness to implement it fully, asserting that the implementation of that important international resolution provides a good opportunity for satisfying the demand of the Palestinian people to exercise its right to self-determination in its homeland, Palestine, and ensures for all the States and peoples of the region, including Israel and the Israelis, the right to live in peace and security. For that reason, Jordan has supported the United Nations call for the convening of an international peace conference with the participation of all the parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization [*PLO*], the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, and the permanent members of the Security Council.

34. President Reagan's proposal a few days ago from this rostrum [*4th meeting*] for United States-Soviet consultations on regional problems was a positive suggestion to facilitate the achievement of an indispensable political solution in the Middle East. It is consistent with Jordan's view on the usefulness of convening such a conference.

35. Consistent with its quest for peace, Jordan has worked with many Arab and other parties to create conditions for promoting our chances of achieving a permanent and just peace.

36. While world attention is focused on the Palestinian question, which is the core of the Arab-Israeli conflict, Israel is endeavouring to add a new dimension to that conflict—southern Lebanon. We are gravely concerned over developments in the situation there resulting from the Israeli occupation of the region. That occupation represents a grave danger to the unity, independence and national resources of Lebanon. We would like to repeat here our earlier warning that Lebanon is being turned into a means of draining the resources of the Lebanese and Arabs and of diverting attention from the Palestinian problem, thus becoming a smoke-screen behind which Israel is swallowing up the West Bank, Gaza and the Golan Heights. We again emphasize the urgency of ending all practices affecting Lebanon's sovereignty and independence and impeding its efforts to attend to its wounds and proceed along the path to unity and reconstruction, thus enabling it to reassume its role among the Arab nations and in the international arena.

37. Regarding the war between Iraq and Iran, which is in its fifth year, we again warn all countries of the dangers involved in the continuation and widening of that war. During recent months we had the opportunity of witnessing the consequences of such expansion and its implications for the security and stability of the world if we do not hasten to terminate it. We therefore call upon all nations to help bring that war to an end, not only because of fear of a stoppage of oil production but also out of concern for the bloodshed that is taking place there. We believe that political and moral considerations in both the short and long run require us to make sincere efforts to help find an honourable solution to that war.

38. While Iraq has co-operated with the efforts of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, and the Secretary-General and while it has accepted United Nations resolutions in regard to the conflict, Iran has so far rejected all efforts at mediation and all attempts to solve the dispute by peaceful means. For these reasons and, frankly speaking, for the sake of our credibility, we must commend our brother country Iraq for its positive response to all those efforts aimed at a cessation of the war, and we hope that Iran will also hasten to express a similar acceptance.

39. We are aware of the deteriorating situations in other regions of the world—in Asia, the Mediterranean, Africa and Latin America—regions where a number of international disputes are still simmering. In Afghanistan, no concrete progress has been made in the efforts exerted by the parties concerned, with the help of the Secretary-General. The problem of Cyprus is still awaiting resolution. Namibia remains under foreign occupation, and South Africa's policy of *apartheid* is continuing. In the Korean peninsula, there are still obstacles to the efforts to unify the two parts of Korea by peaceful means. In Central America, we support the efforts of the Contadora Group and hope that all countries will find it possible to support them.

40. The first steps to be taken in order to avoid the dangers involved in the aggravation of disputes and to prevent further deterioration are to work for the implementation of United Nations resolutions, to facilitate the role of the Secretary-General and respond positively to his valuable efforts and, finally, to revitalize the Security Council, thus putting an end to its current state of paralysis.

41. In conclusion, Jordan, which considers the problem of Palestine its own problem and has borne, together with the Palestinian Arab people, all the consequences of the Israeli occupation, expresses its firm commitment to the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people in Palestine and declares its readiness to co-operate with all sincere international efforts to end the Arab-Israeli conflict and achieve a just and comprehensive peace on the basis of international consensus—that is, territory in exchange for peace. Jordan emphasizes once again the basis for peace spelt out by the international community as follows: a comprehensive—not a partial—peace; the complete withdrawal of Israel from all Arab territories occupied in 1967, including Arab Jerusalem; the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination in Palestine; the right of all States in the region to live in peace within internationally recognized borders.

42. Jordan declares its full willingness to work on the basis of these principles and towards their implementation within a comprehensive and balanced peace process.

43. Mr. MLADENOV (Bulgaria) (*interpretation from Russian*): Permit me to congratulate you, Sir, on your election to the high post of President of the General Assembly at its thirty-ninth session. In your person, we greet an eminent son of Africa, the representative of friendly Zambia. We are convinced that under your able guidance the world Organization will adopt important decisions aimed at easing international tension and strengthening security and peace throughout the entire world.

44. I would also like to congratulate the delegation of Brunei Darussalam on the occasion of its admission to membership of the United Nations.

45. An objective assessment of the situation in the world bears witness to the fact that no positive changes have occurred in international affairs over the past year. On the contrary, even more serious signs have appeared, pointing to an aggravation of the danger that looms over the whole of mankind—the danger of a devastating nuclear war. The responsibility for this state of affairs rests exclusively with certain imperialist circles, above all with the United States, which is pursuing a policy of confrontation and escalation of the arms race, striving to secure military superiority and to proceed from a position of strength. They interfere in the internal affairs of sovereign countries and follow a policy of State terrorism against them, endanger the independent development of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, which have liberated themselves from colonialism, and fan the flames of old hotbeds of tension and kindle new ones. They have even gone so far as to question the political realities established in Europe as a result of the Second World War.

46. Not only is this course alien to the genuine interests of peoples but it is openly hostile to their natural and legitimate aspirations to live in peace, as well as to their sovereign right to determine for themselves their own future and path of development. Its purpose is to check the objective historical processes and to stifle social progress.

47. The existing realities are such that there are countries of different political, ideological and socio-economic systems existing on our planet. To extend ideological differences to inter-State relations and to make them the basis of foreign policy is an illogical and dangerous practice. The international situation is further worsened by attempts to exert political, economic and diplomatic pressure against the socialist countries and to mount propaganda campaigns, unprecedented in their scope, which in effect constitutes psychological warfare.

48. In fact, this attack is directed not only against the socialist countries but also against all those who reject as unacceptable the policy of hegemonism and diktat. Everyone who is opposed to such a policy is declared an outlaw. Such "logic" is extremely dangerous in the age of nuclear weapons.

49. We regard as extremely dangerous, and we emphatically reject, the concepts according to which peace could be safeguarded and international security enhanced through the execution of large-scale programmes for over-rearmament and the endless escalation of the arms race. Plans are being devised on the very basis of such concepts, which creates a real danger of turning Europe into a theatre of "limited" nuclear warfare. The calls for the creation of a potential for the launching of a "first pre-emptive strike" and action along those lines are tantamount to preparations for a nuclear war. The acquisition of new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction, the deployment in Western Europe of medium-range nuclear missiles and the plans for the militarization of outer space have not only failed to strengthen but on the contrary have undermined peace and international security. Such actions imperil the life and future of everyone, including those of their initiators.

50. The countries of the socialist community, including the People's Republic of Bulgaria, have repeatedly emphasized that the only sensible policy is one of peaceful coexistence among States with differing social systems. This policy has demonstrated its advantages and its viability. It is fully in accord with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and with contemporary international law. Today the question is whether the countries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [*NATO*] are ready to adhere to such a policy. The fate and the future of all countries and peoples depend on the answer to that question.

51. We have repeatedly and resolutely declared our readiness for dialogue, for negotiations to reach

agreements based on the principles of equality and equal security, and we now reaffirm that readiness. What is needed is constructive, practical steps. What is needed is realism, political will and a sense of responsibility before history for the destiny of mankind. What is needed is concrete action, designed to avert nuclear war, so that the very idea of such a war becomes inadmissible.

52. The only sure way to preserve peace and strengthen international security is by the immediate cessation of the arms race, the renunciation of attempts to upset the existing military-strategic equilibrium and the taking of decisive steps aimed at lowering the level of military confrontation.

53. The General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and Chairman of the Council of State of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Todor Zhivkov, recently stated:

> "The countries of the Warsaw Treaty are not seeking military superiority. What is more, we are ready to engage in negotiations on arms limitation and the gradual attainment of complete disarmament. We are prepared to begin the elaboration and adoption of such a code of relations between the East and the West, between the socialist and the capitalist States, as would eliminate for ever the threat of a global military conflict."

54. Such is the approach of my country and of our allies to the most important present-day problems. That approach has been amply corroborated in the wide range of constructive proposals for reaching mutually acceptable agreements aimed at saving mankind from the nuclear threat, curbing the arms race and taking effective measures for disarmament, with the ultimate goal of achieving general and complete disarmament. Those proposals continue to be valid.

55. In our view, the current session of the General Assembly is duty-bound to contribute to the solution of such vital questions as the prevention of nuclear war, the guaranteeing of the right of peoples to live in peace, the renunciation by all nuclear-weapon States of the first use of nuclear weapons, a nuclear-weapons freeze, a general and complete ban on nuclear-weapon tests, and the prohibition of chemical weapons.

56. It is necessary to place a solid barrier against the plans for the militarization of outer space. In this regard, a major positive potential is contained in the new proposal of the Soviet Union on the use of outer space exclusively for peaceful purposes for the benefit of mankind [*see A/39/243*]. Its implementation would make a real contribution to the curtailment of the military threat and provide further opportunities for curbing the arms race.

57. Military confrontation in the world's seas and oceans is fraught with grave danger. The People's Republic of Bulgaria is of the opinion that talks should be initiated as a matter of urgency on the curtailing of the naval activities of States and the limitation and reduction of naval armaments.

58. The interests of world peace demand the removal of the obstacles that led to the collapse of the Geneva talks on nuclear-arms limitation in Europe. Our final objective is the elimination of nuclear weapons in Europe as well as in all other parts of the world.

59. A key manifestation of the sensible approach to international relations is the ongoing Conference on Confidence- and Security-building Measures and Disarmament in Europe, meeting at Stockholm. If the constructive approach prevails at Stockholm, the Conference will be able to make a substantial contribution to the improvement of the political climate, to the building of confidence and security, and to the strengthening of peace in Europe and throughout the world. That is indeed precisely the purpose of the comprehensive proposals put forward by the socialist countries; of particular importance among those proposals is the initiative for the conclusion of a treaty on the mutual non-use of military force and the maintenance of peaceful relations.

60. The most cherished desire of all peoples is to live in peace. This is borne out by the scope of the anti-war movement, which has been echoed at large by the World Disarmament Campaign launched by the United Nations. Aware of the danger of the annihilation of mankind, Governments in a number of countries and realistically minded statesmen and politicians are now seeking ways to remove and eliminate this danger. An illustration of this is the Joint Declaration issued on 22 May 1984 by the Heads of State or Government of Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Sweden and the United Republic of Tanzania [*see A/39/277*]. Further evidence is the contribution to the cause of strengthening peace and security made by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries—this major factor in international life.

61. We should like to believe that common sense and an awareness of responsibility will ultimately prevail, that peace-loving words will be followed by peace-loving deeds, and that a frank and constructive dialogue will be resumed. That would serve the interests of everyone.

62. The fate of the world depends to a considerable extent on the peaceful and just settlement of international conflicts and on the elimination of hotbeds of tension. We have witnessed repeated attempts on the part of imperialism, taking an approach based on military force, to impose upon peoples its own "solutions" aimed at establishing its domination in various regions of the globe. In this connection, we support the extremely timely Soviet proposal concerning the inadmissibility of the policy of State terrorism [*see A/39/244*].

63. Recent developments in the Middle East have glaringly demonstrated that the approach lying at the heart of the policies of Israel and those who support it is running into the stiff resistance of peoples. Given that situation, the soundest way to settle this conflict is undoubtedly the one indicated in the new Soviet proposal [*see A/39/368*] for the convening of an international conference on the Middle East under the auspices of the United Nations, with the participation of all the parties concerned, including the PLO.

64. Yet another source of alarm is the growing military presence of NATO countries in the Persian Gulf; this further exacerbates tension in that already explosive part of the world.

65. The methods and means of terrorism and violence have also been applied to the problems of Central America and the Caribbean basin. This is illustrated by the intervention in Grenada, the unremitting pressures against Cuba, the mining of ports and the conducting of subversive activities against sovereign Nicaragua, and the extension of substantial military aid to dictatorial régimes, enabling them to

continue their oppressive policies and to perpetrate crimes against their own peoples.

66. The same unacceptable approach is also being taken in other regions of the world. In southern Africa, the occupation of Namibia by South Africa continues, as does the practice of racism and *apartheid*. In the South Atlantic, there is a smouldering state of tension because of unresolved problems. Not only is the right to self-determination being denied to the so-called small colonial Territories, but dangerous military activities are being conducted in them.

67. The undeclared war against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan is continuing. It is essential that outside interference in the affairs of that sovereign State be halted in order to create conditions for the settlement of the situation surrounding Afghanistan on the basis of the well-known constructive proposals of the Afghan Government.

68. We whole-heartedly support the proposals of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for the withdrawal of foreign forces from the peninsula and the reunification of the country through peaceful means and on a democratic basis.

69. We deem it essential that a constructive dialogue be instituted for the purpose of implementing the idea of turning South-East Asia into a zone of peace, stability and co-operation, in accordance with the proposals made by the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

70. Our position of principle remains unchanged with respect to the settlement of the Cyprus problem on the basis of preserving the territorial integrity, independence, sovereignty and non-aligned status of the Republic of Cyprus in the interests of both the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots. This position is fully consonant with our policy of fostering peace, good-neighbourliness and mutual understanding in the Mediterranean and the Balkans.

71. The policies of imperialism have had a negative impact also on the development of international economic relations. Sanctions, discrimination and diktat are all concrete manifestations of the desire of certain circles in the West to extend political tensions to the sphere of international economic relations. For the purpose of the achievement of political goals dictated by expediency, traditional economic and trade relations that took years to build up are being severed.

72. All efforts undertaken within the United Nations and other international forums for the restructuring of international economic relations on an equitable and democratic basis and for the establishment of a new international economic order are meeting with stubborn resistance.

73. For more than 10 years, the socialist and the developing countries have been waging a persistent struggle for the practical implementation of the provisions of such important documents as the Declaration and the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [*resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)*], the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [*resolution 3281 (XXIX)*], the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade [*resolution 35/56, annex*], and others. Of particular importance among these are the questions of ending the exploitation of the developing countries and the elimination of all forms of trade discrimination based on differences in socio-economic systems, as well as the exercise by all States of sovereignty over their natural resources and over economic activities on their territories, the curbing of the negative consequences of the activities of the multinational corporations, and so forth.

74. The Declaration and Statement issued by the member countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance at their high-level Economic Conference, held in Moscow from 12 to 14 June 1984 [*see A/39/323*], contain a realistic programme for the improvement of international economic relations. This programme indicates the proper way to solve the problem of development, a necessary prerequisite for which is the definitive elimination of the threat of nuclear war, the establishment of lasting peace and the adoption of genuine measures in the field of disarmament.

75. The People's Republic of Bulgaria recently celebrated the fortieth anniversary of the victory of the socialist revolution. For 40 years now, my country, having overcome its economic backwardness and its concomitant social ills, has been building a socialist society whose paramount goal is the welfare of our people. For 40 years, Bulgaria has been pursuing a policy of promoting peace, security, détente, good-neighbourliness and broad international co-operation in the Balkans, in Europe and throughout the world.

76. The implementation of the concept of turning the Balkans into a nuclear-weapon-free zone has now assumed overriding importance. This is in the interests of all the Balkan peoples and would, indeed, be a major contribution to strengthening confidence and security in Europe. This initiative, which has won broad support, has already become the subject of discussions and exchanges of views among the Balkan countries. We believe that this process should be continued in order to bring positions even closer together and achieve a general agreement in principle on the creation of such a zone.

77. The proposals by the Chairman of the Council of State, Todor Zhivkov, concerning the conclusion of bilateral agreements with all the Balkan countries that would also contain a code of good-neighbourly relations are also well known.

78. This policy of my country is a matter of deep principle and an integral part of our overall approach to contemporary international relations.

79. We are on the eve of the commemoration of the fortieth anniversary of the end of the Second World War, the victory over Hitlerism and fascism, and the creation of the United Nations. Over the years, the United Nations has unquestionably adopted a number of important, positive decisions in accordance with its Charter that have stood the test of time. We have no doubt that through the collective efforts and goodwill of all Member States the noble goals in the name of which the Organization was created can and will be achieved.

80. Mr. AL-SHAREA (Syrian Arab Republic) (*interpretation from Arabic*): I take pleasure in congratulating you, Sir, on your election as President of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly, to which the world looks with considerable anticipation and attention. We are all the more pleased in that you represent a country that is linked to mine, Syria, by a common struggle against two racist régimes and against all forms of racial discrimination and coloni-

alism, both old and new. Your election to this high office is a recognition by the world community of the important and unique status enjoyed by the African continent in general and by your country, Zambia, in particular in contemporary international life.

81. At the same time, we wish to salute Mr. Jorge Illueca, the President of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly, who conducted our work with wisdom, dynamism and ability. We congratulate him on the achievements recorded under his presidency.

82. We commend the wisdom and effectiveness of the Secretary-General and his firm interest in the cause of peace and justice. We wish to reaffirm our full confidence in him and pledge our continued sincere readiness to co-operate with him in his brave efforts aimed at ensuring the effectiveness of the United Nations role in international contemporary relations and in solving international conflicts.

83. We wish warmly to congratulate Brunei Darussalam on its independence and its admission to membership of the United Nations.

84. The General Assembly is holding its thirty-ninth session in complicated and difficult international circumstances. The international situation continues to deteriorate. Political, economic and social tensions in the world are being aggravated as a result of the disequilibrium in international relations, the widening gap between the industrialized and developing nations, the alarming escalation of the arms race and the increasing tension in various parts of the world. All these developments make it essential for us to examine seriously and responsibly the various problems from which the peoples of the world are suffering, as well as the causes of the dangerous international tension, and to seek appropriate solutions thereto within the framework of the United Nations and in accordance with the principles and purposes of its Charter. All the countries of the world are aware of the difficulties facing the Organization and preventing it from assuming its basic role in the various fields of international relations. We all know the sources, causes and results of those difficulties. The enhancement of the role of the United Nations in the maintenance of international peace and security is an indispensable factor in building an international community in which justice and peace prevail and which is free from the evils of colonialism and from all forms of racism, aggression and hegemony.

85. While the world is afflicted by many hotbeds of tension and confrontation, the Middle East region remains the most dangerous and most explosive, the most threatening to international peace and security. It is no secret that this region, by virtue of its vital strategic location, its vast economic potential and its ancient spiritual and cultural heritage, is one of the most sensitive and complex regions of the world. It lies at the heart of the ancient world, at the point of contact between the Orient and the Occident. It overlooks the three most important waterways of the world: the Mediterranean Sea, the Gulf and the Red Sea. Its reserves of energy exceed those of the rest of the world by more than half. In addition, the area is the cradle of the three monotheist religions.

86. Throughout the phases of its long history, this region has witnessed various waves of invaders and conquerors. Until recent times, it was a base for colonialists, and most recently, part of its territory, namely Palestine, has become a foothold for racist settlers.

87. This region is regarded today more than ever as a unique strategic target by the forces of imperialism and world monopolies; in order to reach and dominate it, the most modern types of warships, aircraft carriers and nuclear weapons are being amassed. It is clear that these brute forces have not heeded the lessons of ancient and recent history. They are trying to repeat the same historical mistakes as their old and new colonialist predecessors, for which they paid a very dear price, indeed.

88. It is reprehensible to see a racist colonialist spirit reappearing in our era, the era of decolonization, in an attempt to forge the history of the region, focusing on the marginal and non-essential issues, while obscuring all things constant and essential. The aim is to cast doubt on the history of this region, to dismember its national structure and to obliterate its true identity in order to facilitate the fulfilment of two extremely dangerous objectives: first, the consolidation and legitimization of the interests of imperialism in the Arab region—this is what world imperialism is seeking to achieve; and secondly, the uprooting of the Arabs and their replacement by settlers—this is the quintessence of the Zionist movement, which utilizes both the Torah and the Nazi doctrine of security. It is evident that these two objectives move in full co-ordination at all times irrespective of who leads the imperialist forces and the Zionist movement.

89. An in-depth review of the main events of the region and the concurrent Israeli aggressions backed by the forces of imperialism in 1956, 1967 and 1982 confirms these facts. It also confirms that the imperialists and the racist Zionists would take account of everything except the rights of the peoples of the region and their national interests. They attempt to exploit everything available in this region: human beings, lands, oil, history and even religion for the sake of fulfilling their colonialist objectives. They do not hesitate to declare publicly that they have vital interests in our region which they cannot give up even if this were to lead to a nuclear confrontation. They act in our region as if our interests are less important than theirs. They demand that we make peace with our enemies at any cost because they are their allies, and that we antagonize our friends unjustifiably because they are their enemies. They consider our defensive weapons as offensive ones. They regard our territorial waters as international waters. They view our resistance to occupation as terrorism. They collude with some Arab leaders in order to undermine the unity of the Arab ranks and to make them shirk their commitments. Then they pretend to be worried over the present divisions within the Arab fold, and they appeal to us to close ranks, but only under the Israeli umbrella.

90. This is the substance of the plan of the Camp David agreements and this is the quintessence of the Israeli concept of security to which the United States totally adheres. This is the core of the strategic alliance between the United States and Israel.

91. There is countless proof of what I have said. The United Nations, which, since its inception, has been witness to the history of the Arab-Israeli conflict and the Palestinian question, and which has adopted hundreds of resolutions to deal with these questions, is fully cognizant of the party that is mainly responsi-

ble for the non-implementation of these resolutions, and those who hinder the achievement of a just, comprehensive and lasting peace in the region based on Israel's withdrawal from all occupied Arab territories and the realization of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian Arab people, including their right to repatriation, self-determination and the creation of an independent state on their native soil in Palestine, under the leadership of the PLO, their sole legitimate representative.

92. The rejection by Israel and the United States of the call for the convening of an international peace conference on the Middle East within the framework of the United Nations, and the recent use by the United States of its veto against a draft resolution in the Security Council[1] condemning the Israeli practices in southern Lebanon are but new proof of their wish to abolish the role of the United Nations and of their contempt for the will of the international community.

93. The inability of the United Nations, more particularly the Security Council, to curb Israel's expansion and to bring about peace in the Middle East cannot be attributed to any shortcoming in the Charter of the United Nations or to a weakness in its provisions. On the contrary, the Charter provides for the imposition of sanctions against the aggressor State, including the formation of armed forces from all or most of the countries of the world in order to suppress the aggressor by force and end the aggression. However, the United States, which, under the Charter, has particular responsibilities for the maintenance of international peace and security, as a permanent member of the Security Council, prevents the United Nations from assuming its role in this regard. It obstructs the Charter and prevents justice from prevailing by using its veto whenever the matter is related to Israel's aggressions and violations, to the extent that it has become evident to the international community that the United States power of veto has been mortgaged to Israel in all that concerns United States policy in the Middle East. In other words, Israel is the only country in the world that enjoys a special immunity.

94. United States support to Israel is not limited to that dangerous political weapon; it goes further and arms Israel with the most advanced types of weapons, thus transforming Israel's arsenal into the fifth most modern in the world. The United States is not content with the limitless political and military aid it extends to Israel, but provides it also with economic and financial assistance amounting to more than $3 billion a year—in other words, at a rate of $1,000 per Israeli per year, an amount which exceeds the average per capita income in more than 100 of the world's countries.

95. There is no need for further proof of the responsibility of the United States for Israel's acts of aggression, for its violations of the principles and norms of international law, for its contempt for the Charter of the United Nations, and for its pursuit of policies of expansionism, racism, occupation, injustice, terrorism, Judaization, colonization, expulsion and annexation.

96. In the face of all these facts and figures, the United States still talks about its eagerness to bring about peace in the Middle East. In this context, we cannot but pose a number of questions.

97. Does the United States, by supplying Israel with all these advanced weapons, help Israel to accept peace, or is the opposite true?

98. Does the United States, by rescuing the Israeli economy and by providing Israel with massive financial aid after each of its acts of aggression, encourage Israel to seek peace or to persist in its occupation and colonization and to perpetrate further aggression?

99. Does the United States, by mortgaging its veto to the Israelis, enhance Israel's confidence in peace or its confidence in its ability to wage war and carry out aggression with impunity?

100. Do the attempts to humiliate the Arabs, to belittle their intelligence, to deny their rights and to disregard their national interests help to build good United States-Arab relations, or is the opposite true?

101. Would the Suez Canal have been closed to international navigation for several years and would the price of oil have soared as it has if it had not been for Israeli occupation and expansion?

102. Finally, does the direct military involvement of the United States on Israel's side, which endangers the lives of hundreds of Americans, serve the cause of peace in the region?

103. United States insistence on settling the Middle East problem and the Palestine question on the basis of the Camp David agreements or through partial and separate solutions has heightened tension in the region and multiplied the explosive factors. It has enabled Israel to intensify its installation of settlements in the occupied Arab territories and to strike out in every direction. Thus, Israel annexed Jerusalem and the Golan Heights, and it invaded Lebanon and continues to occupy important parts of it. We know that the United States is a super-Power that can threaten, strike at, destroy and wipe out thousands, even millions, of people. But we also know that it can never conquer the will of peoples.

104. The Syrian Arab Republic, on the other hand, reaffirms that a just peace in the Middle East must be based on the provisions of the Charter and of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations. Accordingly, we have supported the call to convene an international peace conference on the Middle East and welcomed the proposals by the Soviet Union on a Middle East settlement, of 29 July 1984 [*see A/39/368*].

105. The world still remembers the tragedies and horrors of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. We do not wish to describe again the crimes and atrocities committed in Lebanon by Israel, with United States support. Suffice it to say that the abrogation of the accord imposed on Lebanon by the United States and Israel, and aimed at turning Lebanon into an Israeli protectorate, represents a significant turning-point and a victory of the will of the oppressed peoples and the determination of the international community, which condemned the Israeli invasion, its barbarity and its evil objectives.

106. Since the abrogation of that sinister accord, the guns have been silent in most of Lebanon. National dialogue has started among the conflicting Lebanese factions for the first time in 10 years. A Government of National Unity has been formed. Political and social tensions have subsided. Barricades between East and West Beirut have been dismantled. Tripoli, in the north, has resumed normal life. Agreement has been reached on security

plans and political reforms that would bring about security in the remaining parts of Lebanon and guarantee political participation to all Lebanese factions without exception.

107. However, it is worrying indeed to witness the continuing Israeli occupation of many parts of Lebanon and Israel's oppressive and brutal practices against the civilian population. None the less, Lebanese national resistance, which rose from the rubble of the Israeli invasion, will not subside until the whole of Lebanon is freed from Israeli occupation.

108. No words can express the Syrian position better than those spoken by President Hafez Al Assad at the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi in March 1983—a time when Syria was in the midst of one of the most difficult situations as a result of the Israeli invasion:

> "Israel and the United States are chasing a mirage. The aspirations, homeland and just rights of peoples cannot be buried through the use of guns.
>
> "The Palestinian people will remain strong and will continue to defend its rights. The cause of Palestine will remain our own cause, which we shall honourably defend and which we shall not forsake; nor shall we allow it to be liquidated and forsaken.
>
> "As for brotherly Lebanon, we shall remain faithful to our fraternal commitment towards it. We shall stand strongly at its side and do all in our power for the liberation of its territory and the safeguarding of its unity and independence.
>
> "Syria will remain the fortress on whose walls shall be crushed all attempts by United States imperialism and by zionism to expand, impose hegemony and vanquish the Arabs.
>
> "In spite of all that has happened, I am fully confident of a bright future and of achieving victory over the aggressors."

109. The severe economic crises confronting the world in recent years should prompt the Western industrialized countries to realize that the continuation of progress and development as a one-directional path no longer meets the requirements of our time, in which all peoples of the world look forward to the establishment of a new international economic order and the building of equitable international economic relations. Only in those conditions can the developing countries catch up with technological progress, acquire the resources needed for their development, meet their basic requirements, and thus reduce the gap between the industrialized and the developing countries.

110. The international community must also face up to other contradictions and disequilibrium owing, on the one hand, to the enormous expenditures on the production and development of nuclear arms, and, on the other, to the ever-increasing resort to economic pressures by the imperialists against developing nations as a means of political blackmail. The prohibition of the use of such means and the establishment of the foundations of international economic security are indispensable in building and enhancing confidence in international economic relations.

111. The world is confronting a dangerous escalation in the arms race, particularly nuclear arms. This is contrary to the aspirations of the peoples of the world, who pinned their hopes on the implementation of the provisions of the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly, devoted to disarmament [*resolution S-10/2*]. Today, the arms race represents a serious obstacle to the establishment of balanced international relations based on mutual confidence. International peace and security cannot be maintained through the arms race, but only through right and justice, through the elimination of all forms of aggression, and by the exercise by the peoples of their right to self-determination and to benefit from their wealth and national resources.

112. The deployment of medium-range nuclear missiles in some countries of Western Europe has contributed to aggravating international tension, the result of which can only be further escalation of the nuclear-arms race.

113. We support the efforts aimed at cessation of the production of nuclear arms and destruction of the stockpiles of such weapons. We stand against the militarization of outer space. We demand the full implementation of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*], the dismantling of military bases and nuclear installations in the Mediterranean region, the elimination of all forms of aggression from the region and its transformation into a nuclear-free zone of peace.

114. The link between European security and security in the Mediterranean region is a historical geographical fact that cannot be ignored. Any security arrangements that may be made in some European countries must be accompanied simultaneously by similar security arrangements in the Mediterranean region, together with international guarantees not to use the nuclear installations existing on the territories of some European countries against the countries of the Mediterranean.

115. The Syrian Arab Republic once more draws the attention of the international community to the fact that Israel's nuclear capabilities and its persistent refusal to ratify the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and to place its nuclear installations under international control constitute a real threat to the security of the Mediterranean countries and the Middle East as a whole and obstruct the establishment of a nuclear-free zone. The Syrian Arab Republic supports the idea of making the Middle East region a nuclear-free zone in order to lessen tensions in the region, in accordance with General Assembly resolutions.

116. The tense political situation resulting from the escalation of aggression and the inability to deter it places the world on the brink of an abyss. In southern Africa, the racist minority régime of Pretoria is still pursuing its evil racial policy of *apartheid* and its illegitimate occupation of Namibia, in defiance of the international community and its will, as embodied in the Charter and resolutions of the United Nations. The racist régime continues to enjoy persistent and increasing support by some Western European countries and the United States, contrary to their obligations under the provisions of the Charter and resolutions of the United Nations.

117. Furthermore, the alliance between that régime and the racist régime in Tel Aviv and their collaboration in various fields—in particular, the military and nuclear fields—as well as the co-ordination of their

aggressive policies and plans further exacerbate the situation in the region and represent a threat to the peace, security and stability of both Africa and the Middle East.

118. The rejection of the "new constitution" in South Africa by the Security Council in its important resolution 554 (1984) of 17 August 1984, which declares it to be contrary to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and hence null and void, renders the racist régime in South Africa illegal and transforms it from a régime already condemned by the overwhelming majority of the international community into an illegitimate entity which must be brought down by whatever means.

119. The Syrian Arab Republic stands firmly by its African brothers in South Africa and Namibia struggling against the racist Pretoria entity, just as it firmly supports the struggle against the racist Zionist entity in occupied Palestine. We reiterate our total support of the right of the peoples of Azania and Namibia and their liberation movements to struggle by all means—including armed struggle—and to confront the racist minority régime in order to free their countries from colonialism, occupation, racism and *apartheid*.

120. We also firmly support the struggle of the African front-line States against the policies of occupation, aggression, subversion and blackmail practised by the Pretoria régime in order to keep them in submission and to create new conditions aimed at consolidating its racist, colonialist policy.

121. The question of Cyprus has become one of the major problems preoccupying the international community in general, and the Mediterranean States members of the non-aligned movement in particular, because of its implications for the security and stability of the region. A just solution of this question can be achieved only through the implementation of the relevant United Nations resolutions, in a manner that would preserve for the Republic of Cyprus its sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-aligned status through negotiations between the two communities. We hope that the efforts of the Secretary-General will be crowned with success.

122. With regard to the situation in Afghanistan, we reaffirm the need to recognize the right of the legitimate Afghan Government to defend its country's independence and sovereignty against any foreign interference. We are very keen on keeping that country, which is linked to us by ancient historical ties, a member of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. We hope that the countries neighbouring Afghanistan, with which we enjoy the same close historical links, will be able to settle the differences among them. We are closely following the negotiations currently taking place at Geneva through the Personal Representative of the Secretary-General, and we wish them success.

123. The reunification of the two parts of Korea has become an urgent necessity dictated by the interests of international peace and of the Korean people. Transforming the territory of South Korea into a United States nuclear base is extremely dangerous not only for the security, peace and achievements of the Korean people but also for the security and future of the Far East. In our view, the implementation of the United Nations resolution related to the Korean problem, which calls upon the United States to withdraw its forces from South Korea, is the right course for solving the problem.

124. The world has for years been following with concern the developments in Central America and the Caribbean, developments that have now acquired serious dimensions and constitute a direct threat to international peace and security. Such developments have been evident in the aggressive acts and military manoeuvres of the United States in the region that have increased tension and undermined the right of the people to self-determination and to choosing the régime they deem fit. Examples of such United States acts of aggression against the progressive régimes in the region are the occupation of Grenada last fall, the mining of the territorial waters of Nicaragua this year, the use or threat of use of force, the recourse to pressure, political blackmail, economic blockade, and the financing, supplying and use of mercenaries. One of the most sacred rights proclaimed in the Charter of the United Nations for the peoples of the world is the right to freedom and self-determination without any external interference.

125. In conclusion, we reiterate our commitment to the Charter of the United Nations, which was born of the tragedies of the Second World War during which millions perished. We reaffirm the need to remove all obstacles in the way of the United Nations assuming its full role as prescribed in the principles and purposes of the Charter, so as to fulfil the hopes of peoples in this world Organization.

126. Mr. MALILE (Albania) (*interpretation from French*): It is with particular pleasure, Sir, that on behalf of the Albanian delegation, I extend to you our warmest congratulations on your election to the high post of President of the General Assembly.

127. The Albanian delegation also wishes to congratulate Brunei Darussalam on its admission as a Member of the United Nations.

128. The development of political events in the world since the last session of the General Assembly shows that the international situation remains grave and fraught with tension and dangers that threaten peace and security. Our whole planet is racked by contradictions and confrontations.

129. This situation becomes even more precarious as it develops against the background of a profound and all-round economic crisis which has the capitalist and revisionist world in its grip and which manifests itself in high levels of inflation and unemployment, in stagnation of production, or in recession. At a time when expenditure in many fields affecting the social condition and the standard of living of working people has sunk to an all-time low, unproductive expenditure—on armaments, for example—has reached astronomical figures.

130. The further concentration and internationalization of capital, the extension of the network of multinationals to every corner of the world, high interest rates and the domination of the United States dollar in the international monetary and financial system have created serious situations and brought about great tension even in the economies of the powerful industrial countries, not to mention the small countries and the developing countries.

131. The picture is gloomier still in the developing countries, which are staggering under the burden of a colossal debt amounting to almost $900 billion, and many of those countries are not in a position to pay even the interest rates on these enslaving credits.

132. For more than two years there has been much talk—and not without purpose—about the supposed recovery of the world economy. Experience, however, has shown that in many countries the economic situation has only worsened.

133. We are particularly struck by the attempts by United States imperialism to create the impression that the world economy will come out of this deadlock because of the recovery of the United States economy. However, people cannot fail to see that the so-called recovery which the United States publicizes means only an increase in the value of the dollar, an increase in interest rates and a proliferation of protectionist measures which have an asphyxiating effect on the economies of other countries, particularly the developing countries. So the crisis has not been overcome but has only subsided, and there are signs that it may burst forth more fiercely and with still more destructive consequences.

134. Furthermore, even the most recent international conferences, such as the Fourth General Conference of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization, held at Vienna from 2 to 19 August 1984, and the International Conference on Population, held at Mexico City from 6 to 14 August, have shown that the overwhelming majority of Member States continue to suffer from the destructive consequences of the crisis. It became clear at those conferences that the imperialist Powers use their promises of aid to the developing countries to create illusions among them and thus preserve their unequal and discriminatory relations with them in order to continue their neo-colonialist exploitation. This situation makes it even clearer to the developing countries that their best course of action is to continue their resolute struggle to establish complete sovereignty over their national assets and to oppose all practices that prolong neo-colonialist exploitation.

135. The more convulsive the fever of the crisis and the fiercer the rivalry between the super-Powers and the greater its dangers, the more they try to saddle others with the consequences of the crisis and to blackmail the peoples with their weapons and their economic might.

136. We are witness today to the fact that the super-Powers, finding no more room for expansion, are acting in such a way as to increase daily the threat of armed confrontation. It is their fierce rivalry for domination and hegemony in the world and their aggressive and militaristic course of action that pose a serious threat to the freedom and independence of peoples.

137. Hardly a day goes by without Soviet-United States rivalry and the tense East-West relations being mentioned in one way or the other, even here at the United Nations. Moreover, the propaganda of the super-Powers is designed in such a way as to create the impression that the world cannot cope with any problem except within the axis of those relations. This is not unintentional. The United States and the Soviet Union are using the tense situation that exists in their relations as a convenient justification for the intensification of their arms race and their war preparations. As they see it, the peoples must accept as inevitable that the future of mankind depends on the future of those relations. Moreover, they attempt to create a psychosis of capitulation, according to which no country, no State, no people could live outside their atomic umbrellas.

138. The deployment of medium-range missiles in Europe, which has virtually dominated European and world politics during this period, is intended, among other things, to inculcate this psychosis of capitulation in the European countries and peoples. It is intended to numb and paralyse their resolve to defend their independence and national dignity and to reinforce the control and the diktat of the super-Powers over their allies. The demagogic fuss of the super-Powers about the deployment in Europe of their missiles, and their mutual accusations to "justify" upsetting or restoring balance, serve simply as a smoke-screen to cover up the implementation of their plans and to justify Soviet-United States monopoly of nuclear weapons and missiles, and to maintain constant pressure by means of their weapons, even without using those weapons.

139. It is clear that the deployment of medium-range missiles marks a new escalation of the arms race, which is assuming unprecedented proportions and dimensions, even extending into outer space.

140. The peoples of Europe have not failed to show by concrete actions their true feelings about the game that is being played at the expense of European security. They have come out in the streets to oppose the deployment of missiles and nuclear weapons on their continent, to oppose the military presence of the United States and the Soviet Union, and to oppose NATO and the Warsaw Treaty.

141. This proves that the countries of Europe cannot and must not seek a way out of this situation in the offers made to them by the imperialist super-Powers. It is not by maintaining the factors that generate war but by destroying and eliminating them that the European peoples can assure their own defence and their free and independent development.

142. It is necessary to avoid falling into the trap set by the super-Powers, which, on the one hand, makes the deployment of new nuclear missiles in Europe a *fait accompli* and, on the other, organizes, for purely demagogic purposes, meetings and conferences which are allegedly for the purpose of taking measures for "strengthening mutual confidence" regarding European security.

143. The Albanian Government has expressed itself resolutely against the deployment of medium-range nuclear missiles by either the United States or the Soviet Union on the European continent. We have also strongly supported the efforts of the peoples of Europe to oppose the transformation of the old continent into an arena of rivalry and armed conflict.

144. The Albanian delegation considers it necessary to emphasize that the nuclear threat must not prevent the peoples from seeing the danger of conventional weapons which is just as serious. The more than 100 local and regional wars and conflicts which have occurred since the Second World War have been fought with conventional weapons. The sale and supply of arms have become today a most profitable business, particularly for the United States and the Soviet Union.

145. It would be extremely dangerous for the peace-loving countries and peoples to disregard the unrestrained arms race in conventional weapons being carried on by the imperialist Powers. Hence, the struggle for the defence of peace and against nuclear armament cannot be separated from the strong opposition to the arms race in general.

146. The exacerbation of the situation in Europe is directly felt in the Balkan peninsula and the Mediterranean, which are not free from the interference of the super-Powers.

147. A problem worrying the Mediterranean countries is the constantly increasing presence of the naval fleets of the two super-Powers in the Mediterranean. Those fleets are arrogantly and brazenly criss-crossing the Mediterranean, from the Bosporus to Gibraltar, as if it were a United States or Soviet lake. By their policy and their military means, the super-Powers are trying to transform that region, which has seen the flourishing of outstanding civilizations throughout its history, into a theatre for their destructive war operations.

148. The interests of peace demand that the Mediterranean countries act resolutely and energetically so as to dispel the fleets of the super-Powers from that region, and that they take concrete measures which would make the presence of those fleets there difficult and even impossible.

149. In the Balkan peninsula, the super-Powers are trying to stir up those elements and factors which add to the insecurity of the region. The Albanian Government upholds the view that the freedom and the independence of the Balkan States can be guaranteed neither by NATO nor by the Warsaw Pact.

150. For peace to be safeguarded in that region, concrete steps must be taken to bring about the departure of foreign troops and the dismantling of foreign bases in the Balkan countries. No facilities should be given to the naval fleets of the super-Powers, and their interference in the internal affairs of the States of the region should be resolutely opposed.

151. With its policy, socialist Albania has proved that it has been and is a factor of peace and stability in the Balkans. For its part, it has made any interference in its internal affairs by the super-Powers impossible and has shown by its deeds that it follows a policy of good-neighbourliness with the countries of the region, as can be seen from the positive developments in its relations with Turkey, Italy and Greece.

152. An intensification of the military activity of the aggressive imperialist blocs has recently been observed not only in the southern part of Europe but also in the north. The overt and covert exercises of their warships, submarines and aeroplanes from the Baltic to the North Sea, the large-scale manoeuvres of their naval and air forces in that region and the surrounding area are not gestures of friendship towards the Nordic peoples, who value peace and freedom equally and cannot accept this show of strength that seriously threatens their own future and that of the continent.

153. The Middle East remains one of the most dangerous hotbeds of tension in the world. There the enslaving and predatory interests of United States imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, of the Israeli Zionists and of other imperialist Powers clash fiercely with each other. The policy of the super-Powers in the Middle East has kept that zone in a permanently explosive state.

154. Experience has clearly shown that the United States Marines and the multinational force were not sent to Lebanon to bring Israeli aggression to a halt or to establish calm in that country but rather to make possible the implementation of the Zionist and imperialist plans to expel the Palestinians from Lebanon by violence and terror and deal the death blow to the Palestinian liberation movement. For the achievement of those aims, they brought into action not only armed force but also all types of plots and intrigues to divide the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples and to engage them in a fratricidal war.

155. Israel, with the support of United States imperialism, has robbed the Palestinian people of its land, homes and country, perpetrated monstrous crimes against it and turned it into a refugee people, dispersed by the force of arms into many other countries. However, in spite of the numerous difficulties faced and superhuman sacrifices made, the heroic Palestinian people has never laid down its weapons in the struggle to win its legitimate rights.

156. For years now, a succession of plans for the alleged solution of the Middle East crisis has been presented by the imperialist Powers. Of late, the Soviet Union has seen fit to come up again with its old proposal for the convening of an international conference on the Middle East. This is obviously a diplomatic ploy to make the most of the failure of the United States plan and to be an equal participant in the game that is being played out to the detriment of the Arab peoples. But all these proposals and plans of the super-Powers are directed against the interests of the Arab peoples in general and the Palestinian people in particular. In one way or another, they favour Israel and the continued presence and interests of the super-Powers in that region.

157. In his recently published book, *Reflections on the Middle East,* the leader of the Albanian people, Comrade Enver Hoxha, wrote:

> "the crisis in the Middle East can never be solved until the martyred Palestinian people regain their homeland stolen from them by the Israeli aggressors, and this will be achieved only when the political, economic and military influence of the super-Powers and the other imperialist Powers has been dealt powerful blows . . . by all the Arab peoples . . . . Only resolute, uncompromising struggle, based on genuine Arab unity, will lead them to victory, to true independence and freedom . . . "[2]

158. The war between Iraq and Iran, which has been continuing for nearly four years now, has caused the peoples of those two countries incalculable human and material losses. We hold that that war must be brought to an end. The settlement of disagreements between Iran and Iraq through negotiations would deal a powerful blow to the super-Powers and to all those who want to warm their hands in the fires kindled in the Middle East. The super-Powers want the war to continue, because it serves their plans for military intervention in the Persian Gulf countries and for a worsening of the Middle East crisis. We hope that these two friendly peoples and countries will soon find a common language to put an end to bloodshed, as that is in their own interest and in that of the struggle of the peoples of the region.

159. The laying of mines in the Red Sea and the haste of the super-Powers and certain other countries to dispatch their warships and helicopters there in order allegedly to clear the mines are part of the pretext they have long sought to build up their military presence there and to maintain a permanently tense situation in that region. The present scenario

in the Red Sea greatly resembles and, indeed, appears to be a variation of the scenario prefacing the intervention of the multinational force in Lebanon, and there must be a connection between them.

160. The Soviet social-imperialist aggressors have kept Afghanistan occupied for nearly five years now but have not managed to subdue the struggle of the freedom-loving Afghan people. That struggle demonstrates once again that a people, however small in number, is invincible when fighting for a just cause.

161. The African continent remains the object of imperialist ambitions, especially of the two super-Powers, which, in order to attain their strategic objectives, continue to hatch plots against the African peoples, stir up old quarrels and feuds which they themselves have left among those peoples like unexploded mines, kindle local conflagrations and conflicts in order to facilitate their penetration still deeper into the continent and continue their neo-colonialist exploitation of those peoples.

162. While the Fascist régime of South Africa continues to promote racial violence and maintain the abhorrent system of *apartheid*, to occupy Namibia and to threaten the freedom and independence of neighbouring countries, the United States and other imperialist Powers strive to rehabilitate that régime in Africa and in the international community, which long ago branded it as unlawful.

163. The African peoples, especially those of southern Africa, should have no illusions about the ambitions and policy of the Pretoria régime, that bulwark of racism and colonialism on the African continent. They will not yield before the force of arms, pressures and diabolical tactics. For its part, the Albanian people has always firmly supported and will continue to support the struggle of the Namibian and other African peoples to liquidate the remnants of colonialism and racism and the intrigues and interference of the imperialist Powers, especially the super-Powers, in their continent.

164. The situation in Central America continues to be tense and fraught with serious threats to the freedom and independence of the peoples of that region and of Latin America. The invasion of Grenada and the pressures, threats and acts of direct provocation against Nicaragua clearly attest to the intensification of interference and the unchanging aggressive policy of United States imperialism on that continent.

165. The situation in that unstable region is made even more complex because Soviet social-imperialism is very cunningly trying to exploit the struggle of those peoples against United States oppression and domination in order to increase its influence in that region.

166. This is a living expression of the policy that the two super-Powers pursue in order to challenge one another in the regions that they consider to be their spheres of influence. This is the aim of the "differentiated policy" of the United States towards Eastern Europe and the attempts of the Soviet Union to arrive at a separate "détente" with Western Europe.

167. The United States talks more and more about the so-called "Pacific initiative", under which the attention of United States policy would be focused more on that region. It is quite clear that, apart from the pressure it seeks to put on its European allies, that "initiative" does not go beyond the limits of the military and economic rivalry between the super-Powers that has caused them to put their battle fleets in the Pacific and Indian Oceans and thus to create political and military groupings in Asia and the Pacific in order to further their regional and world-wide strategic aims.

168. The Albanian people and Government support the just demand of the Korean people for the withdrawal of United States troops from South Korea and the independent reunification of their country.

169. The peoples of South-East Asia, who have for decades fought for freedom and national independence, continue to be the object of intrigues, interference and pressures on the part of the imperialist Powers, which are trying to prevent them from deciding their own destiny.

170. The Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea must occupy its rightful place in the United Nations.

171. At a time when the international situation is steadily worsening and is fraught with serious threats to peace and freedom, the peoples must be more vigilant than ever before.

172. The difficult situations which have been and continue to be created in the world make it necessary for States Members of the United Nations to see things as they are, freeing themselves of any feeling of inferiority or fatalism.

173. The strength and omnipotence of the super-Powers should never be seen as definitive. The temporary strength of aggressors has always been based on the fear, retreat and submission of others. History has convincingly demonstrated that in the face of the strength of peoples determined to fight in defence of their independence, peace and freedom, the super-Powers are weak and powerless.

174. This year, the Albanian people will celebrate the fortieth anniversary of the liberation of their homeland and the triumph of their people's revolution. Our people have accomplished more in these four decades than in all the preceding centuries because, under the leadership of the Albanian Labour Party, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at its head, and thanks to their own hard work and stubborn efforts, they have emerged out of the darkness into light and have made great socialist changes in all fields.

175. The all-round development of the country, based on self-reliance, the building up of industry founded on its own domestic resources and of agriculture so that the country is self-sufficient in foodstuffs, the major successes achieved in the fields of education, culture and science, and the training of a considerable number of workers at the high and middle levels have guaranteed uninterrupted economic and cultural development and a steady improvement in the standard of living of the working people.

176. The major changes brought about in Albania in these 40 years of the people's power are clear evidence of the superiority of the socialist system.

177. Our State pursues a foreign policy of friendship with all peace-loving countries. It is a completely independent policy, for it is not conditioned by political or military pacts or by exclusive economic organizations. We are in favour of commercial, cultural and scientific exchanges with other countries, based on mutual advantage and free of all

discrimination and prejudice. Chauvinism and the encouragement of hatred and animosity among peoples are alien to us. Each people and nation, whether large or small, has the absolute right to defend and affirm its national identity.

178. Albania is a small country, but in spite of this, it has the same right as all the other States Members of the United Nations to express its views openly and unhesitatingly, convinced that in this manner it best serves its highest national interests, the cause of peoples and international security.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.

NOTES

[1] *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-ninth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1984*, document S/16732.

[2] Enver Hoxha, *Reflections on the Middle East* (Tirana, The B Neutori Publishing House, 1984), pp. 535 and 536.

United Nations

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

THIRTY-NINTH SESSION

Official Records

15th PLENARY MEETING

Monday, 1 October 1984,
at 3.20 p.m.

NEW YORK

President: Mr. Paul J. F. LUSAKA (Zambia).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. CHISSANO (Mozambique): We are extremely pleased, Sir, to see you, an experienced and well-known African diplomat, a representative of a front-line State, presiding over the affairs of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. We have known you for more than 10 years and we have shared a working relationship with you while you have exercised your high governmental functions and the presidency of the United Nations Council for Namibia. Mozambique and Zambia maintain strong ties of fraternity and friendship which are deeply rooted in our people's common past of struggle for freedom, justice, independence and human dignity. We are confident that under your leadership our work will bring successful results at the end of this session. Let me assure you, Mr. President, of the full co-operation of my delegation in the fulfilment of your duties.

2. We salute the President of the thirty-eighth session, Mr. Jorge Illueca, President of the Republic of Panama, for his endeavours and for having successfully carried out his task.

3. Once again, we extend to the Secretary-General the appreciation of the Mozambican people for his commitment and devotion to the strengthening of the role of the United Nations in its search for peaceful solutions of the critical problems confronting the international community today.

4. It is always a matter of great joy to see the membership of the Organization grow. The admission of Brunei Darussalam to this great family of nations bears testimony to the commitment of the international community to the lofty principles of the United Nations and the attainment of its objectives. We join previous speakers in warmly welcoming Brunei Darussalam.

5. Twenty years ago, on 25 September 1964, faced with the violent intransigence of the colonial Power and its refusal of dialogue, our people embarked on a general armed insurrection against colonialism and for national independence, peace, justice, freedom and progress. The justness of our aspirations won us the respect, support and solidarity of all freedom- and peace-loving peoples. The resort to the armed struggle was in no way a warmongering option. We were forced to wage war as the only means of achieving peace on the basis of the recognition of our rights.

6. However, we always remained open to a negotiated settlement of the conflict, which was characterized by the opposition of the Mozambican people to the foreign occupants of our country. The armed struggle for national liberation ended as soon as, in September 1974 at Lusaka, the colonial State recognized the right of the Mozambican people to self-determination and national independence and agreed to transfer power to FRELIMO,[1] the sole and legitimate representative of the Mozambican people.

7. At the negotiating table, FRELIMO managed to secure an agreement which gave substance to the completely legitimate aspirations of the Mozambican people—the aspirations to freedom and independence. With independence, the Mozambican people regained their own personality. Independence placed the history of our people back on its correct path.

8. Our independence created a great impact in the region and served as a strong impetus to the struggle for liberation of other peoples in southern Africa.

9. Mozambique, like Angola, became a direct target of aggression and destabilization carried out by the racist minority régimes of Southern Rhodesia and South Africa. This action was aimed at destroying our independent sovereign State and preventing the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa from attaining their own freedom.

10. The People's Republic of Mozambique was and still is a target of aggression because our struggle was able to translate into reality the profound aspirations of people all over the world to peace, democracy, progress and equality, without discrimination based on the colour of one's skin or on religion or ethnic origin.

11. The Mozambican people were once again compelled to take up arms to safeguard their sovereignty and territorial integrity.

12. We contributed to the Zimbabwean people's struggle for freedom. We made the cause of the Zimbabwean people's struggle our own, while at the same time we encouraged and participated in all the peace initiatives in the search for a negotiated settlement of the question of Zimbabwe's independence, taking fully into account the legitimate rights of its people.

13. We went to Geneva and Malta. We took part in the discussions on the Anglo-American proposals. In compliance with the relevant resolutions of the Organization of African Unity [*OAU*] and of the United Nations, we applied fully the total and comprehensive sanctions against the rebel colony of Southern Rhodesia.

14. Guided by our adherence to the principle of the peaceful settlement of disputes, we, together with the

legitimate representatives of the people of Zimbabwe, attended the Lancaster House negotiations aimed at putting an end to the illegal, minority and aggressive régime of Southern Rhodesia. For all of us, the Lancaster House agreements meant the triumph of the ideals of justice, freedom and peace.

15. Following the proclamation of Zimbabwe's independence, the Pretoria régime assumed direct command of the destabilization acts—until then under Ian Smith's régime—against the independent countries of southern Africa, particularly Mozambique and Angola. With these actions the South African régime violated the most elementary rules of international law governing relations among States.

16. The aims of South Africa were to prevent the consolidation of our national independence and to destroy the example which we represent in the region of a democratic, anti-racist and socialist society.

17. Unable to solve its internal contradictions and confronted with the intensity of the popular struggle, Pretoria opted for the generalization of conflict in our region. Pretoria resorted to economic sabotage, to direct aggression and to the use of armed bandits recruited, trained, equipped, financed and dispatched by it from sanctuaries in its territory into neighbouring States. Pretoria tried to present those armed bandits as members of national resistance movements.

18. Armed banditry, a new type of mercenarism in our region, is imposed from outside upon Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe and Lesotho. In Mozambique, armed banditry does not represent an internal political opposition. It does not represent any national political or social force. Its leadership is essentially composed of well-known foreign citizens, agents of colonialism, who early in 1974 tried in vain to block the signing of the Lusaka agreement and to prevent the accession of the Mozambican people to independence.

19. Armed banditry, a covert imperialist means of aggression against our country, encompasses within its ranks outlaws, drug addicts, thieves, murderers and mercenaries. These bandits plunder, kidnap, rape, destroy, massacre and assassinate. They are responsible for the paralysis and destruction of important sectors of our economy. The dimension of the tragedy caused by the war of destabilization imposed by the South African régime is difficult to describe in words and to quantify in figures. The devastating consequences of their acts and the irreparable losses in human lives caused by the ferocious rage of the armed bandits are incalculable.

20. Many Mozambican victims of these criminals will for ever bear on their bodies and in their souls the scars of mutilation. Others will carry in their memory scenes of the massacre and incineration of their families. There are still others whose malnutrition worsened, who saw their little ones prevented from going to school and their loved ones deprived of medical care. This generation will for ever be marked by the brutalities of this banditry.

21. In order to face this war situation, our people, from the Rovuma to the Maputo and united to a man, organized themselves against the armed banditry, as they did in the past against colonialism and against the acts of aggression by the rebel régime of Ian Smith. As a result of this organization and the determination of the Mozambican people, heavy military blows were inflicted on the enemy.

22. At the same time, we set into motion a diplomatic campaign directed at certain countries with the intention of demonstrating that the only destabilizing agent, the only focus of tension, the only source of conflicts in the region is the South African régime.

23. We have neutralized South Africa's attempts to relegate to second place the struggle of the international community against *apartheid*. In this campaign we have shown that the cause of the tension and war prevailing in our region does not spring from the East-West conflict but exclusively from the antagonistic contradiction between *apartheid*—declared a crime against humanity—and the forces struggling for freedom, democracy, equality, peace and progress.

24. Our victories over armed banditry and our diplomatic offensive frustrated the South African strategy of isolating and destroying our socialist State. In other words, they frustrated the South African strategy aimed at creating an alternative political force to rule Mozambique. We have shown that the Mozambican State is a solid and indestructible socialist State, because it is deeply rooted in its people and it embodies their most legitimate aspirations.

25. The Pretoria régime then came to understand that neither direct aggression nor armed banditry would enable it to attain its objectives. At last, the South African régime realized that any destabilizing acts unleashed from without would be met with a prompt and effective response. It was against this background that South Africa was led to the negotiating table with the People's Republic of Mozambique in order to search for an alternative to the path of violence it had pursued until then.

26. Mozambique has always stood for peace and peaceful coexistence among States of various social and economic systems and for good relations among neighbours. Hence it is always open to the possibility of negotiations to resolve conflicts among States. Mozambique has always refrained from undertaking any act that would jeopardize peace and security, not only in our region but also in the world as a whole. Mozambique has never carried out any acts of aggression against South Africa.

27. In the light of these principles, we initiated negotiations with the South African Government which led to the conclusion of the Agreement on Non-Aggression and Good Neighbourliness, signed at Nkomati on 16 March 1984 [*see A/39/159*]. The Nkomati Agreement consolidates the victories of our independence. It is an instrument for the defence of our sovereignty. It creates conditions for economic development and the construction of socialism in Mozambique. It reaffirms the fundamental principles of international law governing relations between sovereign States.

28. In the Agreement, South Africa recognizes these principles and pledges to abide by them in its relations with our State. This is a new attitude on the part of South Africa if we consider its long history of hostility and aggression against our country.

29. We consider this a victory for wisdom and realism, a victory for peace, one decisive stage in the prevention of a major conflict in southern Africa. The Nkomati Agreement constitutes an important legal instrument for promoting détente in southern Africa. We are confident that the international community will be able to create favourable condi-

tions conducive to the full implementation of the Agreement.

30. The peace efforts we are pursuing allow us to create the necessary conditions for devoting our energies and resources towards the economic and social development of our country. For less than 10 years, we have been masters of our own economic and social development and of our own well-being and progress. The illiteracy rate has been reduced and the health care network has been expanded.

31. Many projects of vital importance to our economy are under way, with the aim of transforming our natural resources. Several times these projects have been the targets of armed bandits. They try to prevent the building of communication networks, which are necessary for the transport of goods, and the construction of dams, which ensure the irrigation of vast agricultural lands in order to produce more food and avoid the harmful effects of droughts. They want our country to remain in a permanent state of underdevelopment, by preventing us from carrying out any activities that would satisfy the basic needs of our people.

32. Despite these acts, however, we have attained remarkable successes in expanding our infrastructures. Our programme for economic recovery comprises measures whose implementation will reduce the deficit in the balance of payments and contribute to the relief of the causes and effects of hunger, lack of clothing, disease and poverty. The main aspects of the programme for the coming years are essentially the rehabilitation of infrastructures and of existing industrial and agro-industrial equipment.

33. Priority is given to the realization of rural development projects in order to increase food production and export crops, as well as the improvement of ports and railway services and an increase in migrant labour and tourism. We are also giving top priority to educational and training programmes. In the implementation of this programme, our efforts will have to be complemented by external resources, both bilateral and multilateral.

34. In the context of expanding our international economic relations, we have enacted the Law of Foreign Investments. We have joined the IMF and the World Bank and we were participants in the negotiations of the Lomé Convention.

35. Despite the efforts deployed, the economic and financial situation confronting Mozambique today is rather difficult and complex owing to the following factors: first, the difficult economic situation we inherited at the time of independence; secondly, the economic losses, estimated at $500 million, resulting from the application of United Nations-mandated sanctions against Southern Rhodesia; thirdly, the direct aggressions, the economic boycott by South Africa against Mozambique and the acts of armed bandits, which altogether caused a loss of about $3.5 billion to our economy; fourthly, natural disasters, especially droughts, which for several years have been affecting large areas of our territory and have brought about a total loss of $154 million in 1982 and 1983 alone; and, fifthly, the deepening of the international economic crisis, namely, the debt problem, deteriorating terms of trade, protectionism and high interest rates.

36. Despite these difficulties, we are confident that the economic programmes we are undertaking will bring about favourable conditions for overcoming some of these problems in order to promote the economic and social development of our country. We take this opportunity to express our gratitude to the international community for the invaluable support it has rendered to the People's Republic of Mozambique. That assistance encourages us to pursue our endeavours in national reconstruction and the struggle against underdevelopment.

37. The continuing existence of colonialism in Namibia and of *apartheid* and racism in South Africa remains the main cause of tension and war in southern Africa.

38. The situation in Angola remains critical. The occupation of parts of the territory of that sister country, as well as the massacre of its people and the destruction of its economic and social infrastructures by South Africa, still persist. As respectable Members of the United Nations, we should not remain indifferent to this situation. We must vigorously condemn these criminal acts, for they constitute a violation of international law and a manifest disregard of the Charter of the United Nations. The People's Republic of Mozambique vehemently appeals to the international community to render all material, political and diplomatic support to the People's Republic of Angola to enable it to repel the South African aggression and defend its sovereignty and territorial integrity. We must demand the total and unconditional withdrawal of South African troops from Angola, as well as the cessation of South African support to the armed bandits acting under its command against the legitimate Government of Angola.

39. The condition of the majority of South African people is worsening. Every day more and more people are being thrown into gaol or receiving banning orders. There is a reluctance to recognize black trade unions. All legitimate strikes and peaceful political demonstrations by workers, students and other democratic forces are immediately repressed. The fundamental rights of the majority of South African people continue to be denied, as evidenced by the so-called new dispensation, which was roundly and soundly rejected by them. As a result, we have witnessed the escalation of brutalities and detentions just before and after the so-called new constitution came into force. This is the nature of *apartheid*. A régime that institutionalizes racial discrimination, represses and massacres its own people, continues to colonize Namibia, and carries out acts of aggression against Angola and occupies parts of its territory cannot claim to be pacifist.

40. In light of the foregoing facts, it is the duty of the international community to denounce and condemn the bellicose policy of South Africa; condemn *apartheid* and denounce the policy of bantustanization, as well as the blatant violation of human rights by the Pretoria régime; condemn, pursuant to Security Council resolution 554 (1984), the so-called constitutional reforms inasmuch as they are aimed at perpetuating *apartheid;* demand that South Africa put an end to its support for this new type of mercenarism, armed banditry; and prevent the strengthening of South Africa's military capability, particularly its capacity to produce nuclear weapons.

41. In this context, we firmly believe that relations between Mozambique or other countries of the region, on the one hand, and South Africa, on the other, should not be used as a pretext by some members of the international community to shy away

14

from their duty to isolate the *apartheid* régime. Our relationship with South Africa stems from the geographical contiguity of our countries and from the historical past colonialism imposed on us. What prompted the isolation of Pretoria was not only its policy of destabilization; it was not just its aggressive acts against neighbouring countries; it was mainly its inhuman and cruel policy of *apartheid*, which is still in force in South Africa.

42. The Western countries must clearly dissociate themselves from the *apartheid* system and join the forces fighting for freedom, justice and peace in South Africa under the leadership of the African National Congress of South Africa [*ANC*]. It is the sacred duty of all peoples and Governments the world over to recognize as legitimate and to render wide-ranging support to the struggle of the South African people led by the ANC.

43. The ANC is fighting so that each South African, regardless of the colour of his or her skin, may benefit from the wealth of the country and attain the social development to which he or she is entitled. It is fighting for democracy so that all South Africans, regardless of the colour of their skins, may take part in all decision-making processes affecting their lives and destinies. It is fighting so that power in South Africa may be exercised by representatives of all South Africans without discrimination. It is fighting for an undivided South Africa and against bantustanization.

44. The People's Republic of Mozambique reiterates its condemnation of the *apartheid* system and the policy of bantustanization. It reaffirms its political, diplomatic and moral support for the ANC. The international community should see to it that the Government of South Africa adopts a policy of dialogue and negotiations with the ANC in order to bring about the establishment of a democratic society in the country.

45. The continued state of hostilities in Namibia is the result of South Africa's intransigent refusal to comply with Security Council resolution 435 (1978). The demands that the South West Africa People's Organization [*SWAPO*] unilaterally cease hostilities without any assurance that resolution 435 (1978) will be applied are attempts to link extraneous and alien issues to the question of Namibia's independence. It is our duty to see to it that the South African Government engages in constructive negotiations with SWAPO to bring Namibia immediately to independence. Linking Namibia's independence to alien issues is intolerable.

46. We reaffirm the unconditional support of the People's Republic of Mozambique for SWAPO, the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people. We encourage the Secretary-General to carry on with his efforts to bring about the speedy implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

47. The international community of nations must vigorously condemn the repression being practised against the majority of the citizens of South Africa, as well as those of Namibia. The South African régime must immediately put an end to the practice of executing freedom fighters and take all the necessary steps for the speedy release of political prisoners in South Africa and in Namibia.

48. In the overall struggle of the peoples of southern Africa, the economic front is of special importance. It is within this context that the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference [*SADCC*] plays a valuable role in supporting the right of the peoples to development, progress and peace. The SADCC is our main instrument in the struggle for the lessening of economic dependence on South Africa and for economic and social development in the region of southern Africa. We therefore welcome the growing participation of some States in this undertaking for the promotion of the welfare of our peoples.

49. The global international situation is complex and tense. It is characterized by the ever-increasing aggressiveness of imperialism, which causes an increase in the number of hotbeds of tension and war and accelerates the arms race, particularly the nuclear-arms race. The era of dialogue, understanding and peaceful coexistence which at one time prevailed in relations among nations is becoming more and more remote.

50. In the 1970s, when we were paving the way for understanding and détente, there was hope for the rapid eradication of colonialism and confidence in the commitment of nations to the struggle for the elimination of *apartheid* and racial discrimination and for social progress and development.

51. Today, the questions of peace, peaceful coexistence, independence, disarmament and development remain the main concerns of peoples the world over. The time of the cold war, when the interests of the peoples were ignored and the so-called vital interests of some Powers were advanced, has returned. Imperialism is forcefully renewing its old view that all international and regional political problems remain solely within the scope of the East-West conflict.

52. As a consequence, Africa, a continent torn apart by centuries of colonial domination, is still witnessing conflict situations and war, which bring untold suffering to children, women and men.

53. The situation in Chad and Western Sahara is of the utmost concern to us. We are hopeful that recent developments in Chad will bring peace at long last to that war-torn country, so that its people may be able to devote their resources and energies to economic and social development.

54. The Saharan people have the right to self-determination and independence. We strongly urge the conflicting parties—the Frente POLISARIO[2] and the Kingdom of Morocco, to enter into negotiations in accordance with the relevant OAU resolutions, in order to bring about an immediate end to the conflict.

55. In the Middle East, the People's Republic of Mozambique supports the just struggle of the Palestinian peoples, led by the Palestine Liberation Organization [*PLO*], for their inalienable rights, including the right to create their own State in Palestine, and the withdrawal of Israel from the occupied Arab territories.

56. We are encouraged by the efforts being made by the Lebanese people with a view to forming a national Government representing their legitimate interests. We call upon Israel to withdraw its troops immediately and unconditionally from Lebanon and fully to respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of that country.

57. The war between Iran and Iraq is also of major concern to us. We strongly appeal to both countries, members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Coun-

tries, to put an immediate end to the fratricidal war, which is adversely affecting the world community.

58. The question of Cyprus is another challenge facing the United Nations. In spite of all the efforts of the Secretary-General, the country remains divided and confronted with the presence of foreign troops. We urge the parties concerned to give their utmost co-operation to the Secretary-General so that a just and lasting solution can be found to the Cyprus question.

59. The dramatic situation afflicting the Maubere people in East Timor shows no sign of abating. The territory of East Timor is under occupation and its people are under domination. To the yearning of the Maubere people for justice, freedom and human dignity, Jakarta responds with systematic detentions, torture and massacres.

60. We hail the stand by many personalities of the United States, including many Senators and Congressional representatives, in denouncing the acts of oppression being committed against the people of East Timor. The recent declarations by the United States Administration regarding the situation of the East Timor people is encouraging. However, we consider that this issue should not in any way be viewed from a humanitarian perspective alone. All countries, large or small, have the right to self-determination and independence and the freedom to decide their own fate. Therefore, colonized peoples will always fight tenaciously to attain these ideals and goals regardless of the sacrifices they may have to make. The struggle of the people of East Timor is ours as much as theirs, for they are fighting for freedom, justice and equality.

61. The people of East Timor, under the leadership of FRETILIN,[3] deserve the total support of the international community. We demand that Indonesia cease its acts of genocide against the Maubere people and that its troops be immediately and unconditionally withdrawn from the territory of East Timor. We encourage the Secretary-General to continue to undertake with the parties concerned, including Portugal, the administering Power, all efforts likely to lead to recognition of the legitimate right of the people of that territory to self-determination and independence.

62. The people of Korea continue to see their country artificially divided. The solution to this problem lies in dialogue and negotiations. We therefore support the proposal of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for peaceful reunification of the Korean nation through tripartite dialogue.

63. We are deeply concerned about the situation in Kampuchea. Efforts should be pursued by us all so that a just and lasting solution may be found.

64. In Latin America, there is a constant escalation of confrontation and acts of destabilization and aggression, particularly against the peoples of Central America. The People's Republic of Mozambique is in favour of a peaceful settlement of the problems in the region. Direct talks between Nicaragua and the United States are encouraging. While vehemently condemning the aggression perpetrated against the Nicaraguan people, we reiterate our support for the efforts being undertaken by the Contadora Group. Nicaragua's acceptance of the revised text of that Group's proposals [*see A/39/562*] is a positive step.

65. The political problems in the world contribute to the exacerbation of the grave international economic problems, especially in developing countries. Hunger, disease and poverty are the everyday reality of the lives of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America. Determined efforts by the international community to overcome the present international economic crisis should be made urgently in a spirit of solidarity, understanding and co-operation, for the benefit of mankind.

66. The present international economic crisis requires global solutions. We stress as a matter of priority the undertaking of joint, co-ordinated action to restructure international monetary and financial systems to ensure the equitable and democratic participation of the developing countries. Global negotiations continue to be an issue of paramount importance and we should pursue this process.

67. In the mean time, measures must be undertaken immediately in favour of the developing countries, particularly those in the African continent, where the ongoing world economic crisis, the persistent drought and other external adverse factors have contributed to the worsening food situation, thus aggravating hunger and malnutrition among the population.

68. We take this opportunity to salute the Secretary-General for his timely undertaking in favour of the most seriously affected countries in Africa. The operational activities for development undertaken by the United Nations system are deemed by the People's Republic of Mozambique to be of the utmost importance.

69. We regret to note that the interest of some developed countries in multilateral assistance for development is slackening, to say the least. As a result, many programmes in favour of developing countries are threatened, while at the same time we are witnessing growing emphasis on bilateral co-operation, as well as the galloping pace of armaments, particularly nuclear armaments.

70. The situation created by the deployment of medium-range missiles in Europe is a manifestation of a new escalation in the arms race and poses a threat of the outbreak of war, menacing the very existence of mankind.

71. The ever-growing tension in the Indian Ocean, with the consolidation, expansion and nuclearization of military naval bases, endangers the security, peace and tranquillity of the countries of the region and of mankind as a whole. The transformation of the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace, free from nuclear weapons, in keeping with the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace [*resolution 2832 (XXVI)*] must come about. The People's Republic of Mozambique expresses its regret that some countries, in complete disregard of that Declaration, have not lent their support to the holding of a United Nations conference on the Indian Ocean.

72. Peace, international security and co-operation among peoples and countries were the main motivations which inspired the nations that met at San Francisco, in 1945, when they adopted the Charter of the United Nations, enshrining the purposes and principles governing the Organization. The United Nations was set up as the principal—and an adequate—forum for the solution of international conflicts through dialogue and negotiation.

73. In 1985 we shall celebrate the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations. This will be an occasion on which we shall take stock of the role played by the Organization and shall chart the

course for future action. We make a pressing appeal from this rostrum to all members of the international community to commit themselves strongly to strengthening the role of the United Nations, making it more dynamic and active in discharging the duty we have entrusted to it in the maintenance of international peace.

74. The People's Republic of Mozambique, an African, non-aligned and socialist country, strongly believes in the role the United Nations can play in harmonizing the actions of States in the promotion of a propitious political atmosphere of understanding, concord and co-operation among peoples and nations.

75. *A luta continua*—the struggle continues.

76. Mr. CAID ESSEBSI (Tunisia) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Allow me, Sir, to add my congratulations to all those already extended to you on the occasion of your election as President of the General Assembly at its thirty-ninth session. By unanimously entrusting that responsibility to you, the Assembly is paying a tribute to your great qualities and honouring your country, with which Tunisia maintains friendly, trusting and harmonious relations.

77. We are sure that your authority, your competence and your vast experience of international relations will be of invaluable assistance in guiding our debates and our decisions and will thus ensure a positive outcome for our deliberations. The Tunisian delegation pledges you its full co-operation as you perform this noble mission.

78. Allow me to take this opportunity to express our gratitude to your predecessor, Mr. Jorge Illueca, President of the Republic of Panama, for his outstanding work throughout his term of office, and particularly in its most difficult moments.

79. I should like also to extend our warm congratulations to the Secretary-General for the tireless efforts he has been making to put an end to the conflicts which are raging in various parts of the world and for the report on the work of the Organization [*A/39/1*], a remarkably lucid and realistic report, which he recently submitted to this Assembly.

80. Finally, I should like to welcome into our midst Brunei Darussalam, which has just become a Member of the United Nations. We rejoice at the admission of this new Member at a time when this international body particularly needs the contribution of all the nations of the world in order to take up the many challenges that face it.

81. It is not succumbing to discouragement and to despair to emphasize the steady deterioration of the environment in which we live and the virtual inability of the international community to alter the dangerous course of events in any way. It is also disturbing to note the paralysis which is steadily gripping the United Nations in the vital sphere of the maintenance of international peace and security, for which the Organization is responsible under its Charter. Of course, we are all aware of the extent of the problems we face and of their complexity, but is this any reason for giving up hope and taking no action?

82. Since the last session of the General Assembly, monologue has followed monologue. Tension in East-West relations, far from abating, is still dangerously present. We are caught up in a crisis. Almost everywhere we look, there is deadlock.

83. The Soviet-United States Strategic Arms Reduction Talks [*START*], which have been suspended for months, seem unlikely to resume soon. In Europe, deployment of missiles is met with counter-deployment. The "super" arms race is resuming its diabolical course, extending to space itself. In fact, the militarization of space, which yesterday was something out of science fiction, is today a reality which adds a new dimension to the arms race and to the risks of global conflagration.

84. Rather than being resolved, the regional conflicts besetting the countries of the third world are growing worse, becoming entrenched over the years and thereby creating intolerable situations for the peoples who have to bear them. These local conflicts are indeed running sores which threaten the peace and security of the regions in question, thus opening the way for foreign intervention and super-Power rivalry.

85. At a time when the two super-Powers seem disposed to consult one another about these conflicts, let us hope that they will remember that the parties to a conflict are those most concerned and that any solution which does not take their interests into account, or which is achieved at their expense or without their participation, is bound to fail in the long run. Past and present history abounds in lessons to this effect.

86. The situation in two non-aligned countries, Afghanistan and Kampuchea, has for several years now, unfortunately, provided us with a graphic illustration of this state of affairs. In this connection, Tunisia reaffirms its support for the search for any solution which would guarantee the independence, neutrality and freedom of choice of those two countries, in accordance with the relevant United Nations resolutions, which call for the withdrawal of all foreign troops and an end to all interference in their internal affairs.

87. The Palestinian people, whether living under Israeli tyranny in the occupied territories or in their Diaspora, are distressed to see the chances of peace receding daily. The hope of some Palestinians for a change of Government in Israel that would bring about a more flexible policy has yet to materialize. In fact, we have seen the legalization of Fascist and racist movements known for their excessive demands on the populations of the occupied territories. Those extremist movements today proclaim openly their intention of expelling the Arab inhabitants from the territories where their ancestors dwelt for centuries.

88. Is it conceivable that a State Member of the United Nations should be able, through the oppression and exclusion of a section of its population which it regards as second-class citizens, to appropriate their land and their property?

89. If every peace initiative has come up against Israel's implacable intransigence, this is because over the years that country has been able to count on substantial economic and military aid, as well as unreserved diplomatic support, from its allies—factors which have reinforced it in its attitude.

90. If Tel Aviv is opposed to any just and lasting settlement of the Palestinian question, based on the recognition of the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to create their own State, in accordance with United Nations resolutions, it is because such a solution is incompatible with the expansionist concept of "Greater Israel", which

Israeli leaders are implementing by rapidly building settlements in order to create an irreversible situation.

91. Rejection of a Palestinian State, refusal to negotiate with the PLO, refusal to return to the borders of 1967, refusal to put a freeze on settlements, refusal to accept any initiative for a peaceful settlement no matter whence it comes, including the plan proposed by President Reagan of the United States—this is neither more nor less than the programme of the Israeli Government.

92. Since 1967, more than a third of the land in the West Bank has come under the control of the occupying authorities, to which must be added the seizure of water resources, the population's use of which is subject to Draconian restrictions.

93. This is the face of Israeli expansionism, which is today the main obstacle to the advent of genuine peace in the region. Is it conceivable that a State Member of the United Nations should be able to continue to flout international legality with complete impunity? What we have here is a paradoxical situation which is contrary to ethics, international law and the very principles of the Charter of the United Nations and which undermines the credibility of the Organization.

94. Since the signing of the Camp David accords, the prospect of settling the Palestinian problem has become increasingly remote, despite the various attempts made to secure a just and lasting peace in the region.

95. Tunisia, for its part, while reaffirming its support for the Arab peace plan contained in the Final Declaration of the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference, adopted at Fez on 9 September 1982,[4] believes that any effort in favour of a just and lasting peace in that region warrants consideration by the international community. It makes an urgent appeal to the United Nations, and in particular the permanent members of the Security Council, which have the right of veto and occasionally abuse it, to shoulder their responsibility to end the violence which continues to buffet this region and to contribute to a rapid resumption of the peace process, based on right and justice.

96. In Lebanon, Israel's leaders have learned from their past mistakes no lessons for their present behaviour. The so-called "Peace in Galilee" operation having failed, they are now trying their best to isolate southern Lebanon, where the Lebanese resistance is carrying on a bitter struggle against them. This area, which represents approximately a third of Lebanese territory, has been cut off from the rest of the country, with the help of control installations, and left to the tyranny of the Israeli military administration. What is more, Israel is now putting into effect a plan to divert the waters of Lebanon's rivers for its own use, in defiance of the rules of international law.

97. The international community must do all it can to put an end to Israeli interference in Lebanon's affairs; it must call on Israel to withdraw its army immediately from southern Lebanon, in conformity with Security Council resolutions 508 (1982) and 509 (1982).

98. In solidarity with that fraternal country, Tunisia reaffirms its full support for Lebanon's territorial integrity and independence. It pledges its support for all the efforts that country is making to bring about the indispensable national reconciliation which is the best guarantee of its security and stability.

99. The armed conflict between Iraq and Iran, two neighbouring countries, has been raging for four years now, causing the loss of countless lives and the destruction of the economic potential of both countries. It is high time that this fratricidal war was ended, especially since Iraq has agreed to an immediate cease-fire, under United Nations supervision, and to embark on the path to a peaceful settlement of the dispute in accordance with the principles of international law and the relevant resolutions of the United Nations and other organizations.

100. The continuance of this war, which threatens to envelop the whole of the troubled region, brings the threat of internationalization of the conflict closer. Hence the urgent need to halt this dangerous process and to resume efforts to make the parties to the conflict commit themselves to solving their dispute around the table, either directly within the framework of the United Nations or through mediation.

101. Africa, which is beset by development problems compounded by climatic phenomena such as drought and desertification and where broad sectors of the population still suffer from malnutrition and disease despite the continent's tremendous potential wealth, aspires to a climate of peace and stability in order to be able to devote all its energies to developing its resources and promoting the well-being of its peoples. Conflicts persist, however, sometimes fuelled by East-West rivalry.

102. The recent developments in southern Africa raise questions and arouse certain misgivings. Although we understand their motivation, this should not be a reason for relaxing the constant, vigilant efforts undertaken at the international and regional levels by the United Nations and the OAU to bring about the liberation of Namibia and the eradication of *apartheid*. Nor should it be a reason for undermining the just struggle of the national liberation movements, for which Tunisia reaffirms its full support.

103. In the case of Namibia, Tunisia reaffirms its support for the efforts being made within the United Nations to ensure the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which remains the corner-stone of any just and lasting settlement of this question. The delaying tactics used and the arbitrary pre-conditions set by Pretoria to impede that country's accession to independence cannot deceive anyone or prevent the inevitable liberation of the Namibian people.

104. We believe it is necessary, therefore, that a final date be set for Namibia's independence. As for the sham elections to which Pretoria resorted, the people concerned reserved for them the fate they deserved, despite the bloody repression to which they continue to be subjected.

105. Nearer to us, there has been no progress in the situation in Western Sahara, which constitutes a source of uncertainty and instability in the region. Tunisia, which has repeatedly expressed its concern at the stalemate on this question, urgently appeals for a peaceful and lasting solution, in accordance with the resolutions of the OAU.

106. Tunisia would like to see a lasting solution to this question. It remains convinced that such a solution would make a positive contribution towards bringing peace and stability to our region and, above

all, opening the way for the building of the Greater Maghreb, which is a historic aspiration of our peoples.

107. It might be useful to recall here what I stated before the Assembly last year, at the thirty-eighth session [*10th meeting*], regarding the essential principles on which Tunisia has based its policy for joint action by the Maghreb countries. Those principles are none other than mutual trust, good-neighbourliness, non-interference in the internal affairs of others, mutual consultation on questions of common interest and the promotion of our co-operation on a sound and careful basis far removed from the politics of axes and alliances. This is the spirit of the treaty of concord and brotherhood concluded between Tunisia, Algeria and Mauritania, which we see as a basis for firm ties governing relations among all the countries of the Maghreb without exception. Tunisia welcomes the positive results achieved by this judicious approach and is optimistic as to its future prospects. It remains convinced that concord, harmony and a communion of effort to ensure progress, development and prosperity will in the long run surmount short-term obstacles and divisions; such is the wish of our peoples; such is the course of history.

108. As for the recent developments in the situation in Chad, Tunisia, which has always advocated a peaceful solution of the problems of that sister country, free from all outside interference and in accordance with the principles of international law and the Charter of the Organization of African Unity, welcomes the agreement reached between the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and France on the withdrawal of their respective forces from the territory of Chad. We hope that this initiative will contribute to the national reconciliation of the Chadian people and to the rebuilding of their country in unity, brotherhood and peace.

109. The economic situation of the countries of the third world remains uncertain and continues to cause us grave concern. Some, however, seem to be more concerned at the admittedly excessive indebtedness of the countries of the South than at the tremendous difficulties which most of those countries are now facing. It is obvious that the external debt problem would not have reached such proportions if the debt-servicing ratios had not increased dramatically as a result of the steady deterioration in terms of trade, the contraction of export markets—caused, it must be said, by protectionist measures—and the upward spiral of interest rates, which is due particularly to the fact that this debt is expressed mainly in terms of United States dollars.

110. While the developing countries grapple with insoluble financial problems as a result of this debt, foreign assistance levels have not risen since 1980. We are prompted to fear a breakdown in the process of international co-operation, which would threaten the financing of the long-term growth of many third-world countries. In fact, the IDA is facing serious financing difficulties. The North-South dialogue is becoming more and more like a plea by the industrialized countries in their own defence than a constructive exchange of views among partners concerned at trends in the world economy. The third-world countries feel very strongly that relations of power continue to impose their law on the international economy. There is no easy solution—that is clear—but calls for realism and patience must not serve as an alibi to cover up the dangerous disparities in international economic relations.

111. Although there has been a slight resumption of growth in some industrialized countries, a development that we welcome, we believe that a lasting recovery in the world economy depends on a bold policy of development assistance.

112. It is encouraging to note that some Western European industrialized countries, notably Norway, the Netherlands, Sweden and Denmark, devote more than 0.7 per cent of their gross domestic product to development assistance.

113. At a time when annual development assistance has remained unchanged since the beginning of this decade at a total volume of $33.6 billion, the military budgets of the main industrial Powers are growing significantly. When one knows that a million dollars a minute is spent on weapons throughout the world, one realizes the extent of this financial haemorrhage in the name of a security which still remains precarious. We might wonder what the point of such sacrifices is if they do not bring increased security for those who bear their weight, especially since the increase in the number of nuclear weapons poses a threat of unprecedented seriousness to the survival of mankind. The security of our planet is not limited to the search for a strategic arms balance; it also has an economic and social dimension which is vitally important to all peoples.

114. Thus, concerted action consistently to reduce military spending and the allocation of the resources thus released to development assistance would do more to ensure security in the world than the most sophisticated weapons. Finally, this revival of the arms race to the detriment of development today places the third world in a kind of "armed peace" which is prejudicial to understanding and international co-operation.

115. The African countries, which are facing considerable economic difficulties, are suffering more than others from this dramatic state of affairs in our world. The initiative taken recently by the Secretary-General to provide assistance to the worst affected African countries is proof of the gravity of the economic problems affecting our continent and has also helped to make world public opinion aware of the grave situation in the African countries and the sufferings of millions of African men, women and children.

116. We hope that the efforts made and the measures taken will not be limited to the immediate and urgent problems but will extend to the solving of structural and future problems obstructing the development of the African continent.

117. As long as the problems of the third world continue to be viewed through the distorting lens of East-West rivalry or understood in terms of strategy, there is absolutely no likelihood of a satisfactory settlement. Quite the opposite is likely. These problems must be dealt with through an increase in international co-operation, which presupposes a global political vision based on solidarity and the need for interdependence which nations would genuinely have to assume. That is why we need to see an improvement in the international climate.

118. We do not believe in the inevitability of permanent confrontation. If détente is on the wane, that is because it was confined to Europe, whereas

zones of tension and conflict persist in other regions of the world.

119. For all its imperfections, the United Nations remains the best framework for resuming the dialogue with a view to reconciling points of view and injecting the necessary minimum of understanding into international relations. Peace is an irresistible aspiration of all peoples. However, it can be established on a lasting basis only if there is the broadest possible consensus implying justice and the freedom of choice of peoples.

120. Mr. CHOUDHURY (Bangladesh):* We are commemorating this year the tenth anniversary of Bangladesh's admission to the United Nations. I would like to take this opportunity of addressing the General Assembly in the language of my country, which is spoken by about 200 million people all over the world. I may mention here that, in recognition of the fact that such a large segment of the world's population speaks Bengali, the United Nations has introduced broadcasting in Bengali and also has issued an official translation of the Charter of the United Nations in our language.

121. It is indeed an honour and privilege for me and the members of my delegation to participate in the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. We bring to the Assembly the warm greetings of the Government and the people of Bangladesh.

122. I should like to express our warmest felicitations to Brunei Darussalam on its independence. I welcome it in our midst as a Member of the United Nations. Its membership in the Organization has no doubt added to the strength of the United Nations.

123. On behalf of the Bangladesh delegation, Sir, and also on my own behalf, I extend to you our warmest congratulations on your assumption of the high office of the presidency of the Assembly. The constructive role of your great country, Zambia, in regional and international issues has earned deep appreciation from all of us. As fellow members of the Commonwealth and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, both Bangladesh and Zambia have a shared perception on all major international issues. The visit of Mr. Kenneth Kaunda to Bangladesh last year has further consolidated the existing friendly relations between our two countries. Your own association with the United Nations, particularly your effective leadership as President of the United Nations Council for Namibia, has given us every reason to believe that, under your able and dynamic leadership, we will be able to achieve fruitful and constructive results at this session. We were deeply moved by your insightful address which you made soon after you took over the presidency [*1st meeting*]. We would like to assure you of our fullest support and co-operation in the discharge of your responsibilities. I should like to express our felicitations to other officers of the Assembly on their well-deserved elections.

124. We express our gratitude to our friends who reposed their confidence in us by electing Bangladesh as one of the Vice-Presidents of the General Assembly. We shall make every effort to contribute towards your effort, Sir, in promoting international peace, co-operation and development.

125. We would also like to convey our deep gratitude to Mr. Jorge Illueca for his valuable contribution as President of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly. The constructive role played by his country, Panama, in various issues, particularly in the Contadora Group, has earned our admiration.

126. I should also like to record our sincere gratitude to the Secretary-General for his dedicated and untiring efforts in upholding the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and for the courage and perseverance with which he has continued to work towards the achievement of our shared objectives of international peace, progress, co-operation and development. We have read with interest his illuminating report on the work of the Organization [*A/39/1*], which constitutes an important contribution to the work of the current session of the General Assembly.

127. We have viewed with deep concern the fact that the arms race, both nuclear and conventional, continued at a feverish pitch over the last year. We have also witnessed with even deeper concern the break-off of bilateral negotiations between the two super-Powers. We hope that serious negotiations will commence between them in respect of both theatre nuclear forces and START at the earliest possible opportunity. In this context, we note with satisfaction the very recent high-level contacts between the two super-Powers.

128. World military expenditure is now estimated to reach about a trillion dollars. This unrestricted use of scarce resources for military purposes has, on the one hand, created a sense of fear and uncertainty among nations and, on the other, has added to the cost of social opportunity world wide. The close relationship between disarmament and development does not need any elaboration. It is now universally recognized that a redirection of resources from armaments to development will be in the interest of the developed and developing countries alike. But how to transfer resources from armament to development? President Hossain Muhammad Ershad, in his address in 1982 to the Assembly's twelfth special session [*17th meeting*]—the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament—made a number of important proposals in this regard. These proposals for arresting the arms race deserve to be studied and examined carefully for the greater benefit of mankind.

129. The tragedy of Palestine is the tragedy of our times. No other issue in recent times has evoked so much attention and concern as the plight of the Palestinians. For more than three decades, the international community has witnessed the sufferings and anguish of the Palestinian people, who were forcibly uprooted from their hearths and homes. It is now universally recognized that the heart of the problem is the restoration of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to establish a State of their own with Jerusalem as its capital. It is regrettable that Israel continues to flout the decisions and resolutions of the United Nations and persists in its illegal occupation of Arab and Palestine territories, including the Holy City of Al-Quds al-Sharif. The position of Bangladesh on this question has always been firm and consistent and we have always extended our unstinted support to our Palestinian brothers in their struggle for the restoration of their inalienable right to self-determination under the leadership of the PLO, their sole and legitimate representative. We condemn the continued Israeli occupation of Arab and Palestinian territories and

---

*Mr. Choudhury spoke in Bengali. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

the establishment of settlements in the occupied lands. We are convinced that the situation demands a comprehensive settlement of the problem which must be based on total and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli forces from all Palestinian and Arab territories and the restoration of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. We are also convinced that the participation of the PLO, on an equal footing with all other parties, in the peace process is indispensable. It is in this context that we extended our full support to the Arab peace plan as a sound basis for establishing peace in the region. We commend the Secretary-General for his sincere endeavours and for his untiring efforts to restore peace in the region.

130. We are happy to note that the recently reconstituted Government of Lebanon is gradually but surely progressing towards restoring peace and stability there. All peace-loving countries wish Lebanon a quick return to normalcy, which can ensure its sovereignty and territorial integrity. However, this most desired objective cannot be attained without the complete withdrawal of Israeli troops and the termination of its control of southern Lebanon.

131. It is an outrage to the conscience of the international community that South Africa still continues to pursue its abhorrent policy of *apartheid.* This policy is not only contrary to the values of contemporary civilization; it is also against the tenets of all scriptures and religions. Therefore, those who, directly or indirectly, sustain and tolerate the continuance of the policy of *apartheid* in South Africa are casting an indelible blemish on the history of their own civilizations and transgressing the laws of their own scriptures.

132. Bangladesh is irrevocably committed to the cause of the oppressed peoples of Namibia and southern Africa and we renew our unstinted support to them in their legitimate struggle for freedom, liberty and human dignity. Bangladesh will continue to take an active part in the United Nations Council for Namibia, and we are convinced that the independence of Namibia can and must be achieved on the basis of the United Nations resolutions, particularly Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which constitutes the only acceptable basis for the peaceful transition of the territory from colonial subjugation to independence. We have consistently asked for its full implementation without any pre-condition. Similarly, we have rejected the persistent attempts to link the independence of Namibia with extraneous issues.

133. The continuing conflict between Iran and Iraq is a matter of serious concern to all of us. This war has continued for too long and it has brought pain and suffering, death and destruction to the people of both countries. We are all painfully aware of how the intensification of this conflict can jeopardize international peace and security. We take this opportunity to reiterate our appeal to both Iran and Iraq to take full advantage of the many peace initiatives which have been placed before them to bring their conflict to an end. The ongoing efforts of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the United Nations must be maintained to restore peace in the region. The Secretary-General deserves our sincere appreciation for the valuable efforts that he has undertaken for the peaceful resolution of this conflict.

134. Bangladesh is deeply committed to the Charter of the United Nations and to the principles of sovereign equality of States, territorial integrity, the non-use of force, non-interference and non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States, the right of every nation to self-determination and the peaceful settlement of disputes. We therefore view the developments in Afghanistan and Kampuchea with deep concern. In this context, we call upon our friendly country, the Soviet Union, to withdraw its troops from Afghanistan. We believe that the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Afghanistan is a *sine qua non* of a satisfactory and viable solution of the Afghan problem. Similarly, we call upon Viet Nam to withdraw its troops from Kampuchea. It is our conviction that the peoples of Afghanistan and Kampuchea should be allowed to determine their destiny without outside interference and intervention, and this is possible only with the total and unconditional withdrawal of all foreign forces from their territories.

135. The United Nations has been seized of the Cyprus question for the past two decades and we are all conscious of the unfortunate events that have led to the present situation. The recent developments in Cyprus, however, should not be viewed in isolation from the overall unresolved question. Bangladesh has consistently supported the independence, territorial integrity, sovereignty and non-aligned status of Cyprus. At the same time, we emphasize that no solution of the problem can be lasting unless it takes into account the legitimate aspirations of the two communities. The recent developments have once again demonstrated that the establishment of a bi-communal, bi-zonal Federated State of Cyprus is the only viable solution of the problem, and a beginning to that end must be made through the resumption of meaningful intercommunal talks. My delegation will continue to extend its fullest co-operation to the Secretary-General in his mission of good offices on the Cyprus problem.

136. Bangladesh shares the perception that regional and international peace and security would be promoted through the creation of zones of peace and nuclear-weapon-free zones in various parts of the world. As a littoral State, we have consistently attached great importance to the creation of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace and have maintained that the successful implementation of General Assembly resolution 2832 (XXVI), containing the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace, will be in the interest of peace and security. It is in this context that we have actively participated in the deliberations of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Indian Ocean and have extended our full support to the convening of an international conference at Colombo without delay.

137. My delegation shares with the Secretary-General his deep concern at the increasing recurrence of acts of international terrorism. We believe that concerted efforts by all States Members of the United Nations at both the national and the international level are necessary for the total elimination of this scourge, which is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations, the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations [*resolution 2625 (XXV), annex*] and the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [*resolution 2734*

(XXV)]. It is in this spirit that my delegation would like to emphasize its profound abhorrence of this phenomenon, which is taking an increasing toll of innocent lives, and would like to call upon all countries of the world to co-operate closely with one another with a view to combating and preventing such acts.

138. Bangladesh has friendly relations with both the Koreas, and this position has been reflected in our role in all international forums, especially in the United Nations and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. Bangladesh hopes that peaceful reunification will be successfully achieved, and we shall support all efforts towards that end. Bangladesh believes that the primary responsibility for attaining a viable solution of the issue of reunification through peaceful means rests with the Koreans themselves.

139. A decade ago this august Assembly adopted the historic Declaration and the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [*resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)*], as well as the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [*resolution 3281 (XXIX)*]. More than anything else, these documents symbolized the high hopes and reflected the aspirations of the developing countries. More importantly, they provided the blueprint for the long-awaited integration of the developing countries into the mainstream of the global economy as partners in development in the true spirit of interdependence. But, 10 years later, their hopes and aspirations still remain as distant as ever. A global perspective and a pragmatic attitude towards negotiations seem to have suffered a setback. The spirit of multilateralism itself faces the most serious threat since the 1960s. This Assembly of nations is only too aware of the abortive negotiations in recent years, particularly in the area of international economic co-operation for development.

140. While it is true that interdependence has been recognized as a reality in formal gatherings at the highest levels, nothing has materialized to translate this awareness into meaningful actions. The proposal for global negotiations has been the centre-piece of the initiatives of the developing countries aimed at making interdependence work in the collective interest and for the good of all, laying the groundwork for a global economic system more responsive to the demands of equity, justice and fair play. The gradual erosion that this important concept of multilateralism has suffered in recent years is painfully revealing. We believe that this matter merits serious review by the Assembly in the context of its resolution 34/138, which was adopted by consensus but which remains unimplemented so far.

141. This year the General Assembly is also entrusted with yet another very important responsibility, that is, to carry out the review and appraisal of the implementation of the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade [*resolution 35/56, annex*]. The Strategy, which was adopted by consensus, and the subsequent General Assembly resolution 38/152, spelt out in clear terms the aims and objectives of this exercise. My delegation notes with regret the slow pace of this important exercise. The global economic situation, and particularly the economic situation of the developing countries, demands that we broach the review exercise much more seriously than at present. The findings of the latest report of the Committee for Development Planning,[5] as well as the *World Economic Survey*[6] and other similar documents, are only too revealing of the acute nature of the crisis faced by the developing countries.

142. Despite the reversal of recessionary trends which began last year, we cannot lose sight of the continuing seriousness of the critical situation faced by the world economy as a whole. The reported upswing in economic growth in North America should not lull us into complacency. Recovery in Western Europe continues to be weak. The expansion of world output at 2 per cent in 1983 is at best modest for a period of economic recovery. As for the developing countries, they have suffered a persistent and gradual decline in the growth of output since 1979. These countries as a group recorded no growth at all in 1983. For most of them, per capita incomes have fallen for several consecutive years and investment expenditures are generally well below the levels attained in the 1970s. The modest increase in world output has for the first time in decades not been accompanied by a proportionate gain in exports. These have practically stagnated, and in the case of most developing countries there has been a sharp decline in export volumes. In value terms, world trade actually declined by 2 per cent in 1983.

143. Suffice it to say that the actual economic performance of the developing countries since 1980 has been in stark contrast to the growth path traced in the International Development Strategy.

144. The economic crisis in Africa, which has been characterized by a persistent drop in the rate of growth of overall output of goods and services over the years, is a case in point. Apart from the consequences of recession, at least 150 million people and 22 countries in this otherwise potentially rich continent have been adversely affected by drought. Unemployment and malnutrition have been intensified, and every major sector of the economy has suffered a decline.

145. The stifling effects of recession have been no less severe in the case of Asia. It is true that a number of Asian countries were able to withstand the onslaught of recession, but that provides no cushion or solace to the majority of those countries, particularly the least developed among them. The largest concentration of the world's desperately poor and hungry—estimated at around 900 million people—is still located in Asia.

146. Though 10 of the 22 largest debtor developing countries are Latin American, the debt problem is not confined to that region alone. The capital-importing countries now owe the staggering sum of about $730 billion. The main point is that the debt problem became a crisis only when the debtor countries' growth in export earnings declined significantly in the face of mounting protectionism. This was further accentuated by the depth, dimensions and duration of the recession. It is to be noted that, in spite of the rapid increase in the foreign indebtedness of the capital-importing developing countries during the 1970s, their debt-to-export ratio did not change much, since exports rose at practically the same rate as foreign indebtedness. This situation changed radically in the early 1980s as their export earnings failed to grow and even declined.

147. Through all these crises, the countries which have suffered most have been the least developed countries. By the very nature of their economics, these countries, which are located mostly in Africa

and Asia, lack the wherewithal to withstand such acute difficulties, and in a situation of prolonged and intensified crisis their vulnerability increased out of all proportion. No wonder the early 1980s have witnessed an increase in their ranks. Primarily dependent on commodities, whose prices continue to remain weak, their difficulties have been further accentuated by a declining flow of official development assistance. The fate of negotiations on the replenishment of IDA resources is a case in point. And commodity prices, despite their relative increase in 1983, still remain nearly 20 per cent below the level of 1980. The slow pace in the implementation of the Substantial New Programme of Action for the 1980s for the Least Developed Countries[7] remains a matter of deep concern.

148. In these circumstances, my delegation's earnest hope is that the mid-term global review of the implementation of the Substantial New Programme of Action to be undertaken next year will be broached with seriousness and sympathy by all countries, developed and developing alike, to accelerate the development of the least developed countries.

149. We strongly believe that the objective of all development efforts is the improvement of the quality of life. In this context, we note with appreciation the efforts being made in the economic and social fields by the United Nations system, in particular the strategy being pursued by UNICEF to achieve a revolution in child survival and development and the efforts being made by UNDP concerning human resources development. We also note with great satisfaction the successful and comprehensive outcome of the International Conference on Population, held at Mexico City from 6 to 14 August 1984.

150. As we approach the mid-point of the 1980s, the world economy in general remains strained by the legacies of a prolonged and disastrous recession. Those legacies have virtually crippled the development momentum of the overwhelming majority of developing countries. Cut-backs in investments, the suspension of longer-term development projects and public programmes, the slashing of expenditures in social sectors that these countries had to endure over the years of recession have taken many of them to the verge of serious political and social upheavals.

151. These difficulties are too deeply entrenched to be overcome easily as a by-product of recovery in a few countries. Certainly, a proliferation of protectionist barriers in the industrial countries has not made this task at all easier. Even existing commodity agreements which have served the international community well over the years are now falling apart owing to the lack of political support by some of these countries. In finance, apart from the uncertainty surrounding debt rescheduling, the constraints of high interest rates, inadequate flow of official development assistance, the drying up of bank lending and the overall deflationary policy of the international monetary and financial system could stifle any stirring of economic activities in a large number of the developing countries.

152. If the recovery is to spread to the developing countries, a series of measures must be undertaken immediately to reactivate their economies; and if this recovery is to be a sustained and durable one, the reinvigoration and improvement of the international trading and financial system must be undertaken in earnest and as a matter of priority. It is also imperative for the sake of the sustained health of the world economy that growth in the developing countries be undertaken as a self-sustained and mutually-reinforcing process and not merely as a by-product of growth elsewhere, because if we do not deal with the more fundamental structural problems in an adequate manner, crisis will in the end overwhelm us. We must therefore act seriously and with pragmatism before it is too late.

153. The International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade called for the necessary political impetus to carry out essential adjustment, intensification and reformulation of policy measures in the light of evolving needs and developments. We cannot delay that any longer. We must once again demonstrate the same political will and vision that enabled us to establish this great assembly of nations to implement our commitment to its Charter.

154. In this connection I should like to inform the Assembly briefly of developments in my country.

155. Soon after assuming responsibility, the present Government, under the leadership of President Hossain Muhammad Ershad, initiated some drastic reforms covering the entire gamut of national life. The reform measures taken by the present Government include economic reform aimed at stopping waste, boosting production and giving maximum encouragement to the development of the private sector. The most spectacular among the reform measures, however, have been the administrative reforms, based on the principles of decentralization and devolution of power to the common people, and the judicial reforms, also based on the principle of decentralization. Under the new system, the administration has been taken right to the doorsteps of the country's vast rural population. The grass-roots units have now become the focal points of all local activities. This means that through these units, known as *upazillas,* the vast rural population of Bangladesh will now have the full power to decide and control its own affairs for itself.

156. While these measures of reform continue, I should like to draw attention to the unprecedented floods which have struck my country this year, causing great misery to our people and widespread damage to our crops. The Government of Bangladesh is doing all that is humanly possible to overcome the effects of this exceptional disaster, which has not yet ended. Our President has been overseeing relief measures personally by daily visits to affected areas throughout the country. We take this opportunity to acknowledge with appreciation the help and assistance which we have received and are receiving from a number of friendly countries and organizations.

157. Regionally, our patient diplomacy in forging co-operation among the South Asian countries has borne fruit. The primary objective of Bangladesh's 1980 proposal for regional co-operation was to harmonize and strengthen the efforts of those regional developing countries to establish collective self-reliance, for the common benefit of their peoples. The integrated programme of action within the framework of South Asian Regional Co-operation was launched at the Foreign Ministers' meeting at New Delhi in August 1983, which was followed by the ministerial meeting at Male in July 1984. These ministerial meetings were preceded by meetings of a number of senior officials to work out this pro-

gramme. It is a matter for satisfaction that as many as nine areas of co-operation have been identified and that working groups have been set up to study and deal with them. The selection of Dhaka as the venue for the first South Asian Regional Co-operation summit, to be held in the last quarter of 1985, is a demonstration of the faith and confidence placed in Bangladesh.

158. Before I conclude, let me say a few words on the observance next year of the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations. The present state of deteriorating international relations gives added importance to the observance of the occasion. These are challenging times for the world Organization. It is being increasingly bypassed, and the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council are being systematically ignored, and with impunity. The continuing economic crisis is wreaking havoc on the world economy, and particularly the economies of the developing countries. The North-South dialogue and the establishment of the new international economic order have made little progress.

159. In view of all this, in some sections of world public opinion the United Nations is suffering from what may be called a crisis of confidence; but it need not be so if Member States are determined to uphold the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations [*resolution 2625 (XXV), annex*], which are as valid today as they were at the time of the founding of the Organization almost four decades ago.

160. In spite of its weaknesses, the United Nations remains the appropriate and irreplaceable international forum for finding solutions to major world problems, some of which I have enumerated today. Our faith in the Charter of the United Nations and our commitment to its purposes and principles remain as unshakeable as ever. The observance of the fortieth anniversary will provide Member States with an opportunity to rededicate themselves to the principles enshrined in the Charter and to reaffirm their support for the world Organization. On this solemn occasion, let us resolve anew to work for the promotion of the purposes and principles of the United Nations and for the strengthening of the Organization in order to make it an effective instrument for the fulfilment of its central role in the maintenance of international peace and security, in developing and strengthening co-operation among nations, in establishing equitable economic relations among States and in promoting fundamental rights and freedoms throughout the world.

161. Mr. TREIKI (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (*interpretation from Arabic*): At the outset allow me to convey to you, Sir, congratulations on your election to the presidency of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. It gives me personal pleasure to see you assume that high office, for you are a friend who represents a fraternal country that is part of the great African continent that has made such a great contribution to mankind and that is still engaged in a bitter struggle against *apartheid* and neo-colonialism in order to lay the foundations for justice and peace. I am confident that your vast experience and well-known wisdom will guide the proceedings of this Assembly to the best results possible. I should also like to pay a tribute to the role of your country and its President in our struggle on the African continent.

162. I should like to express my delegation's appreciation to Mr. Jorge Illueca, President of Panama, who so brilliantly guided the deliberations of the Assembly's thirty-eighth session.

163. I also wish to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General for his efforts and dedication in seeking to reinforce peace and stability in the world and in promoting the United Nations, strengthening its role in the service of peace and freedom.

164. My delegation takes pleasure in congratulating Brunei Darussalam upon its accession to independence. We welcome its admission to membership in the United Nations.

165. Nearly four decades have elapsed since the founding of the United Nations and the promulgation of its Charter. There can be no doubt that enormous efforts have been made since then to realize the purposes enshrined in the Charter—for the ending of colonialism, for the maintenance of peace and for economic development. However, as the Secretary-General states in his report on the work of the Organization [*A/39/1*]:

> ". . . for all of the accomplishments of the past decades, and they have been major, the fact of the matter is that the three main elements of a stable international order—an accepted system of maintaining international peace and security; disarmament and arms limitation; and the progressive development of a just and effective system of international economic relations—have yet to take hold as they should."

166. Now, on the threshold of the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations, we must consider the obstacles that hinder its work and the reasons why it is impeded in the effective discharge of its duties in keeping with the purposes and principles enshrined in the Charter.

167. The international community is passing through a critical and difficult period characterized by the escalation of tension and the exacerbation of international crises as a result of the policy of confrontation being pursued by the colonial countries, which are seeking by all means and methods to return to their old spheres of influence or to acquire new ones.

168. We have witnessed the frenzied show of strength that has recently dominated the conduct of the United States. That country has deployed its forces throughout the world; it has sped up the production and deployment of new weapons in many parts of the world; and it has "flexed its muscles" and stepped up its aggressive military provocations against States members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. All of this has created distrust regarding its intentions and has renewed the nuclear and strategic arms race among the great Powers, which has in turn led to a quest by the small, non-aligned countries to acquire weapons in order to defend their own sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity, to the detriment of their economic and social development.

169. When speaking of the deteriorating state of international security, I must refer to one of the foreign military activities that is being carried out in one of the most sensitive of the world's areas, namely, the Mediterranean, a region we believe should be free from any factor that might lead to a

worsening of tension, which could in turn lead to a catastrophe in the area. Proceeding from a belief in the importance of security in the Mediterranean to international peace, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya intends to consult with other non-aligned States and with other States concerned with a view to reaching an international agreement that would ban the holding of military manoeuvres in the international waters of the Mediterranean. The presence of foreign fleets and colonial military bases in the Mediterranean constitutes one of the major factors for instability in the region and a threat to the security and safety of the States in the area. We want the Mediterranean to be a sea of peace and co-operation. We call for the evacuation of foreign bases, the departure of foreign fleets and the dismantling of all lethal weapons, especially nuclear weapons, in the area.

170. The fact that the problem of Cyprus has not yet been settled directly influences security in the Mediterranean. We hope that the two communities, Turkish and Greek, may reach a just solution through direct negotiations so as to ensure the rights of both communities and reinforce the independence of Cyprus, as well as its territorial integrity and non-aligned status. We support the efforts of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative in this regard. My country has contributed its good offices to the two communities and stands ready to make further efforts in order to achieve a peaceful solution as speedily as possible.

171. We have recently witnessed an increase in the campaigns of destabilization waged by the United States throughout the world, campaigns aimed at compromising the security and sovereignty of peoples who attempt to follow an independent and non-aligned policy and refuse to yield to the pressures and threats of the United States Government, which aims to dominate those States, usurp their riches and use them as a tool for achieving its political and strategic goals.

172. As a result of its boldness and steadfastness in resisting imperialism and supporting freedom and world liberation movements, the Libyan people and its leaders have been subjected to a long and virulent series of military provocations, acts of aggression and clandestine operations, as well as economic conspiracies and pressures on the part of the United States.

173. This campaign is illustrated by the acts of provocation of the United States Sixth Fleet close to Libyan waters in the Gulf of Sidrah and the repeated violations of Libyan airspace by AWACS spy planes; the dirty operations of the Central Intelligence Agency aimed at the assassination of the leader of our revolution; and the training of saboteurs who are sent from other countries to strike at important goals in our country and thus destabilize it. All possible means have been used—including an almost total boycott—to hamper the Libyan economy. All of this was described on 30 August 1984 by John Hughes, a spokesman for the United States State Department, as being more stringent than that imposed on any other country, including the Soviet Union.

174. Needless to say, the United States refuses to carry out the boycott imposed on the *apartheid* régime of South Africa, despite all international resolutions. It stands by that régime and supplies all its needs, including highly destructive military equipment.

175. The Foreign Ministers of the Mediterranean member countries of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, meeting at Valletta on 10 and 11 September 1984, studied the United States acts of provocation against the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and, in their Final Declarations, stated the following:

> "The Ministers expressed profound concern at the many provocations by the United States of America that violate the sovereignty of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and its territorial integrity and that constitute a threat to international security and peace and a factor hampering the efforts of the non-aligned countries to strengthen peace and co-operation in the Mediterranean region. They expressed their support for the Jamahiriya's efforts to resist the various pressures arising from these provocations." [*A/39/526 and Corr. 1, annex, para. 13(*a*).*]

176. United States acts of aggression against the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya have not stopped there. It has gone as far as slander and media campaigns aimed at tarnishing the image of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and preparing world public opinion for the possibility of military aggression against it in collaboration with the reactionary régimes in the area.

177. The United States, which threatens peace and security in the Mediterranean region, has not confined itself to installing bases in and sending a fleet to the area and using them against the Arab nation and in the interest of its Zionist allies. It has gone further and deployed its fleet in the Red Sea after fabricating what it called the "mine operation". Those mines were planted there by the United States and its Zionist ally as an excuse for their collusion against the Arab nation and for the presence of their fleet in the region.

178. The United States, within the framework of its virulent attack against the Libyan Arab people, has resorted to vile tactics that are contrary to international laws and norms. The harrassment of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya's Mission to the United Nations and of the members of the Mission is a violation of the Agreement between the United Nations and the United States of America regarding the Headquarters of the United Nations [*resolution 169 (II)*] and other relevant international agreements. Its aim is to hamper the activities of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya's Mission to the United Nations.

179. The serious situation in the Arab region resulting from the usurpation of Palestine, the displacement of the Palestinians and the implanting of an alien racist entity in the area is still a source of concern to the entire international community. Despite the fact that more than 36 years have elapsed since the usurpation of Palestine and the displacement of its people, the international community has so far not been able to take any concrete measures that would re-establish the rights of the Palestinian people and enable them to return to their homeland. This is because the imperialists that created the Zionist racist entity in Palestine pledged themselves to support it both in the United Nations and with weapons and money, so that it could not only strengthen its bastion in Palestine but also continue its aggression against the Arab countries and its expansion at their expense, with a view to establishing a greater Zionist State reaching from the Euphrates to the Nile.

180. No further evidence is necessary of the complete support of the United States for the racist Zionist entity, especially following the strategic agreement between them. The United States has given the Zionist entity more than $2.5 billion up to now, and it is possible that next year it will give more than $3 billion and as much as $5 billion in the following year.

181. The aid given by the United States Government to the Zionist entity has become one of the main campaign issues in the race for the United States presidency. Everybody takes pride in this, with each party pledging to support—more than the other party—the Zionist entity against the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. The United States is responsible for the plight of the Palestinian people. It bears full responsibility for the intransigence of the racists in Palestine and their rejection of all the relevant United Nations resolutions.

182. The United States, which is helping the Zionist entity to create settlements by providing it with weapons with which to strike at the Palestinian people and at other Arab countries, cannot be an impartial party or play any role in the peace process, unless that peace is meant to be a device to enable Israel or the Israeli entity to occupy more territories. It has become clear that tension in the area has escalated since the signing of the Camp David accords. The Zionist entity has occupied southern Lebanon and annexed Jerusalem and the Golan Heights despite all the resolutions adopted in this regard.

183. The General Assembly must reconsider its position concerning the Zionist entity in the light of the continuing racist, Zionist practices, the acts of aggression which are witnessed daily, the usurpation of property, the acts of genocide and the flouting of United Nations resolutions.

184. We reaffirm that it is necessary to take the following actions: first, the Zionist entity must be expelled from the General Assembly as an entity that does not cherish peace, in accordance with the resolutions of the ninth emergency special session of the General Assembly; and secondly, there must be a complete boycott of that entity.

185. No peace initiative will be successful unless it takes into account the right of the Palestinian people to return to Palestine and to establish its independent State on the entire territory of Palestine.

186. The tragic fate inflicted on the Jewish people cannot be redressed through the suffering of the Palestinian people. The Zionist neo-Nazis cannot use against the Palestinian people the same practices that were once used by the Nazis against the Jews. Responsibility for the persecution of the Jews is borne by the persecutors and the persecutors alone. The world cannot accept a State based on religious discrimination and on the Nazi doctrine of zionism.

187. The Zionist aggression, supported by imperialism, has not confined itself to the occupation of Palestine and the displacement of its people; it has spread to Palestine's neighbouring countries. The continued occupation and the annexation of the Syrian Golan Heights should be condemned and rejected by the international community. The continued occupation by the Zionist entity of a considerable portion of Lebanon, in defiance of all the resolutions of the international community, confirms the nature and objectives of the racist Zionist entity.

188. The Lebanese people, which has succeeded in forcing the imperialist invaders to withdraw and has been able finally to abrogate the shameful 17 May 1983 agreement—which Lebanon was forced to sign under pressure from the United States—will be able, through its valiant resistance, to achieve victory over the Zionist invader. The Lebanese people has proven the futility of imposing capitulatory solutions on Arab nations. The fate of the Camp David accords, imposed by the armed force of the United States and by United States-Zionist aggression, will be the same as that of the 17 May 1983 agreement.

189. The Arab nation, which has known dismemberment and division, must now unite and play its role as one of the major forces in the world. Colonialism divided and dismembered that nation and it is trying to perpetuate that division and dismemberment by all means.

190. Proceeding from its belief in the unity of the Arab nation, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya has sought and continues to seek to bring that unity about, despite all obstacles. Historical and emotional factors make Arab unity an imperative necessity for the Arab nation so that it may face its enemies and strengthen itself. Arab unity will help to promote peace and security not only in the Arab region, but in the whole world. If unified and given the opportunity to do so, the creative Arab nation, which has contributed so much to mankind, will be able to contribute even more.

191. Proceeding from that same belief, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and Morocco, exercising free will and integrity, have signed an agreement to establish an Arab-African union. This union is not aimed against any country; it is not an "axis", but is a step towards the achievement of the unity of the Arab Maghreb and a foundation for the complete unity of the Arab nation. The fear of this agreement felt by imperialist and reactionary forces is testimony to its importance and its integrity. The agreement is open to all countries of the region, whether Arab or African, and it embodies the principles of the League of Arab States and of the United Nations.

192. The Libyan Arab Jamahiriya welcomes any act conducive to unity and any step in that direction, whether in the West or the East of the Arab world, or in the African continent. We warmly welcomed the agreement signed by Algeria and Tunisia, to which Mauritania subsequently acceded, and we welcomed the opportunity offered by Tunisia for us to sign it also. We shall participate in any step towards achieving Arab unity in any part of the Arab homeland or the African continent. Any attempt to impede Arab unity or to exploit its noble principles in an attempt to cover up hegemony and the desire for domination is doomed to failure.

193. The Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, which firmly supported the people of Western Sahara in its struggle against the Spanish colonizer, supports the solution of the problem of Western Sahara in accordance with the resolutions of the OAU and the United Nations and in keeping with the concept of Greater Maghreb unity.

194. The United States, which has adopted a position inimical to such unification, must stop its intervention in the Arab world; it must let the Arab nations achieve unity in accordance with their own free will. This United States position makes us even more determined to persist in our desire for unifica-

tion of the Arab Maghreb and, more broadly, of the Arab world, and for unification of the African continent. In the mean time, we call on our brothers in the Arab Maghreb to join and support this union.

195. The African continent continues to be a focus of the world's attention and a hotbed of tension. That continent is the site of some of the most complex problems of today.

196. In Namibia, the South African racist régime continues its illegitimate occupation of the Territory and persists in its oppression of the black citizens of Namibia and in its usurpation of the country's wealth, in collusion with the Western transnational corporations, in defiance of the resolutions of the United Nations and other international organizations. With the help of the Western countries, that racist régime has continued its manoeuvres aimed at preventing the independence of Namibia and the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

197. Linkage of the independence of Namibia to the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola is but one more proof of imperialist collusion with the *apartheid* régime in an attempt to prevent the United Nations from achieving genuine independence for Namibia. This constitutes interference in the internal affairs of Angola and cannot be accepted as a precondition for independence. My country declares its complete solidarity with the People's Republic of Angola until the liberation of its territory and of the whole of Namibia.

198. We cannot forget that colonialism created the racist Pretoria régime and helped to sustain it by providing it with various types of aid, including weapons. Consequently, we are certain that the Western countries cannot act as mediators in the resolution of the Namibian problem. Imperialism cannot be a mediator in that process because it is a party to the aggression against the Namibian people, by virtue of its material and political help to the *apartheid* régime and its usurpation, through its transnational corporations, of the wealth of Namibia.

199. The problem of Namibia can be resolved only through the strict and speedy implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), with the full participation in any effort to resolve this problem of SWAPO, the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people. The Libyan Arab Jamahiriya proclaims its full support for SWAPO in its efforts to achieve independence and self-determination for the Namibian people. We call on the Security Council to take the necessary measures to implement its resolutions concerning Namibia and to put an end to the racist occupation of that Territory.

200. In Azania, the fraternal African people of that country is still struggling against the *apartheid* policy of the Pretoria régime, which is daily reinforced by the Government with executions and arrests of national leaders. The people of Azania recently proved to the whole world that it will continue its struggle against the policy of racial discrimination, when thousands took to the streets in demonstrations, facing the bullets of the racists, who tried to deceive the world with what they called constitutional reforms—sham parliaments established for those of Asian origin and the Coloureds. Those were not constitutional changes, but final, desperate attempts to perpetuate and reinforce the policy of *apartheid.* They will enable the *apartheid* régime to conscript Asians and Coloureds into the racist army, to be used for the suppression of their black brothers, who represent the majority.

201. We in the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya believe that *apartheid* cannot be reformed but must be eliminated. We shall continue to help the people of Azania in its efforts to achieve majority rule and to eliminate the odious phenomenon of *apartheid,* which has been condemned by the United Nations as a crime against humanity.

202. As I speak of the situation in Africa, I cannot fail to refer to one of the problems that has been a cause of concern to the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya for a long time—the problem of Chad, a war-torn country which lacks stability owing to the negative policies left by imperialism, the effects of which have been felt at the political and social levels and which led to a civil war. That war is still raging, despite the attempts made by all the countries of the region, foremost among them the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, and recently by the OAU, to achieve national reconciliation in Chad and lay the foundation for a stable régime that would devote its energies to the country's reconstruction and development.

203. Chad being at the southern border of my country, the unstable situation there is naturally a source of grave concern to us, especially as it was at different times the pretext for foreign intervention and the presence of foreign troops from outside the continent at our border, which gives us grave security problems. We were gratified by the recent agreement concluded with France, which we hope will be an important step towards solving the Chad problem in accordance with the Lagos Accord on National Reconciliation in Chad, of 18 August 1979,[8] and with the participation of all the Chadian parties that signed it. The Government of National Unity, headed by Goukouni Oueddei, has always been willing to achieve national reconciliation, but the rebellious elements in N'Djamena, supported by the forces of imperialism and reaction, have rejected all the serious efforts made by the Chairman of the Organization of African Unity for national reconciliation.

204. Basing itself on its belief in international peace and security, and the conviction that they are indivisible, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya supports all the efforts of the countries of the Indian Ocean to turn that ocean into a zone of peace, free of all foreign fleets and bases. We therefore call for the evacuation of United States troops from the island of Diego García and the dismantling of all the military installations on that island so that its indigenous people can live there in peace.

205. The Libyan Arab Jamahiriya supports the aspiration of the Korean people for the reunification of its country, and calls for the establishment of the necessary conditions to bring that about—non-interference in its internal affairs and the withdrawal of United States troops from Korean territory.

206. My country reiterates its solidarity with all countries subjected to imperialist provocation and acts of aggression, countries such as Afghanistan and Iran.

207. Certain territories in the world are still under the yoke of colonial domination despite the achievements on the path towards decolonization. They include the territory of Puerto Rico, whose people is still struggling for decolonization and the establish-

ment of its own independent State. The United Nations must help it and support its efforts.

208. The continued tension in Central America is also a cause of concern to the international community. It results from intervention by the United States and that country's failure to respect the right of the peoples of the region to choose their political and economic system without any foreign intervention or pressure. My country supports all the efforts of the Contadora Group to find a comprehensive and lasting solution to the problems of the region and to restore peace there. We maintain that it is possible to have peace and security in the region only if the United States stops interfering in the affairs of the States of the region and ceases to support dictatorial régimes against their peoples. Other requirements for peace and security in the area are the withdrawal of United States forces, the dismantling of its bases in Cuba and an end to its aggression.

209. The world economic order is still suffering from the crisis that has dominated it since the end of the 1960s. The measures taken to reform it have so far failed, because they are like tranquillizers; they are attempts to ease the crisis, but not to reform the system. The system can be reformed only by restructuring it so that it is in keeping with the international economic and political indicators of our time. It should take into account the interests of the developing countries, which were for the most part dominated by foreign forces when the present system was set up. Unfortunately, we note that the developed countries still impede the efforts of the international community to change the international economic order, despite all the concessions made by the developing countries as a whole.

210. The international monetary system also is unable to respond to the needs of the developing countries and to the aspirations of the present age. It should be changed so that it may be in keeping with today's economic and political realities. The system, which collapsed in August 1971 when the United States ceased to exchange the dollar for gold, has played a negative role instead of being effective in international economic co-operation and, more particularly, in the development programmes in the developing countries. Depending on a single currency, the system is an anachronism in an age of equality and mutual respect. It is not only politically but also economically unacceptable. All attempts at reform have failed for the simple reason that reform has taken place through an institution still dominated by certain developed countries. We do not expect any serious attempts to be made within the framework of such an institution. Reforms are still being considered without the developing countries, which are still passive onlookers, unable to play any role. Reforming the international economic order should be considered within the framework of global negotiations, in a forum where representation is universal, where all voices may be heard and all points of view taken into account.

211. I should like now to refer to a matter directly related to economic development in my country: the mines and other explosives planted in Libyan territory during the Second World War. We still suffer from their detrimental effects in the economic, social and environmental fields. Hundreds of innocent people have lost their lives as a result of this problem and thousands have been incapacitated. It has also obstructed the implementation of development projects and increased their costs. It is the responsibility of the imperialist countries that planted those mines to solve this problem; they must offer adequate compensation to the countries that have suffered damage and provide them with topographic charts and all assistance needed to remove them. We hope that the United Nations will take the necessary practical steps for an inventory to be taken of the total damage that has been inflicted on the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and to have compensation paid in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly.

212. Like many other countries, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya was subjected to occupation and colonialism during long years and it has the right to ask for reparation for the damage caused as a result of colonialism. Japan apologized to Korea for its occupation of that country and announced its willingness to offer compensation. We welcome that action and we hope that the other colonial Powers will follow suit.

213. The Libyan Arab Jamahiriya fully supports strengthening the role of the United Nations and promoting its effectiveness. Therefore, as we have done in previous years, we shall submit certain proposals concerning the abrogation of the right of veto, or amending that right, and granting more authority to the General Assembly. We shall continue to press for such action this year because we are convinced that the right of veto is in contravention of democratic rules. The will of the Members of the United Nations should not be at the mercy of each of the five permanent members of the Security Council, particularly in view of the fact that some of them have abused the right of veto. The Security Council has thus been deprived of its effectiveness and left unable to perform the role entrusted to it.

214. The prevailing international situation—the tension and the economic anarchy in the world—may lead to catastrophe. All this confirms the role the United Nations should play and the need to strengthen that role so that the Organization can discharge its responsibilities. But the United Nations, which must face these international problems as a result of acts of imperialist intervention, is confronting a direct threat as a result of the policy of the United States, which continuously and categorically defies this international Organization.

215. A serious manifestation of that policy is the pressure it has brought to bear against UNESCO and other international humanitarian organizations of the United Nations system. Last year we witnessed insults directed against that organization by the United States Government. We see constant harassment of this Organization and certain of its Member States that are not satellites of the United States, including my own country. It is time for the United Nations to put a stop to blackmail and threats directed against peace-loving countries. After having suffered so much from wars, destruction and colonialism, the countries of the world must not now compromise the United Nations and allow any country to destroy it. It is time to take the necessary practical steps to move the United Nations Headquarters to a peace-loving country. If the United Nations cannot do so, it faces ruin. Then the countries that suffer from intervention and terrorism will have to form a wide front against imperialist intervention. Such steps would strengthen the role of this international Organization and enhance its effectiveness.

216. Having said that, we do not harbour any aggressive intentions with respect to the American people or the United States. We extend a hand of friendship within the framework of mutual respect and non-intervention in the internal affairs of others.

217. As a non-aligned country pursuing an impartial policy, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya strongly supports the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. It reaffirms its unshakeable belief in the role of that Movement in achieving international peace and security. As a non-aligned State, we freely determine our own policy and we extend a hand to all peace-loving States—large or small, strong or weak—in order to forge relations of friendship and co-operation devoid of any form of hegemony or intervention. We do not harbour any enmity towards any people or nation. We seek only friendship and co-operation with those who agree to co-operate with us in the context of mutual respect and non-intervention in the internal affairs of others and within the framework of the purposes of the Charter of the United Nations.

218. Mr. VELAYATI (Islamic Republic of Iran):*

> "The Unbelievers spend their wealth
> To hinder (men) from the path
> Of God, and so will they
> Continue to spend; but
> In the end they will have
> (Only) regrets and sighs;
> At length they will be overcome;
> And the Unbelievers will be
> Gathered together to Hell;" [*Koran* 8:36].

219. I wish, Sir, to offer my congratulations on your election as the President of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. I also wish you success in the administration of the Assembly's work, which contains many important and crucial issues. It also gives me pleasure to witness the admission of an Islamic country, Brunei Darussalam, to the United Nations.

220. The thirty-eighth session of the Assembly was also faced with a variety of important problems, and although there was no lack of honest and sincere attempts to solve those problems, the obstruction and opposition of the imperial-minded Powers of the world prevented the desired achievements from being reached. In spite of this, there is no room for despair; we believe that sincere human action will certainly bear fruit in the long run. After all, our life, if devoid of continuous struggle for the establishment of justice throughout the earth and without tolerance of hardship and sacrifice to attain this sublime objective, would be completely meaningless. I stress the continuity of the struggle in order that those who usurp the rights of nations will not make the mistake of relaxing for a moment. Today, practically all the oppressed and tyrannized people of the world, and particularly their fighting vanguards who have risen to fight back, rarely think of immediate victory as their motivation for action, and this hopeful development is an indication of the rapid growth in the consciousness of the oppressed of all continents.

221. It is hoped that we may in this Assembly turn ourselves into defenders of truth and justice and perform this noble duty patiently through ceaseless efforts. The path before us is quite clear, and we shall, in all cases and *vis-à-vis* all questions raised in this Assembly, follow the renowned Islamic dictum: "Always an enemy of the oppressor and always a friend to the oppressed."

222. Allow me to begin our investigation of the international situation, as usual, with the great human tragedy of contemporary history. The question of Palestine has become an old wound in the body of humanity and particularly in the body of the Islamic Ummah, but in the course of the past year it has become more painful because of the behaviour of certain opportunistic and compromising elements.

223. Verbal protests would be in order if we presumed that the nature and the actions of imperialism and zionism were separate categories and the latter could be modified and corrected by criticism or well-intended counsel. But we all know for certain that their only logic is the logic of force and their performance is always guided by this satanic logic. Does the experience of the fruitless conduct of talks, negotiations and verbal attacks against zionism in international forums for many, many long years, which were not matched by action, point to any other conclusion?

224. Thus I would request that in our review of the question of Palestine at the present session of the Assembly we concentrate on the investigation of our own past record, and in this request I am especially addressing the delegations from the Islamic countries and others who, regardless of their political doctrines, have decided to defend truth and justice.

225. Prolonged discussions, successive conferences and even the vociferous forms of objection and criticism offered for the apparent discharge of responsibility and the diversion of attention from the fundamental issue, namely, the necessity of a practical and decisive confrontation with zionism, are empty gestures from which zionism would benefit the most.

226. The experience in Lebanon has already underlined this lesson most clearly. While the Lebanese people heroically resisted the continuous, savage attacks of the Zionist régime, while Lebanese men, women and children spent their days and nights under the constant downpour of Zionist bombs and bullets, certain Islamic rulers, despite their immense financial, military and human resources, were busy delivering slogans and fiery speeches while in practice they abandoned neither their display of reverence for the aggressors nor their continuous offers of compromise.

227. Had this process continued for a while longer, the Zionist aggressors would have subjugated the Lebanese land completely and permanently; but the aware and dedicated people of Lebanon heroically rose against the occupying forces and their supporters, forced a retreat on the aggressors and added a golden page of epic resistance to contemporary history. For the first time, part of the occupied lands was liberated by force. It will not be long before southern Lebanon will be free from the aggressors' presence.

228. Instead of adding a few more resolutions to the record of the régime occupying Palestine, let us put an end to the presence of its representatives in this world Assembly, a presence which, in itself, should be considered an insult to each and every member of the delegations that value the concepts of freedom and justice.

229. Regrettably, what has helped blot out the hideousness of an Israeli presence in this world

---

*Mr. Velayati spoke in Farsi. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

Assembly is the policy adopted by the previous ruler in Egypt that climaxed in the signing of the treasonable Camp David accords and brought shame and humiliation to the Islamic nations. The sorry fact that certain third-world countries have recently decided to establish relations with the usurper régime in Palestine should be considered as the most direct consequence of this notorious action by the previous Egyptian administration. I am convinced, however, that the righteous and dedicated Muslim people of Egypt will, at a propitious moment, not only nullify this illegitimate recognition of the usurper régime occupying Palestine but will also undoubtedly declare all the consequences of this recognition void.

230. An investigation of the tragic history of Palestine in the present century shows that the most effective factor in the consolidation of the usurper rule of zionism in this holy land was the presence of certain dependent and submissive ruling figures in the region. The cause of defeats in the 1948, 1956 and 1967 wars did not lie in the Israeli strength; those defeats were due mainly to the treacherous acts committed by certain nominally Islamic Governments. The infamous Camp David accords must be cited as the most scandalous of those acts. The Egyptian régime played the role of a vanguard in that adventure, and several dependent régimes supported it from behind the scenes. These supporters are doing their best today to bring Egypt out of isolation. Do they need to be reminded that the Egyptian régime, as a result of its complicity in the Camp David conspiracy and because of its treason in humiliating the Egyptian people, was dishonourably removed as a disgrace from the landscape of the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the League of Arab States? What is happening to the Arab and Islamic world today? Why are they abandoning the cause of Palestine and going back on their commitments to the oppressed Palestinian people? I declare to the whole Islamic Ummah, from this international rostrum today, that in some Islamic countries the super-Powers and their local stooges and protégés are foolishly playing with the destiny of the Islamic nations.

231. Palestine is still occupied, and holy Al-Quds is not under our control. The illegal Israeli régime destroys and demolishes the houses of Muslims in Al-Khalil, Nablus and Ramallah with bulldozers sent as gifts from the United States, and is busy building kibbutzim in their places. Their Arab residents are exiled; the number of innocent refugees increases daily, and Zionist thugs continue to usurp their lands. Lebanon has been under Zionist occupation for more than two years. Today Palestine, the West Bank and the Gaza Strip are looking to Lebanon with hopeful anticipation. All this is happening around us, and we, irresolute as a mesmerized group, are waiting for the outcome of events that are out of our control. I declare here, loud and clear, that the régime in Egypt which hoists the Zionist flag in its capital is the shame of the Islamic world; I declare that the Government in Morocco which plays host to Zionists is a traitor to Islam; I declare that the mercenary régime in Jordan, which has recently re-established relations with the notorious Egyptian régime, is an enemy of Islam.

232. As the revolutionary centre of the Islamic world and as a nation that has historically made the greatest contribution to the elevation of Islamic civilization and the advancement of Islamic causes, the Islamic Republic of Iran declares its extreme detestation of the abominable invitation by the Organization of the Islamic Conference to the Egyptian régime to rejoin that organization without demanding that it first dissociate itself from the Camp David accords. It is especially regrettable that the Chairman of the Al-Quds Committee, selected by the Islamic Conference, is a person who persuaded and pushed the previous Egyptian ruler towards signing the ignoble Camp David accords and is at the present time the main instigator of many humiliating measures of compromise with zionism.

233. We must warn the Islamic Governments that if we do not move quickly, tomorrow will be too late. The Israeli cancer is spreading fast in the body of the Islamic world but our campaign against the Zionist régime does not go beyond talks, slogans and political compromises. The Palestinian people are prepared to start a vigorous, unwavering struggle against Israel and to revive the heroic resistance they showed against the Zionist enemy at Karama. Is it not shameful that thousands of Palestinian combatants in Lebanon, despite sufficient supplies of arms and ammunition, despite their strategic positions and despite their resolute determination, were ordered to stop fighting and to retreat in the face of the Zionist invaders? Is it not an unforgettable disgrace to give in to pressures exerted by the United States, by zionism and by reactionary régimes and to send Palestinian combatants into exile in far-off places in Asia and Africa and then jubilantly raise one's fingers in the sign of victory?

234. What victory? We warn those elements that are busy making deals on Palestine, the holy land of our divine prophets, that the Islamic Ummah will not remain silent any longer and that the Palestinian people will not allow those elements to auction their destiny. The soil of this holy land is mixed with the blood of our ancestors and other Muslims of the world who fought long, bloody wars for their integrity in the history of Islam. We have deeply-felt ties with this holy land and we in our turn will not let political players manipulate the destiny of this sacrosanct centre of the Islamic world. Any Islamic Government that gives in to compromises with the Zionist régime will be responsible before the Islamic Ummah. A vote by any Islamic Government in favour of the Zionist non-entity's remaining in the United Nations will be totally unacceptable. I wish to remind third-world countries that the establishment of relations with the usurper régime in Palestine will only consolidate bases for United States imperialism in their countries and will not be of any benefit in the long run. And, finally, I should warn other nations that giving support to the perverted Israeli régime only strengthens the foundations of racism and destroys human values.

235. As a representative from a third-world country, I must admit here that if imperial-minded Powers succeeded in expanding the range of their aggression in the course of the previous year the blame should to a large extent be put upon the disarray and disunity in the third world.

236. Consider the statistics concerning the arms expenditures imposed on the third-world countries exposed to the ambitious policies of the imperial-minded Powers of the world. Impartial observers will be amazed at the plight of the peoples of these countries while spending on arms sky-rockets. Can those Governments with abundant petrodollars at

their disposal feign ignorance of the monstrosities committed by the Zionist régime in southern Lebanon, the imperialist plundering of the African and Muslim countries of the world or the aggressive acts of the occupying forces in Afghanistan? May we inquire about the purpose of these immense arms expenditures, which according to one estimate have reached the annual figure of $100 billion?

237. This enormous capital not only provides research opportunities, military and technological development and the potential for destruction and mass murder by the dominant Powers who act as the main supporters of Israel, but also helps enrich the aggressive machines for future purposes.

238. What factor except the lack of unity and coordination among Islamic countries could have given the Soviet Union the opportunity to occupy Afghanistan?

239. The Islamic Republic of Iran has repeatedly declared that the following four principal conditions justifiably requested by the people of Afghanistan can never be realized at negotiating tables without the participation of the true representatives of the people of Afghanistan: the complete and unconditional withdrawal of the foreign occupying troops; non-intervention of other forces in the internal affairs of Afghanistan; the return of Afghan refugees to their land; and future self-determination by the Afghan people. Events of the last year prove the validity of this view.

240. Although the continued occupation of Afghanistan is taking its toll and thousands of Afghan Muslim people have already sacrificed their precious lives in defence of their independence, honour and dignity, their struggle has certainly helped them approach the final solution of their problem and continue their struggle with even more determination. If the United States aggressors had been kicked out of Viet Nam through negotiations and without a prolonged struggle, it would have been reasonable to assume that the Soviet occupying forces would evacuate Afghanistan because of peaceful persuasion.

241. The adventure in Afghanistan is a result of a compromise between the super-Powers over the division of the world. While one invades Palestine and Lebanon the other attacks Afghanistan. When the Soviet Union invaded that Islamic country, the United States used it as an excuse for consolidating its bases in other countries of the region. It is catastrophic for the Islamic world that the Soviet Union does not withdraw its troops from Afghanistan, using the pretext of imaginary United States intervention in that country, and that the United States drives Islamic Governments into submission using the scarecrow of communist threat and domination.

242. In the midst of all this, what are the Islamic Governments doing? Is it not a fact that Afghanistan, a country almost as ancient as the religion of Islam itself, is invaded by the world of atheism? Why are we then wasting time in exchanging platitudes, empty gestures and useless compromises? Unfortunately, at the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi in March 1983, we also witnessed a painful compromising attitude towards the vexing question of Afghanistan. A third-world country has been under occupation for some five years, its civilian areas are being bombed and destroyed, hundreds of thousands of its people are being massacred and some 25 per cent of its population has been made homeless and sent into exile. It is unbelievable that the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries should ignore its fate and bypass the question. This type of treatment of the Afghanistan tragedy amounts to nothing short of sacrificing a whole nation at the altar of world imperialism.

243. It is now the fifth anniversary of the Iraqi invasion of the Islamic Republic of Iran and Iraq's continued aggression against our people. Considering our experience in previous years, I wonder how useful it would be to describe the dimensions of this monstrosity in this international Assembly. For the last 12 months, we have constantly reported all cases of Iraqi violations and aggressions to the United Nations, and we have previously documented our fundamental objections for the Security Council. We have already given the necessary warning concerning the dimensions of the violations of international conventions and regulations, particularly the use of chemical weapons by the aggressor Iraqi régime.

244. The reports of the United Nations mission to Iran concerning the destruction of civilian and residential areas as well as the reports submitted to the United Nations by the International Red Cross about the situation and treatment of Iranian prisoners of war in Iraq, both civilian and military, have left no reasonable doubts about the true nature of the Iraqi régime. Under such circumstances, it was hoped that such a world institution would, in view of its raison d'être, mobilize all its potential to stop the continuation of the unprecedented Iraqi violations. But reality took a path contrary to our hopes and expectations.

245. The Security Council persisted, as usual, in being most partial and unprincipled and thereby provided the Iraqi régime with heartening encouragement for its inhuman actions. If there is any reservation in accepting our statement, I would request of you kindly to reconsider Security Council resolution 552 (1984), and particularly the operative paragraphs, to find out how this so-called Security Council, which is duty-bound to work for the establishment of peace and security in all parts of the world without discrimination and regardless of the interest of the super-Powers in the different regions, has shamelessly undermined the security of the Persian Gulf.

246. The Foreign Ministry of the Islamic Republic of Iran, in a communiqué published immediately after the appearance of this resolution, announced that it was nothing but a green light to the Iraqi régime to continue creating tension and trouble in the region. The Iraqi attack on a Turkish oil tanker following the announcement of this resolution confirmed the truth of our view. The Security Council should be questioned as to how it intends to discharge its responsibility regarding the continuation of Iraqi attacks on international shipping in the Persian Gulf. As we all know, two months before this resolution was approved, Iraqi aircraft had already attacked ships in international waters belonging to some of the countries which had sponsored the resolution in the Security Council. Could those who approved Security Council resolution 552 (1984) tell us why they did not condemn the Iraqi attacks at the time?

247. Is attacking ships belonging to non-belligerent countries not a violation of international law? Did the instigation of trouble in the Persian Gulf that was considered as threatening international peace and security as well as the stability of the world economy in the fifth preambular paragraph of resolution 552 (1984) not commit the Security Council to take immediate action for the cessation of those aggressive acts? Did the Security Council not have the obligation to declare its position most clearly regarding those dangerous attacks? Regrettably the negligence on the part of the Security Council in fulfilling its obligations is not confined to the few cases already mentioned. Months before the victims of the Iraqi chemical war were to be sent to European countries for treatment, the Islamic Republic of Iran, on the basis of irrefutable evidence, internationally raised the question of the imminent use of chemical weapons by the criminal Iraqi régime. A case in hand was the published reports about certain loud-mouthed chicken-hearted Iraqi generals who talked of our valiant Islamic soldiers as "pests" and proudly advertised the use of "insecticides" against Iranian soldiers.

248. Unfortunately, once again, the negligence and lack of appropriate reaction on the part of international bodies, and particularly the meaningful silence of the Security Council, encouraged the Iraqi régime to employ chemical weapons on a large scale without any fear of the consequences of its action. The reaction of the Security Council after several months and under the pressure of world public opinion should become the subject of a serious study. Instead of deciding on a resolution which would contain effective measures to prohibit the reuse of chemical weapons, the Security Council was satisfied to issue a statement[9] which did not have the slightest effect in inducing the Iraqi régime to discontinue its chemical massacres.

249. A study of the performance of the Security Council with regard to resolution 552 (1984), dealing with security in the Persian Gulf, as well as the very first resolution of the Council concerning the war imposed on Iran [*resolution 479 (1980)*], which confined itself to a request to both parties to forgo the use of force, without any reference to Iraq's explicit aggression against Iran and its occupation of large parts of our territory and without requesting the aggressor to withdraw its troops to international borders, and a comparison with Council resolutions 514 (1982) and 522 (1982)—adopted after a two-year-long silence, only when Iranian forces had defeated the aggressive enemy and liberated substantial parts of our Islamic homeland—which requested the withdrawal of troops from occupied territories, warrants a new definition of the Security Council.

250. The Security Council is a body that acts on the basis of the joint interest of the super-Powers only following certain events which aim at securing the demands of the super-Powers but eventually threaten international peace and security and, under circumstances when the pressure of world public opinion does not allow its continued silence, its actions take the form of resolutions which have very little effect on the restoration of international peace and security. This is a true description of the Security Council and it is terribly depressing because it is clear evidence of the bitter fact that, in spite of all international efforts since the end of the First World War for the establishment of institutions to protect and guarantee the rights and security of nations, the international community is still absolutely defenceless in the face of inhuman violations and aggressions.

251. Allow me to provide you with a small list of the aggressive acts of the Iraqi régime in the course of the last four years in order to shed more light on what I have just stated. The Iraqi régime has threatened international peace and security and flagrantly and openly violated the purposes of the Charter of the United Nations and international law in numerous cases, including the following: first, violation of the Charter of the United Nations by resorting to force to settle disputes and invading the Islamic Republic of Iran with the intention of occupying it and overthrowing its régime, and failure to seek arbitration as stipulated in the 1975 Algiers Treaty signed by Iran and Iraq and the unilateral abrogation of this Treaty followed by all-out aggression against the Islamic Republic of Iran; secondly, violation of humanitarian principles by destruction of civilian and residential areas in the Islamic Republic of Iran, as stated in the report of the Secretary-General dated 20 June 1983;[10] thirdly, repeated violation of the four Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949, as stated in that report, and the statements by the International Red Cross regarding the treatment of Iranian prisoners of war by the Iraqi régime and missile attacks against residential areas; fourthly, violation of all international regulations and conventions regarding the environment and endangering marine life in the Persian Gulf; fifthly, violation of the Protocol for the Prohibition of the Use in War of Asphyxiating, Poisonous or Other Gases, and of Bacteriological Methods of Warfare, signed at Geneva on 17 June 1925,[11] as detailed in the report of the specialists appointed by the Secretary-General, dated 26 March 1984;[12] sixthly, violation of international laws concerning commercial shipping by attacking commercial vessels in the Persian Gulf for the purpose of causing tension throughout the Persian Gulf region with the consequence of endangering peace and security and the stability of the world economy in view of the vital role of the Persian Gulf region in this respect.

252. The aforementioned cases, which testify to the continuous Iraqi aggression, prove that the United Nations, particularly the Security Council, for reasons obvious to all, has failed to take the necessary steps to prohibit these aggressive acts. This impotence is mainly due to the lack of adherence by the permanent members of the Security Council to their own resolution because of the unfair right of veto. In paragraph 5 of resolution 514 (1982) of 12 July 1982, paragraph 6 of resolution 522 (1982) of 4 October 1982 and paragraph 6 of resolution 540 (1983) of 31 October 1983, the Security Council requests all Members of the United Nations to refrain from any action which would result in the continuation of war and escalation of tension. Have the permanent members of the Council practised what they preached? Representatives in the Assembly are fully aware that certain permanent members of the Council, having supplied the Iraqi régime with the most sophisticated weapons, have clearly helped prolong the war and increase tension in the region and have flagrantly violated resolutions they themselves approved.

253. The cases of violation and acts of aggression by the Iraqi régime also help us raise another

question concerning the Middle East countries in general and the countries of the Persian Gulf region in particular. How could those countries, being familiar with the aggressive record of the Iraqi régime, have the slightest trust in a régime which is fully supported, like its expansionist Zionist counterpart, by the imperial-minded Powers in the political, economic, military and propaganda fields? The Iraqi régime, like the racist Zionist régime, is always ready to go to extremes to achieve its inhuman objectives. Does not the fact that the Iraqi régime has not yet replied to the request by the Secretary-General concerning the prohibition of chemical weapons, despite the sensitivity that the international community has shown so far, indicate undeniably that that régime does not respect international laws in the least and has no respect for its own commitments?

254. The Islamic Republic of Iran need not reiterate its bitter experiences. Those that insist on the declaration of a cease-fire cannot possibly deny the fact that the establishment of a lasting peace without the eradication of aggression has no meaning and is simply an empty gesture. The people in our region, as a result of constant experience of the Iraqi régime, have reached the conclusion that aggressiveness, expansionism and adventurism are not the sort of qualities to be removed by advice; they are, rather, the intrinsic characteristics of the Baathist Iraqi régime.

255. No doubt representatives are already informed about the latest Iraqi adventure in continuing its aggressive policy against the Islamic Republic of Iran. I am of course referring to the Iraqi régime's open participation in recent hijackings of Iranian civil aircraft. The Iraqi Government has not only violated the existing conventions and regulations governing civil aviation by complicity in these cases of hijacking, but has also provided the hijackers—known terrorists working for foreign Governments—with all sorts of facilities, granting them political asylum and the opportunity to give press conferences. These incidents prove once again that the Iraqi régime has absolutely no respect for international laws or humanitarian considerations. The Iraqi régime has rejected all requests by relevant international organizations to return the hijacked aircraft or to put the culprits on trial in accordance with international conventions. It recently announced that that aircraft would be used inside Iraq.

256. Such adventures, including the criminal action of the Iraqi régime in shooting down the aeroplane carrying the former Foreign Minister of Algeria, the late Mr. Benyahia, are but a few examples of crimes committed by the régime ruling Iraq.

257. As far as the Iraqi régime is concerned, the Islamic Republic of Iran has exhausted all appeals to reason and logic. On the one hand, favourable response to the Secretary-General's requests to respect all international laws and regulations, and, on the other, the behaviour of the Iraqi régime *vis-à-vis* these international norms have proved beyond a shadow of doubt the identity of the warmonger.

258. It is rather amusing that all mediators and supporters of the Iraqi régime, when discussing the war with us in private or in public, request us to pardon the Iraqi régime for having started this bloody war against us, but that the Foreign Minister of Iraq stated the other day in this Assembly [*12th meeting*] that it was Iran that had started the war. In my view, he seems to have confused this international gathering with the Baath Party conferences at Baghdad, at which exchange of nonsense is the usual procedure.

259. We believe that, from among international laws and provisions, those that are the result of long years of suffering by humanity and the product of the joint endeavours of all nations must be respected and safeguarded in all circumstances. The violation of those laws and principles is an insult to the whole of human society. Every one of us has the duty and responsibility to do his best to prevent the violation of those principles and laws through joint efforts. Actions speak louder than words. The Islamic Republic of Iran has proved in action that it stands ready to safeguard those principles, and it once again declares that it is prepared to co-operate with every institution or authority which does not aim at supporting colonial interests of aggressive intent.

260. On the question of disarmament, there are many noteworthy points that may be raised with special regard to developments and international agreements in the course of the previous year. However, in our opinion the point that should attract our attention most is the bitter experience we have gained in this respect, which could have serious effects on the process of negotiations and developments concerning the question of disarmament. The use of chemical weapons by the Iraqi régime on an unprecedented scale has shown us that, if compulsory international laws on disarmament are not coupled with the appropriate international means to prevent the violation of these commitments, the mere signing of such agreements would be absolutely useless. Moreover, the continuing violation of those commitments would discourage international interest in such efforts. If the authors of the 1925 Geneva Protocol on the prohibition of the use of chemical weapons could possibly know that some 60 years later the result of their efforts would be ridiculed so openly and shamelessly by an unscrupulous, unrestrained régime such as that of present-day Iraq, they would hardly think their Protocol worth the paper it was written on.

261. Among the achievements of the Conference on Disarmament, meeting at Geneva last year, the relative progress in the preparation of a convention on the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of all chemical weapons and on their destruction raised some hopes. However, the subsequent use of these weapons by Iraq was most discouraging. When those who use such weapons are not immediately punished but rather, as a result of the negligence of responsible international authorities, are determined to continue with their evil action, what guarantees are there to assure the world community that shortly after the signing of the new convention the producers of chemical weapons will not continue their production?

262. A vivid case of such lack of compliance was clearly shown when, as noted above, the United Nations mission to Iran submitted a report on the use of chemical weapons by Iraq, followed by the condemnation of those horrible crimes by many countries. Nevertheless, the Iraqi régime used those weapons again, with unprecedented shamelessness. All relevant reports have already been submitted to the United Nations.

263. The use of chemical weapons in some countries, more extensively in Iran than in other places, underlines the urgent need for the international community to commence effective, collective action to prevent the continuation of these crimes. In his speech of 5 July 1984 at the Conference on Disarmament,[13] the Foreign Minister of Switzerland proposed that in order to consolidate the 1925 Geneva Protocol it would be absolutely necessary for all countries of the world to condemn the use of chemical weapons unilaterally and later, in an appropriate international forum, to reaffirm their commitment in a collective manner. I believe that the present time and place are most appropriate for this.

264. With due respect to those who left us the honourable heritage of the Geneva Protocol some 60 years ago, I hope that my proposal will meet with a welcome from delegations. I request the Secretary-General, who has shown appreciable sensitivity and made competent efforts in this respect, personally to undertake the execution of this proposal.

265. As the Assembly knows, a considerable number of reports have already been published about plants manufacturing chemical weapons in Iraq. While expressing my deep concern and regret about this, I request the Secretary-General, on the basis of his international responsibility and certainly on humanitarian grounds, to send a mission of experts from volunteer countries to inspect those plants and to submit their findings to the General Assembly.

266. I have had to deal with the exceptionally important question of chemical weapons in relative detail. As a result, other important subjects concerning the disarmament question, such as the proliferation of nuclear weapons and the extension of the arms race into outer space by the super-Powers, which seriously threaten the fate of humanity, have been left out.

267. However, despite the shortage of time, the question of the economic consequences of the astronomical arms expenditure cannot be disregarded. The division of the world into East and West, the formation of power blocs and military alignments and, finally, the current insane arms race, which, in addition to the creation of the potential for massive destruction and genocide, requires immense human and natural resources, as well as enormous capital allocations which could be utilized in a rational, humane manner for the economic and social welfare of deprived nations and their development, have led to grave economic imbalances. There is no doubt that only a portion of the annual military budgets of the super-Powers, resulting from militaristic trends on a world scale, would meet many of the basic needs of the deprived peoples and prevent hunger and starvation suffered by millions.

268. Last year's economic crisis was of great concern to all of us. Regrettably, not only has it not been reduced in the course of this year but it has intensified and become further institutionalized. The re-emergence of the "debt crisis" much earlier than anticipated might be considered an outstanding manifestation of a global economic crisis. However, it should be noted that the real meaning of the "debt crisis" should be sought in the unbearable suffering and deprivation imposed on the peoples of the debtor countries by paralysing socio-economic difficulties and not in the tremors felt by United States banks and the international financial system.

269. The continuing current economic crisis is rooted in the existing unjust world system and the historical control of a minority over the economic levers and natural resources and, consequently, over a toiling and deprived majority. Furthermore, the deliberate destruction of resources and economic order, which threatens the livelihood of future generations, lies in the hands of the imperialistically minded powers of the world. The very nature of the crisis makes it clear that, contrary to the claims of the oppressors, short-sighted solutions and the application of palliatives cannot solve the existing problems. What better example is there in this respect than the emergence of the reverse "capital transfer" phenomenon from the debtor countries to the rich ones?

270. The present unjust world order operates in such a way that the economic prosperity of oppressor countries cannot be achieved except through intense exploitation of the developing countries and the further institutionalization of their underdevelopment. There is no doubt that comprehensive global negotiations could be considered as the first step towards the alleviation of the international economic crisis, but we believe any success in this field depends on the complete eradication of the oppressive domination of the super-Powers over the third-world countries. We further believe that limited and partial solutions and so-called crisis management, avoiding multilateralism for the sake of bilateral financial arrangements, do nothing but intensify and further institutionalize the current crisis.

271. The super-Powers also constantly create tension and engage in aggressive acts which help to intensify the economic crisis. We are certain that the security of international waterways is of paramount importance for the preservation and continuity of international economic activities. Unfortunately, we have witnessed the creation of tension on a very large scale in vitally important international waterways in the course of the last year. The tension began with the mining and blockading of the Nicaraguan waterways; it intensified with the movement of fleets in the Indian Ocean and the shooting at commercial vessels and oil tankers in the Persian Gulf. The United States, having been defeated in Lebanon on several occasions, was searching for new excuses to strengthen its military influence in the region and the excuse it found was a publicity ploy regarding alleged minelaying in the Suez Canal and the Red Sea. The United States pretended that it was too dangerous to navigate in this region, while its obvious objective was to gain new footholds for the execution of its aggressive schemes and the extraction of fresh concessions from the countries of the region.

272. We reaffirm the responsibility of the regional States for the protection and security of navigation in the Red Sea but give warning that this plot was hatched primarily to dominate that waterway and to internationalize the responsibility for its security. Undoubtedly, this alleged act of mining the Red Sea cannot be separated from other lawless actions off the shores of Nicaragua and in the Persian Gulf.

273. For the imperial-minded Powers of the world, it is quite permissible and justifiable to commit any act or hatch any plot that may help satisfy their boundless ambitions, regardless of whether such actions endanger the economic security of others or deprive them of their natural rights. The only thing that matters to those Powers is the continuity of their dominance in different parts of the world. Hence, the

United States has had the audacity to violate the basic principles of the Convention on International Civil Aviation, signed at Chicago on 7 December 1944,[14] and other conventions concerning navigational rights by its proclamation of 22 January 1984, in which it claimed new zones for international aviation and shipping and special zones in the Persian Gulf for its fleets. Further, by raising the so-called question of mobile sovereignty, the United States has flagrantly violated the obvious natural rights of the States entitled to special privileges and priority in their own coastal waters. It is important to note that the United States commits these violations in such partially closed waterways as the Persian Gulf and inside the exclusive economic zone of adjacent countries.

274. With regard to other parts of our troubled world, I deem it necessary to call the following to the attention of this Assembly. First, having turned Diego García into an imperial military base, the United States has become a serious threat to the peace and stability of the Indian Ocean region. We strongly oppose all and every kind of intervention by arrogant Powers in our area and declare the region of the Indian Ocean to be a zone of peace.

275. Next, while extending our full support to the oppressed people of Namibia, we demand the immediate withdrawal from Angola of the occupying forces of the racist régime of South Africa.

276. The Islamic Republic of Iran whole-heartedly supports the struggle of the Muslim people of Western Sahara for independence, in line with the provisions of the relevant resolutions of the OAU and the United Nations.

277. United States intervention in Latin America and in Caribbean countries is in violation of all international norms. We fully support the struggle of the peoples of Nicaragua and El Salvador and consider the Contadora declaration[15] to be an appropriate framework for solving the problems of that region.

278. In our view, the division of countries is an imperialist trick, one often played for the purpose of cultural, economic, political and military domination. The Korean peninsula is a victim of such divisive policies. We strongly oppose the division of Korea and demand the withdrawal of those foreign forces which under the pretext of peace-keeping have placed their evil barrier in the way of the unification of the people of that country.

279. It is regrettable that the United Nations has been practically unable to solve any of the aforementioned problems. It seems that the United Nations, too, is a victim of the arrogance of the imperial-minded Powers.

280. Mr. SALDÍVAR (Paraguay) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I should like to begin by extending our most cordial greetings to Mr. Paul Lusaka, the representative of the Republic of Zambia, upon his election to the presidency of this thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly, the largest of all world forums. I wish also to greet the Secretary-General, whose effective work merits our country's full understanding and support, and to welcome the admission of Brunei Darussalam to the United Nations.

281. Paraguay has worked unceasingly to achieve the goals and objectives of the economic and social development it has set itself. The economic crisis besetting mankind today, undoubtedly one of the most intense in history, has not seriously affected our economy thanks to the timely measures that our Government adopted.

282. We have applied the achievements of science and technology principally to agricultural and livestock research, and this has led to excellent results in those fields, with a considerable increase in production that has directly benefited the great majority of workers in our country, namely, those engaged in agricultural activities.

283. With regard to social issues, there have also been considerable achievements and this has been reflected in the stability and peace that prevail in our country.

Mr. Farah Dirir (Djibouti), Vice-President, took the Chair.

284. I can state with legitimate pride that the Republic of Paraguay enjoys true democracy and that the rule of law prevails in our land, where our citizens are developing and improving our democratic institutions. In Paraguay there are no political prisoners, nor are there any terrorist attacks to disturb our peace and, through the division, balance and interdependence of State powers, a healthy and active political life is guaranteed.

285. Within this framework, periodic elections are held in accordance with the provisions of our national Constitution, with the participation of all legally constituted parties within an active, genuine, democratic multi-party system that reflects the political maturity achieved by the Paraguayan people and brooks no interference of any kind.

286. Within the context of regional integration, Paraguay and Brazil are jointly constructing the Itaipú hydroelectric facility, which will be the largest in the world. On 25 October 1984, there will be a meeting between the President of Paraguay, General Alfredo Stroessner, and the President of Brazil, General João Baptista de Oliveira Figueiredo, at the construction site in order to mark formally the beginning of operations, and this will undoubtedly constitute a milestone of the greatest importance in Latin American relations.

287. With respect to Argentina, another neighbouring country, we are continuing our work with it at a speedy pace, on the Yacyretá hydroelectric project. In August there was a meeting of the Foreign Ministers of Paraguay and Argentina at the construction site, marking the political will of both Governments to continue and accelerate the pace of construction of the project.

288. This, then, shows that the development policy of the Government of President Stroessner has fostered initiative and participation on the part of all of our citizens, leading to the optimum utilization of natural resources and creating the proper conditions for continued co-operation with friendly countries, countries of the United Nations, whose support is always useful, for it helps to give shape to the plans established by the Government to ensure sustained development as planned for the future.

289. The agenda of this session of the General Assembly contains many items and serious outstanding questions that are endangering international peace and security.

290. We are struck by the fact that the great problem facing the world in the political arena is the arms buildup, which has entered upon a truly

dangerous and alarming stage. While at the same time economic problems beset entire peoples, expenditures on armaments consume billions of dollars every year in an arms race which may well lead us to very serious and irreparable situations in the future.

291. The characteristic fact that regional conflicts or conflicts between specific countries are not submitted to the United Nations or to competent regional bodies is still the sad reality of our day. The side-stepping of the United Nations with respect to matters of international peace and security leads us to believe that very often the parties involved do not have the political will to request assistance from the United Nations.

292. The proliferation of nuclear weapons is another burning issue which is horrifying for the peoples of the world. It is absolutely essential for countries that do not have nuclear facilities to be protected against any danger that might stem from the use of such weapons. The fear of collective holocaust is a daily reality which surely deserves the attention of this Assembly.

293. The Assembly's agenda once again includes items of the utmost importance for the security of today's world, such as the issues of Kampuchea and Afghanistan. In the latter country, a major Power, in flagrant violation of the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other States, has been applying its full might. The time has come for the United Nations to succeed in putting an end, once and for all, to such interventions, which only bring about insecurity and instability and which are a clear mockery of justice and of respect for the sovereignty of entire peoples.

294. The problem of the Middle East continues to be of great concern. There is only one option: that the United Nations will achieve in that part of the world the necessary atmosphere so that, with its assistance, final solutions may be found for all the nations of the region, so as to satisfy their needs on the basis of international law and in keeping with their just aspirations.

295. The conflict in the Persian Gulf is another manifestation of insecurity which endangers international peace. The countries involved must find by means of dialogue or through the United Nations a lasting solution to this problem which may, at any moment, lead to a serious world-wide conflict.

296. We certainly cannot forget the problem of Central America. The undisguised intervention by a major Power from outside the continent, through one of the States in the region, results in imminent danger to peace, and insecurity and mutual suspicions have turned an entire area into one of serious conflict. We await with optimism the outcome of the efforts which are being made in the region to achieve lasting and stable peace and to avoid interference by interests from outside the continent which can gravely upset the stability of the American continent.

297. In the economic field, North-South relations have not yet found the path of understanding and coexistence which we all desire. Any effort which nations may make regarding these questions not only will lead to an enhancement of the standard of living of millions of human beings but will also bring about international peace, for there can be no true peace when millions of children suffer for lack of food and other means.

298. There has been almost no effective progress in the North-South dialogue despite the fact that various meetings have been held on the world economic situation. Developing countries feel the great weight of the external debt which cannot be paid and which keeps them from being eligible for new funds which they need to make social and economic progress.

299. The payment of the external debt of the developing countries is one of the most urgent problems before the international community today. The United Nations cannot remain indifferent in the face of this real problem, which endangers dozens of countries and their respective economies. The raising of interest rates by the international banks compounds the situation and makes it difficult to find a solution to this problem, which is further complicated by world economic recession.

300. Paraguay has administered the funds it has received and it is up to date in meeting its international commitments, and therefore this problem does not affect it directly. But we have feelings of solidarity for those Latin American countries which are making major efforts within the Cartagena group to solve this serious problem.

301. The United Nations must strive to make use of all possible means in the search for a solution to this question, which endangers not only the economy, but the very existence and sovereignty of many countries with dependent economies. Various technical bodies have met, and their recommendations reflect agreement that this is a very dangerous question. The Organization should take direct practical measures and should obtain from creditor countries and banks, first of all, a containment of interest rates and, then, better conditions for the payment of the debts which affect so many peoples in the international community.

302. The tragedy of countries which export raw materials persists in the face of the constantly increasing prices of manufactured goods. There has been so much talk on this subject that there is general skepticism on the question, but international solidarity and justice in relations among countries unquestionably demand that we strive to close the widening gap between the industrialized countries and the countries which produce raw materials.

303. Along with concerns aroused all over the world by the global economic recession, which has resulted in unemployment, poverty and all sorts of other problems, there is another grave concern: the limitation or reduction of the contributions made by certain highly developed countries to international financial bodies and to specialized agencies of the United Nations to enable them to carry out their projects in the developing countries. A serious and humane re-examination of those contributions would result in an incalculable improvement in the progress and development of more than 100 countries which need funds and development programmes to raise their standard of living.

304. The United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea[16] is now a reality. All developing countries hope that its provisions will come into force soon and that land-locked countries in particular will be able to benefit from their legitimate share of marine resources.

305. The decolonization process being carried out by the United Nations is worthy of our consideration. The Special Committee on the Situation with

regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples deserves the support of all the world's free peoples, and from this rostrum we greet all the new countries which in recent years have joined the international community and the United Nations as a result of that process.

306. We are pleased at the integration of East Timor into the Republic of Indonesia. To this question must be applied a basic principle of international law—the integrity of nations; no circumstances or outside interference can delay that decision.

307. The international community continues to desire the peaceful reunification of the two Koreas; this must be achieved through direct dialogue between the authorities of South Korea and North Korea. The Republic of Korea continues to make tireless efforts to reunify a divided people, and it has taken important steps to reduce tension and promote reconciliation, steps which have been welcomed with satisfaction by world public opinion. Experience in earlier events shows us that it is important to have a prior understanding and a basic agreement between South and North Korea; thus, both parties should be encouraged to return to the negotiating table, and the United Nations should lend its support to such efforts.

308. The solution of the problem of the two Koreas does not involve those countries alone. The breach of the peace and of the political-military balance in that area will affect that part of Asia, with serious consequences for many States Members of the United Nations. The international community knows that the Republic of Korea meets all the requirements set in the Charter of the United Nations for admission as a full Member of the Organization. Its admission would be a major step forward in the solution of the problem and would guarantee responsibility, and it could contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security. The logical conclusion of this question would be the inclusion of the two Koreas without threatening to perpetuate the division of that nation.

309. The question of the Malvinas Islands continues to be a matter concerning which the international community is searching for a solution that would preserve universal peace. In this connection, we reaffirm the pacifist tradition of our country and its solidarity with friendly nations, which lead us to support all initiatives with a view to achieving a negotiated solution, based on international law, to the dispute concerning sovereignty over the Malvinas Islands. Paraguay would be glad to see a resumption of bilateral negotiations between the Argentine Republic and the United Kingdom, and to see the Secretary-General use his good offices for that purpose.

310. At the beginning of the dispute, Paraguay was one of the sponsors of the draft resolution which the General Assembly adopted as resolution 37/9. At the thirty-seventh session, our representative stated the following:

> "As a founding Member of the United Nations, and respectful as we are of the principles and purposes set forth in the Charter, we feel the responsibility and the duty to participate in the debate on this item in order to contribute to the search for a peaceful solution . . ." [*54th meeting, para. 118*].

311. We stress the need to make progress along that path of negotiations, and we reiterate that Paraguay has never recognized the use of force or military occupation as a way of acquiring territory.

312. Our generation has the absurd distinction of having turned man into a beast whose prey is man and of being a generation in which the unbridled and fanatical forces of terrorism act mercilessly and heartlessly in all countries and in all spheres. We refer here to both international terrorism and terrorism within countries. The United Nations must consider practical measures for putting an end to terrorism in all its forms. We know that study of the underlying causes of terrorism is necessary for the understanding and repression of the phenomenon, but we do not consider it acceptable for the fight against terrorism to be subordinated to the solution of its causes.

313. While it is true that this picture of the world is not an encouraging one, since problems proliferate and disagreements among nations continue, the Republic of Paraguay continues to hope that the United Nations will find the right road that will lead mankind to a happy future, and we renew our faith in man as the subject and protagonist of history, in the certainty that man will win in the struggle for a better world in which we can live and coexist in peace.

314. Mr. NAMALIU (Papua New Guinea): I join previous speakers in extending to Mr. Lusaka my delegation's congratulations on his election as President of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. I should also like to express our appreciation of the exemplary manner in which his distinguished predecessor, Mr. Illueca, presided over the thirty-eighth session.

315. On behalf of the Papua New Guinea Government, I extend a special welcome to Brunei Darussalam on its becoming a Member of the United Nations. As a neighbour in the region, Papua New Guinea has close ties with Brunei. Brunei and Papua New Guinea representatives sat together as special observers at the annual meetings of Foreign Ministers of the Association of South-East Asian Nations [*ASEAN*] before we decided to become a full member this year, and at the regional meetings of the Commonwealth Heads of Government.

316. Many of the items on the agenda for this session of the General Assembly have, in one form or another, been on its agenda since my country joined the United Nations nine years ago. Resolutions dealing with these items have been debated and adopted, but little progress has been made in giving effect to some of them. Circumstances which first led to the inclusion of these items on the agenda still prevail, or have even worsened.

317. In the interim, issues which once seemed somewhat abstract, and problems which once seemed rather remote, have gained concreteness and immediacy for my country. Without wishing to detract in any way from the intrinsic importance of other items on the agenda, I propose to focus on those issues and problems.

318. But let me begin by stating that, despite the slow and sometimes frustrating progress being made in dealing practically with certain items, the Government and people of Papua New Guinea remain as strongly committed to the United Nations, as the

Prime Minister of my country, Mr. Michael T. Somare, reaffirmed when he addressed the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly last year [*31st meeting*]. In fact, recent developments have, if anything, increased the importance which we attach to the United Nations, and strengthened our commitment to it. As the White Paper which guides the Government's conduct of Papua New Guinea's foreign relations makes clear, diplomacy plays a "vital role . . . in serving our national interests". We have a vital interest in participating as effectively and constructively as we can in the General Assembly's deliberations and "in supporting a strengthened United Nations system".

319. We meet at a time of greatly increased—and increasing—rivalry between the super-Powers. Communication between their leaders has probably reached an all-time low. Even talks about arms control and disarmament have broken down. The resulting tensions can be felt in all parts of the world.

320. Third-world countries have been affected by rivalry between the two super-Powers in various—but almost always destructive—ways. Some have fallen direct victims to the insecurity felt by the leaders of the super-Powers as a result of the rivalry between them. Afghanistan is an example. Others have become the location of contests between foreign and/or domestic forces, as in Central America and the Middle East. Yet others have suffered at the hands of forces allied with, or acting for, one of the super-Powers. Kampuchea is an instance.

321. As the Government of a newly independent and developing country, we attach particular and great importance to the rights of such countries to be secure, free from attack or other forms of unwelcome interference by their neighbours. That is why we have been, and remain, so strongly opposed to the Vietnamese invasion and occupation of Kampuchea. That is why we have condemned the Soviet presence in Afghanistan. That is why we have called for the withdrawal of foreign troops from other countries, including Lebanon, and welcome the recent agreement between the French and Libyan Governments to withdraw their forces from Chad.

322. Every day more than $2 billion is spent on arms by the super-Powers. The figure is many times the total world expenditure on foreign aid.

323. Regrettably, much of the money being spent on arms comes from the budgets of Governments in the third world. Meanwhile, the population of third-world countries is increasing and the prospects open to citizens of third-world countries for equitable participation in development processes and in their fruits recede. The gap between developed and developing countries widens. And international tensions continue, in consequence, to rise.

324. The arms race between the super-Powers is not, however, the only arms race in the world. Nor is rivalry between the super-Powers the only source of armed conflict. The terrible and costly war between Iran and Iraq is only a particularly deplorable example of armed conflict between the forces of neighbouring third-world countries. It is, moreover, a conflict which carries with it the calamitous possibility of drawing in other, outside Powers, unless it can be promptly contained.

325. Regional bodies can make an effective contribution to limiting the effects of rivalry between the super-Powers, in restraining other international conflicts, and in arms control. The achievements of ASEAN, as well as proposals adopted by the South Pacific Forum, spring to mind.

326. Direct dealings between the Governments of neighbouring countries can make a similar contribution. So can direct dealings of a non-official kind. And here the recent *rapprochement* between the Japanese and South Korean Governments, as well as the offer of emergency relief for South Korea by the North Korean Red Cross, come to mind, perhaps as models for further developments directed towards reducing divisions and tensions in the North Pacific region.

327. My Government is concerned about the long-standing animosity between the two nations in the Korean peninsula. They were one people; they can once again be one people. No one from outside can find a solution to their problems. Reunification as their goal is for them, and them alone.

328. If the United Nations, a body founded in the aftermath of war and dedicated to preventing further war, fails to play its appointed part, where can the peoples of the world turn? Members of the United Nations have the required machinery at their disposal to work for the reduction of international tensions, control over the manufacture and distribution of arms and, ultimately, complete disarmament. The responsibility to act is squarely ours. Dare we, especially the representatives of newly independent and developing countries, where other needs are so urgently pressing, fail our children and other members of our families, our fellow citizens and other human beings by not using that machinery with sufficient will and might?

329. Certain of the issues and problems raised by the situation which has been developing on my country's border with Indonesia since February of this year once seemed abstract and remote from Papua New Guinea. But some at least are, without doubt, generally familiar to people from other countries. They are among the issues and problems which I have suggested have gained concreteness and immediacy for my country.

330. As with many other newly independent countries in Africa, Asia and the Pacific, the national boundaries of Papua New Guinea were drawn up, without regard for local geography or custom, by our former colonial rulers. But, as with most other newly independent countries, we have accepted them. Apart from some minor—and welcome—adjustments on the border with Australia, so have our neighbours.

331. The Governments of Papua New Guinea and Indonesia recognize one another's sovereignty, integrity and independence. Under a Treaty concluded in 1979, we agreed not to allow our respective border areas to be used "as sanctuary, staging areas, bases or for illegal activities against each other". Despite the difficult terrain and strong ties between traditional border-dwellers on both sides, the Government of Papua New Guinea has honestly tried to abide by that Treaty.

332. We have always respected the sovereignty of the Republic of Indonesia. Regrettably, however, it has appeared clearly that the reverse has not always been the case. On several occasions in recent years, we have protested to the Indonesian Government at what we believed to be violations of our territorial sovereignty. Those violations have included the

intrusion into our territory of military aircraft, the destruction of a village near the border and the construction at four points of a major highway into Papua New Guinea.

333. In each case, the Papua New Guinea Government has sought an explanation of the violation before protesting. In line with our policy of independent and constructive neighbourly co-operation with the Governments of nearby countries, we have then sought to look beyond our protest for ways of avoiding a repetition and of maintaining and strengthening good relations with the Government and people of Indonesia.

334. Let me emphasize that there is no disagreement between the Governments of Papua New Guinea and Indonesia as to where the international boundary is or should be. We have a joint border agreement which governs the administration of our common border. It is reviewed every five years; it is being reviewed now. We co-operate in many other ways.

335. None the less, my Government has not been satisfied with official responses to most of our protests. In only one case, and only after joint verification by the surveyors from both countries of the road intrusions into Papua New Guinea territory, did they admit that the mistake was unintentional and apologized publicly for it. Our two Governments agreed to close off the sections of the road permanently and did so last August. Four permanent concrete markers were installed at the points of closure and, because of the difficult terrain, we have both agreed to put in additional monuments to identify the border more clearly.

336. The situation on the border between Papua New Guinea and Indonesia has been disturbed for reasons other than the border violations I have mentioned. I refer in particular to the unprecedented influx of more than 10,000 Indonesian citizens who have crossed into Papua New Guinea since February and remain in my country contrary to law or established procedures.

337. Living conditions in the border area do not provide for much more than basic subsistence at the best of times. Despite a special border development programme, Government resources in the area are not great. The strain caused by the presence of some 10,000 people in camps on the Papua New Guinea side of the border has, therefore, been considerable. Suffering, including a number of tragic deaths, has resulted.

338. The Government of Papua New Guinea is doing what it can to cope with the unprecedented situation. We deeply appreciate the assistance which the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the Indonesian Government and voluntary agencies have given in caring for the people in these camps. But we would urge them not to lose sight either of conditions in the area around the camps or of the circumstances which have caused the people in the camps to leave their homes. Those circumstances are not of the Papua New Guinea Government's making.

339. Although we are under no legal obligation to do so, my Government will treat people who meet the normal international requirements as refugees. We hope that the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, as well as members of the General Assembly, will be able to help us find them permanent homes. But let me make it clear that the responsibility for deciding who can remain in Papua New Guinea belongs to the appropriate authorities in my country. Border-crossers who do not qualify for refugee status in the normal way will be expected to return to their homes in Indonesia. The people and Government of my country cannot afford to keep them. They have no real right to stay. But let me add that we are sensitive to the need for them to be given certain assurances about their safety, well-being and reintegration before they go back.

340. The Governments of Papua New Guinea and Indonesia agreed to use diplomatic means to negotiate effective bilateral arrangements for the return and reintegration of the border-crossers into Indonesia. Those negotiations, though difficult, have been useful and productive. Both Governments appreciate the need for the safety of the returning border-crossers to be publicly assured.

341. The Papua New Guinea Government has been unable to persuade its Indonesian counterpart to allow the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to monitor the re-entry and subsequent situation of the border-crossers, but we appreciate the Indonesian Government's agreement to allow Papua New Guinea officials to be present at the points of entry and to visit them in their local environment. I hope that arrangements for the return, including the assurances that we have sought on behalf of the border-crossers, can be finalized soon.

342. Nuclear issues are neither abstract for nor remote from Papua New Guinea and other South Pacific countries. They have a concreteness and an immediacy which both Governments and people in the region regard as being generally most unfortunate. As with other issues I have discussed, regional organizations have been active on nuclear issues.

343. Successive Papua New Guinea Governments have been persistent, vocal and consistent opponents of the testing, proliferation and use of nuclear weapons. We are, therefore, party to the Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and under Water.[17] We have acceded to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*] and are following preparations for the Third Review Conference of the Parties to that Treaty with close interest. We not only subscribe to the London Convention on the dumping of wastes at sea[18] but support its extension to prohibit the dumping of all nuclear wastes.

344. In line with the policy and treaty commitments I have outlined, successive Papua New Guinea Governments have regularly strongly protested against Japanese proposals that nuclear wastes might be dumped in the Pacific Ocean. We have done the same in respect of the flagrant disregard for local opinion and welfare displayed by the French Government in continuing its nuclear-weapons-testing programme in French Polynesia.

345. We cannot help noting the close and deplorable connection that seems to exist between the colonial and nuclear policies of certain narrowly self-interested Powers in the region. We feel deeply about the threat those policies pose not only to the health and environment of the region but also to the political rights of Pacific islanders.

346. The Governments of many countries which we regard as of primary concern to Papua New Guinea share our views on nuclear issues. Thus, the 18 representatives of Asian and Pacific countries who attended the Commonwealth Heads of Government regional meeting in my country's capital, Port Moresby, in August this year condemned the French Government's nuclear-weapons-testing programme as well as proposals to dump nuclear wastes in the Pacific.

347. The 13-member South Pacific Forum has agreed on the "desirability of establishing a nuclear-free zone in the region at the earliest possible opportunity". Similarly, the Foreign Ministers of six member Governments of ASEAN recently agreed to undertake a study towards the realization of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in their region.

348. The proposals which are before the South Pacific Forum extend to the prospective banning of the testing, acquisition or reception, stationing, development, manufacture or use of nuclear weapons in the region. A working group, in which the Papua New Guinea Government hopes to play an active part, has been set up to consider relevant legal and other issues. A draft treaty should be prepared for consideration by the Forum in 1985.

349. The proposal of the ASEAN Foreign Ministers is but a recent example of the practical ways in which ASEAN serves wider interests. Like other proposals for concrete and immediate action on an urgent issue, it is most welcome.

350. Colonialism has a concrete and immediate meaning for most Papua New Guineans—indeed, for most Pacific islanders. It is a meaning born of direct, recent and personal experience. While we were, mercifully, spared the worst excesses of colonialism experienced in Africa and Asia, we still attach great value to the right of self-determination and to its customary outcome, independence. We pay close attention to the conditions and rights of peoples in the remaining dependent territories.

351. Successive Papua New Guinea Governments have taken a particular interest in developments in the French territories—New Caledonia, French Polynesia and Wallis and Futuna—and in the last of the United Nations trust territories—the United States Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. So have the Governments of other independent South Pacific countries. New Caledonia has been of special concern to us and to the Governments of the South Pacific Forum.

352. My Government has noted the constitutional and electoral reforms approved by the French Parliament in May, especially those which hold out the possibility of eventual independence, but, like other members of the South Pacific Forum, we cannot see why a referendum on the issues should not be held before 1989. Therefore, we urge that the date should be brought forward. Additional political and administrative powers should be transferred from Paris to Nouméa as a preparatory step. The rights of the indigenous inhabitants, the Kanaks, and the other ethnic groups which make up the genuine local population of New Caledonia should be safeguarded by the exclusion of transitory or short-term residents from participation in the vote.

353. As recommended by the South Pacific Forum last August at Tuvalu, the French Government should make a public statement that describes independence as "the desirable, logical and acknowledged outcome" of the scheduled referendum. It should act to ensure that the Kanak people can play a full and active part in educational, vocational and administrative institutions in New Caledonia. The Forum also agreed that a delegation of ministers from Forum countries should hold discussions with the French Government as well as leaders of the independence movement.

354. All significant political actors in New Caledonia, outside the Government, have expressed strong reservations about the reforms approved in May, but their reasons, motives and constitutional objectives have varied widely. We note especially that the Kanak Socialist National Liberation Front has announced that it proposes to hold its own elections before proclaiming a "provisional independent" Government.

355. The Papua New Guinea Government, therefore, repeats its call to the French Government to bring forward the date for self-determination, to make more urgent preparations for it and to safeguard the interests of the Kanaks as well as those ethnic groups that have a legitimate stake in the future of New Caledonia. We do so not only because of our cultural bonds and political sympathies with the Kanaks but because of the threat to stability in the South Pacific posed by continuing delay.

356. The Papua New Guinea Government has been pleased to participate in visiting missions sent by the Trusteeship Council to observe the plebiscites on termination of the Trusteeship Agreement for the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. We are pleased to note that the Constitution of Palau and the rights of the Palauans are fully respected by the Administering Authority.

357. As I have already indicated, we are conscious of the connections which sometimes pertain between the colonial and nuclear policies of certain Powers. Papua New Guinea, however, will not condone attempts to override or bypass the provision in the Palauan Constitution that outlaws the entry of nuclear weapons into Palau.

358. We will also not condone attempts to deny, delay or qualify the abstract right to self-determination by the people of dependent territories, however remote they might be from areas which we normally describe as being of primary concern to Papua New Guinea.

359. My Government urges Palau and the United States Government to take the necessary and appropriate measures to enable both the Trusteeship Council and the Security Council to consider and finally determine the status of free association which the Micronesian people wish to have as the basis for their self-determination and independence.

360. *Apartheid*, practised by the racist Republic of South Africa, is the most systematic form of institutionalized racial discrimination and segregation. The international community has repeatedly condemned *apartheid* as a "crime against humanity" and called on the South African Government to revise its racist policies in conformity with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The Assembly has expressed deep concern over the grave situation in South Africa as constituting a threat to international peace and security. In resolution 36/172B, the Assembly endorsed, as a "framework for effective

international action for the elimination of *apartheid*", the Paris Declaration on Sanctions against South Africa,[19] adopted by the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa, held in Paris in May 1981.

361. Papua New Guinea finds it difficult to understand why some Members of this body continue to condone the actions of a régime which has persistently spurned United Nations resolutions by supporting South Africa indirectly through various actions. Their action in this respect is indicative of the indifference of those Members of this world body which at the same time profess to be the guardians of human rights and the dignity of mankind.

362. Time and time again, the General Assembly has adopted resolutions seeking to redress the abhorrent situation that exists in Namibia, but to no avail. Despite the intensive efforts of the Secretary-General and the adoption of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), the Pretoria régime continues to flout the relevant United Nations resolutions with cynical impunity. Papua New Guinea will continue to support United Nations efforts in pressing for an early and peaceful settlement of this long-standing question. The framework espoused in resolution 435 (1978) remains the only acceptable solution to the Namibian question. We strongly urge all concerned to facilitate speedily the implementation of United Nations initiatives and plans so that Namibia's independence will not be further delayed. In this respect, we deplore the injection of extraneous elements into the question of Namibia's independence. Therefore, Papua New Guinea rejects the so-called "linkage" rationale.

363. On the question of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas), we urge all parties to the dispute over the future of the islands to accord the same right of self-determination to the people who call those islands "home" and to work together for a peaceful solution.

364. Interdependence seems increasingly to be a feature of international economic relations as perceived by leaders and observers from developed countries, but the perception from developing countries is often rather different.

365. Like the Governments of the developed countries represented at the London Economic Summit held from 7 to 9 June 1984, the Papua New Guinea Government welcomes signs of recovery from the recession which has burdened all economies during the early 1980s; but we cannot help noting that the benefits of recovery are becoming immediate and concrete in developed countries while remaining rather more remote and abstract in developing countries.

366. Fundamental adjustments must be made to the structure of international economic relations if the commitment to international equity and order, of which my Prime Minister spoke in this Assembly in 1983, is to be put into practice. We must not allow our current relief at the effects of recovery to divert attention from our previous concern with the causes of recession. We must also not forget why proposals for a new international economic order, North-South dialogue and South-South co-operation were first included in the Assembly's agenda and why they still appear there, even if they seem to generate less excitement—and perhaps less hope—than they once did.

367. As with other developing countries, the economy of Papua New Guinea relies on unprocessed agricultural and mineral products for most of its export income. Manufactured goods are imported. Foreign aid from the Governments of developed countries, especially Australia, assists in our development.

368. The Papua New Guinea Government welcomes the statement made by the representatives of developed countries who attended the ministerial council meeting of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development [*OECD*] in Paris in May that their Governments intend to "strengthen and improve trade, financial and investment relations with developing countries". We appreciate their recognition that doing so is "a matter of mutual interest". However, more than words, prompt and practical actions are needed. Deeds speak louder than words.

369. The Papua New Guinea Government is a party to trade agreements with Australia, New Zealand and, through the Lomé Convention,[20] the European Economic Community. They provide non-reciprocal, preferential and mainly duty-free access to their respective markets for unprocessed exports from my country. However, much as we appreciate the benefits we receive under these agreements, we need to increase in-country processing in order to find employment for our youth. And we need markets for those products—markets which in developed countries are often heavily protected by tariffs and other means.

370. The Papua New Guinea Government welcomes the commitment made by participants in the London Economic Summit to urge resistance to and reduction of protectionism. But, as I have already suggested, what we seek is prompt and practical action. Participants in the London Economic Summit also agreed "to maintain and wherever possible increase flows of resources" to developing countries [*A/39/304, annex, para. 9 (iv)*]. But progress being made towards attaining the current, modest target for aid of 0.7 per cent of the gross national products of donor countries set by the Development Assistance Committee of the OECD has been slow. We trust that the emphasis being placed by OECD members on "increasing aid effectiveness through strengthened aid co-ordination" will not be to the disadvantage of the people and Governments of developing countries.

371. The Government of Papua New Guinea has acceded to the Agreement Establishing the Common Fund for Commodities,[21] set up under the auspices of UNCTAD. Let me, therefore, restate our regret at the continuing delay in bringing the Fund into operation. Let me say, too, that we find little solace in the rather lukewarm reference to the Fund made in the Declaration issued at the London Economic Summit [*ibid.*].

372. My Government repeats its previous calls to the Government of the United States to accede to the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea,[16] especially in view of difficulties that have arisen over the activities of United States tuna boats in the South Pacific. Let me add that we look forward to a successful outcome to negotiations between members of the South Pacific Forum Fisheries Agency and the United States Government, and we hope for finalization of a mutually acceptable fisheries agreement.

373. The Papua New Guinea Government is, of course, a member of the South Pacific Bureau for Economic Co-operation. We are also a close and interested observer of another successful example of South-South co-operation, ASEAN.

374. We benefit from the technical co-operation agreements we have with two ASEAN members, Indonesia and Malaysia, and two other countries—China and South Korea. Although we do not, as yet, have technical co-operation agreements with the four other ASEAN members—the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Brunei Darussalam—we do, however, appreciate their assistance provided in various forms on a bilateral basis and through another regional body, the Colombo Plan.

375. In fulfillment of our commitment to collective self-help and self-reliance through South-South co-operation, we hope to be able to give practical assistance to our partners in return.

376. At the beginning of this address, I said that I would focus on issues and problems which had once seemed abstract and remote from Papua New Guinea but which have become immediate and concrete. My decision to do so was not meant to imply that other items on the agenda for this session of the General Assembly are necessarily less important. There will, in fact, be further opportunities for the Papua New Guinea delegation to make our positions known on other issues.

377. The approach I have adopted here was intended to give expression to the Papua New Guinea Government's basic approach towards the conduct of its country's foreign relations of active and selective engagement with issues and factors relevant to our national interests. My Government's foreign policy is geared to preserving and increasing international co-operation and maintaining and extending the rule of law. We have a particular interest in supporting a strengthened United Nations system. Towards that end, my statement has been intended to show the sense of purpose and direction with which my delegation intends to deal with issues before the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly.

The meeting rose at 8.15 p.m.

NOTES

[1] Frente de Libertação de Moçambique.

[2] Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y de Río de Oro.

[3] Frente Revolucionária de Timor Leste Independente.

[4] See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-seventh Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1982*, document S/15510, annex.

[5] *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, 1984, Supplement No. 7* (E/1984/17).

[6] *World Economic Survey 1984: Current Trends and Policies in the World Economy* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.84.II.C.1).

[7] See *Report of the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries, Paris, 1-14 September 1981* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.82.I.8), part one, sect. A.

[8] *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-sixth Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1981*, document S/14378, annex I.

[9] *Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council, 1984*, p. 10.

[10] *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-eighth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1983*, document S/15834.

[11] League of Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. XCIV (1929), No. 2138.

[12] See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-ninth Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1984*, document S/16433. Also issued as a document of the General Assembly under the symbol A/39/210.

[13] See CD/540/Appendix III/Vol. IV, document CD/PV.270.

[14] United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 15, No. 102.

[15] See A/38/68, annex.

[16] *Official Records of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea*, vol. XVII (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.84.V.3), document A/CONF.62/122.

[17] United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 480, No. 6964.

[18] Convention on the prevention of marine pollution by dumping of wastes and other matter, opened for signature at London, Mexico City, Moscow and Washington on 29 December 1972 (United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 1046, No. 15749).

[19] A/CONF.107/8, sect. X.A.

[20] Second Africa-Caribbean-Pacific-European Economic Community (ACP-EEC) Convention, signed at Lomé on 31 October 1979. For the text, see *The Courier*, ACP-EEC, No. 58, November 1979.

[21] United Nations publication, Sales No. E.81.II.D.8.

United Nations

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

THIRTY-NINTH SESSION

Official Records

16th PLENARY MEETING

Tuesday, 2 October 1984, at 10.40 a.m.

NEW YORK

President: Mr. Paul J. F. LUSAKA (Zambia).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations Mr. Daniel Ortega Saavedra, Coordinator of the Junta of the Government of National Reconstruction of the Republic of Nicaragua, and to invite him to address the General Assembly.

2. Mr. ORTEGA SAAVEDRA (*interpretation from Spanish*): On behalf of the Nicaraguan delegation, Sir, I should like to express our satisfaction at your election as President of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. We also extend a brotherly welcome to the people and Government of Brunei Darussalam on the occasion of its entry into the community of independent nations.

3. The United Nations came into being as a result of the cry of the peoples of the world, who, tired of wars, exploitation and extermination, sought an organization that would help them to combat and fend off the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse.

4. No one can fail to recognize United Nations efforts in defence of peace, justice, freedom and the independence of peoples. But, most unfortunately for mankind, there are policies, backed up by nuclear weapons, which blackmail, threaten, and attack the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. There are those that are characterized by their defiance, mockery and undermining of resolutions of the Organization. There are those that have defended actions that are shocking in their irrationality and threaten the future of mankind.

5. In Asia, Africa, the Middle East, Latin America and Central America, such policies are characterized by the use of force and disregard the nature of the historical problems affecting the peoples of those regions. They are aimed at solving social and economic problems by killing the hungry and ensuring the maintenance of the status of the privileged minorities. These policies ignore the economic crisis affecting the peoples and are based on a theory of natural selection which clearly favours the most powerful and accelerates the arms race.

6. This explains why they continue to oppose those who demand immediate collective action in search of solutions to economic problems, that is, those who are really fighting for peace and development.

7. Nicaragua has been a victim of such a policy since the last century and throughout this century, with its legacy of backwardness, brutal exploitation and absence of justice and freedom—in short, the absence of democracy. Such was the Somoza dictatorship, the last monstrous offspring of this policy. Today Nicaragua is free and for the first time in its history is building an authentic democracy, becoming an example of patriotism, nationalism, independence and non-alignment. This is not to the liking of the United States authorities.

8. When Nicaragua condemns the South African régime for its racist policies and for subjugating those who should be the rightful rulers of that land, it is not to the liking of the United States.

9. When Nicaragua voices its solidarity with Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, Seychelles, Swaziland and Zambia, as well as with the African National Congress of South Africa and with the South West Africa People's Organization [*SWAPO*], the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people, this, too, is not to the liking of the United States.

10. When Nicaragua demands Israel's unconditional withdrawal from the occupied territories and the right of the Palestinians to exist as a people and nation, recognizing the Palestine Liberation Organization [*PLO*] as their only representative, this, too, is not to the liking of the United States Government.

11. When Nicaragua reaffirms its solidarity with the people and the Government of the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic, when we condemn the policy of provocation against the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and when we express our support for the just cause of the people of East Timor, this, too, is not to the liking of the United States Government.

12. When Nicaragua condemns the policy of aggression against Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea, when we support the reunification of Korea and the withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea, and when we support an end to military manoeuvres and shows of force, this, too, is not to the liking of the United States Government.

13. Nor is it to the liking of the United States Government that Nicaragua defends Puerto Rico's right to self-determination and independence, the return of Guantánamo to its legitimate owners, an end to threats to Cuba's integrity, the sovereignty of the Argentine people and nation over the Malvinas, and the complete implementation of the Panama treaties and an end to attacks launched from United States bases there against the peoples of Central America and the Caribbean.

14. When Nicaragua condemns the brutal *coup* against democracy in Chile and at the same time supports the right of the Chilean people to re-establish their basic freedoms, it is not to the liking of the United States Government.

15. When Nicaragua condemns the heinous crime committed in the name of freedom against the people of Grenada and demands the withdrawal of foreign occupation troops so that the Grenadian people can exercise their right to self-determination, this, too, is not to the liking of the United States Government.

16. When Nicaragua supports a negotiated, peaceful settlement to the conflict in El Salvador, which the Salvadorian people themselves must settle, this, too, is not to the liking of the United States Government.

17. When Nicaragua supports democratic change in Latin America as a first step in solving the problems faced by our peoples, this, too, is not to the liking of the United States Government.

18. Nicaragua rejects the dismemberment of the State of Cyprus and the proclamation of the so-called Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, and defends the unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity of this fellow non-aligned nation.

19. Nicaragua reaffirms its support for Bolivia's efforts to regain direct access to the Pacific Ocean.

20. Nicaragua is also saddened by the confrontation between two non-aligned nations—Iran and Iraq—and demands an end to the use of chemical weapons; we support attempts to reach a just and honourable solution to this conflict.

21. Because Nicaragua wants peace, justice, freedom and democracy for the world, we shall continue to be non-aligned, even though this is not to the liking of the United States authorities.

22. Because Nicaragua wants peace, justice, freedom and democracy for the peoples of the world, we shall continue to condemn colonialism, neo-colonialism, imperialism, *apartheid* and racism and we shall continue to support just causes around the world, even though this may not be to the liking of the United States authorities and even though it means more sacrifice, suffering, threats and extermination for the heroic people of Sandino.

23. Forty years ago, all humanity celebrated the end of a nightmare. Five years were enough to witness all the horrors of fascism, which far surpassed Dante's inferno. But today, our country, Nicaragua, a small nation of only 3 million people, is the victim of a policy of extermination manifested over the past three years and eight months in the form of a war of overt aggression which the aggressor calls covert.

24. That policy is manifested when the United States Administration provides millions of dollars to go on murdering the peoples of Nicaragua and El Salvador; when it debates the irresponsibility of the Central Intelligence Agency [*CIA*] in not having informed the Senate Intelligence Committee in advance about the mining of Nicaraguan ports rather than debate the terrorist act of laying the mines; when United States Army helicopters and United States citizens—also casualties of this interventionist policy—have fallen in our country; when children, women, teachers and doctors are murdered and the people's production, schools and food stocks are destroyed; when the decision of the International Court of Justice at The Hague and United Nations resolutions are rejected, with the United States deeming itself judge and executioner of the nations of the earth. This entails a violation of the United States' own internal legislation and of international law.

25. Nicaragua wishes to reaffirm before the Assembly its belief in the validity of the Charter of the United Nations and its willingness to resolve peacefully international situations and conflicts through the means established in the Charter and under international law, prominent among which is the right to petition the International Court of Justice at The Hague.

26. That is why we have been making countless efforts on behalf of peace for the people of Nicaragua and the peoples of Central America. That is why Nicaragua turned to the International Court of Justice, whose order of 10 May 1984[1] could not have been clearer in ordering the United States Government to halt immediately military and paramilitary actions against Nicaragua, because these constitute clear and serious violations of international law and of Nicaragua's right to determine freely its own future. Its disdain and contempt of the Court's ruling were condemned by the international community.

27. In fact, everything indicates that these efforts and Nicaragua's unwavering willingness to achieve peace are not respected by the United States Government, which has been escalating its military and economic aggression against Nicaragua. To each peace initiative by Nicaragua and the Contadora Group, the United States Government has responded with terrorist attacks, the installation of military bases and a whole infrastructure for unleashing direct, massive military action against Nicaragua.

28. For almost two years, the member countries of the Contadora Group have been making a noble and serious effort to promote peace in Central America. This effort has enjoyed broad support from the whole world, including the Security Council and the General Assembly. As a result of that work, on 7 September 1984, the Contadora Group presented to the Central American Governments the revised version of the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America [*see A/39/562*].

29. Now it is for the Central American Governments and the United States Government—whose involvement in the conflict cannot be denied by anyone—to state clearly and definitively their positions. Nicaragua has already done so. On 21 September, we officially communicated to the Governments of the Contadora countries our decision to sign the Contadora Act immediately without amendments or changes of any kind, exactly as it was drawn up by the Contadora Group.

30. Today, before the Assembly, before the conscience of the world, we solemnly reaffirm Nicaragua's decision, and we call on the leaders of the countries of Central America to join us in supporting the Act, in the interest of the peace and tranquillity of our peoples. At the same time, we applaud the support given to the Act by the Governments of the member States of the European Community and by Spain and Portugal at the Conference of Foreign Ministers held at San José on 28 and 29 September.

31. The United States authorities have said they support Contadora. Their diplomats have tirelessly travelled around our region and the world claiming they defend those negotiations and peace. The international community has the right to expect the United States Government to support the Contadora Act unconditionally by immediately voicing its willingness to sign the Additional Protocol to the Act [*ibid.*].

32. The winds now blowing over Central America presage a holocaust for our peoples. Today, as we appeal for peace in this body, which itself emerged from the ruins of war in order to fight for peace, Nicaragua continues to be subjected to the genocide of the terrorist policies of the United States authorities.

33. Amidst all this horror, we are making truly exceptional efforts to institutionalize—by means of elections—our democratic, nationalist, non-aligned, pluralist revolution, which defends a mixed economic system.

34. However, despite these efforts to reconstruct our country and to institutionalize democracy, the number of victims grows. To date, more than 7,000 Nicaraguans have been casualties—including children, mothers, youth and the elderly—which in relative terms is equivalent to more than three times the number of American casualties in the Viet Nam war.

35. Moreover, there is the daily damage done to the economy by the direct impact of foreign aggression. Co-operatives, health centres, schools, machinery, construction equipment, day-care centres, food stocks and houses are being destroyed by this daily policy of terror. Our losses during the period 1981-1984 total $237 million. This would represent for the United States and the European Community, on a percentage basis, $102 billion and $284 billion, respectively, of their export earnings during the same period. To these figures should be added the credits, loans and grants that Nicaragua no longer receives as a result of United States pressure on Governments and multilateral agencies.

36. Nicaragua is today a country besieged, attacked and subjected to an unjust and illegal war, which is in danger of spreading. The United States has installed an impressive military infrastructure in Honduran territory bordering on Nicaragua. Its military presence has also been imposed on Costa Rican territory bordering on Nicaragua. United States warships are deployed menacingly off our coasts, and United States spy planes and military aircraft violate our airspace.

37. Dozens of mercenaries, among them United States citizens working for the CIA, pilot the planes and helicopters that launch attacks against economic, civilian and military targets and keep the aggressor forces supplied. Thousands of mercenaries function like a full-fledged army from their bases in Honduras and Costa Rica in operations co-ordinated and directed from military bases in Panama still occupied by the United States.

38. New plans are being worked out in the Pentagon and the CIA, this time to prevent the elections of 4 November in Nicaragua. Among other actions, they are contemplating renewed mining of our ports, aerial and naval attacks and the seizing of various areas. The military offensive is ready to begin on 15 October. The mercenary forces of the CIA and the Pentagon are already concentrated in the areas bordering Nicaragua in Honduras and Costa Rica. Also ready are the United States forces that would be used for bombings, troop landings and direct incursions into Nicaragua.

39. The Central American Governments are also prepared. They will go through the formality of requesting "aid" from the United States to eradicate the "Sandinist threat" from the area. And also ready is the "Paul Scoon", the puppet who would be intended to serve as the future President of the United States in Nicaragua. They have the actors in their assigned places with their roles memorized. Also prepared are the estimates of United States casualties during such an intervention. This amounts to an attempt to repeat the destructive and shameful actions against Grenada, but this time against Nicaragua.

40. From 12 August 1981 until 26 September 1984, Nicaragua has been making countless efforts on behalf of peace in bilateral talks with the United States, meeting with representatives of the United States Government on 16 occasions. Despite the concrete proposals presented by Nicaragua, the United States has always responded evasively or with proposals which can only be described as lacking in seriousness. At Manzanillo, Nicaragua has been very clear, consistent and flexible in responding to the concerns of the United States, which claims to feel its security in the region threatened by the Nicaraguan revolution. We have been firm and reasonable in proposing specific measures which would create a framework for mutual security for the United States and Nicaragua.

41. The Nicaraguan people, who yearn for peace, are willing to continue defending their independence, freedom, self-determination and democracy.

42. We know that the United States leaders are victims of their own history of intervention and aggression. There is not a corner of the world that has not suffered in one way or another the effects of those policies. All mankind must call upon the United States leaders to be level-headed and prudent.

43. At this thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly, in this month of October 1984, the people of Nicaragua want to go on record as voicing their desire for peace, while defending freedom, justice and democracy. If peace does not come and the war continues, and with it the likelihood of United States military intervention, we want the world to know that the Nicaraguan people—barefoot, ragged, and with empty stomachs—are going to fight to the end, until we achieve peace, by either defeating the invaders or immolating ourselves if imperialist aggression leaves us no other choice.

44. Such is our morale. It is the same morale that made it possible for the peoples of Europe to wage their struggle of resistance against the Fascist war machine 40 years ago. We are certain that our sacrifice would not be in vain and we know that all 3 million Nicaraguans could be annihilated, but our example would triumph and be multiplied among the peoples of the world—and among the people of the United States as well. This is our contribution to peace.

45. We wish to appeal to the leaders of the United States, in the interests of the peace and happiness of our peoples, to reflect on the enormous responsibility weighing on them at the present moment, and thus to leave the road to war and join us in the search for peace. In this way, we could begin a new era in the relations between our countries, in the interest of our peoples, including the real interest of the people of the United States.

46. The world has a right to know if the United States is willing to live in peace with the Central American peoples or if it insists on imposing war on us. The world has the right to demand of the current

leaders of the United States a clear, definitive answer to a very concrete question. Are they for or against the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America presented by the Contadora Group on 7 September to all the Central American Governments? Are they for, or against, peace?

47. Many philosophers and men of politics have been quoted from this important rostrum. I should like to quote Jesus Christ, the humble man of Nazareth, who said: "Blessed are the peacemakers" [*Matthew, 5:9*].

48. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the Co-ordinator of the Junta of the Government of National Reconstruction of the Republic of Nicaragua for the important statement he has just made.

49. Mr. GRATZ (Austria): It is with great pleasure that I extend to you, Sir, the congratulations of Austria on your election as President of the General Assembly. We greet you as an outstanding representative of Africa and of a country with which Austria enjoys close and friendly relations. Your rich diplomatic experience and your well-known commitment to the cause of the United Nations assure the General Assembly of objective and constructive leadership.

50. We also wish to express our sincere thanks to your predecessor, Mr. Jorge Illueca, who guided the General Assembly with great tact and skill. We are indeed grateful to him for his contribution to the work of the Organization.

51. I would like to welcome most cordially the delegation of the new Member State, Brunei Darussalam. We are looking forward to close and fruitful co-operation.

52. Before the beginning of this session of the General Assembly, the relations between the United States and the Soviet Union were marked by increased confrontation, mistrust and mutual recriminations and, above all, by the continuation of a devastating arms race. The meetings of last week encourage us to hope that the dialogue will be resumed. The world expects a lessening of tensions and a reduction in the gigantic stockpiles of weapons.

53. In Europe, in our own region, Austria contributes to the strengthening of security and co-operation by its active participation in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe process. This process is of particular importance to the smaller European States because it offers them a unique chance to play an active role in shaping their destiny. Thus, the Conference on Confidence- and Security-building Measures and Disarmament in Europe, meeting at Stockholm, as well as the forthcoming meetings at Budapest and Ottawa, are of utmost importance.

54. The world economic situation requires determined co-operation between North and South to alleviate the plight of the developing countries. The burden of debt which many developing countries have to bear reduces their living standards even further. This problem cannot be solved by banking operations alone but requires, in our opinion, a sharing of responsibility by the Governments of the creditor countries.

55. Human rights and fundamental freedoms continue to be disregarded on a large scale. Oppression, political persecution and economic exploitation cast a dark shadow over the lives of millions of people.

56. Peace is threatened by a large number of regional conflicts and crises in the Middle East, Central America, Cambodia, Afghanistan, Cyprus and southern Africa.

57. In his report on the work of the Organization [*A/39/1*], the Secretary-General has outlined in clear and courageous terms the obstacles to the efficient functioning of the United Nations. We support his suggestions to increase the effectiveness of the United Nations. We join him in appealing to all Member States not to carry political controversies into the specialized agencies. Austria supports his efforts to strengthen the Organization as an instrument to maintain peace and to promote international co-operation. Peace-keeping operations of the United Nations will continue to play an essential role. We urge all Member States to share in their financing.

58. The fortieth anniversary of the United Nations in 1985 offers a welcome opportunity to give serious consideration to a better functioning of the world Organization. Let us explore together all possibilities of making better use of the United Nations in dealing with mankind's problems of today and the challenges of the future. We have to give more attention to the social dimensions of development and to economic policies which will not weaken but strengthen the social fabric of societies and democratic structures. We are convinced that the United Nations could play a most important role in addressing those fundamental issues and in promoting policies which would be beneficial, especially to the weaker and more vulnerable members of the international community.

59. At previous sessions of the General Assembly, Austria has explained its positions on many important agenda items. These positions remain unchanged. Today, I should like to focus on four problems.

60. I wish to start with human rights, because the individual and his well-being is the basic motivation of all political action. There is abundant evidence of a widening gap between the universally accepted norms of human rights and the dark reality in many countries. All Members of the United Nations have an obligation to change this situation, which is an affront to human dignity.

61. There are two areas where progress is overdue: the abolition of torture and the restriction or elimination of the death penalty. We trust that the Assembly will successfully complete the respective legal instruments. We shall continue to contribute actively towards this goal.

62. The implementation of human rights requires intensive efforts by every State within its own borders, as well as at the regional and global levels. Specific steps within each region to improve the protection of fundamental rights and freedoms are particularly promising. In this context, the member States of the Council of Europe will meet at Vienna in March 1985 to hold a conference on human rights.

63. Let me assure representatives that whenever Austria speaks up in favour of human rights in a specific region or country, our only motivation is concern for the individual, his freedom and dignity.

64. Austria also believes that all human rights are interlinked. Human dignity cannot be upheld in the absence of adequate economic, social and cultural conditions. On the other hand, adverse social and economic circumstances can never justify the denial of individual rights and freedoms.

65. Central America is one of those regions where the denial of human rights has led to a cycle of violence, bloodshed and human suffering. At the same time, we witness a growing trend towards external intervention. The East-West confrontation is casting its shadow over Central America.

66. It has always been Austria's position that a solution to the crisis of Central America can be found only by the States of the region themselves. Efforts to achieve national reconciliation and to restore democracy in individual countries must be accompanied by a dialogue among all States and political forces of Central America. In order to be successful, the political peace process must be supported by measures to secure economic progress and social justice. This need is increasingly recognized. An encouraging sign in this direction is the meeting of the member States of the European Community and Portugal and Spain with the Contadora Group and the Central American countries at San José on 28 and 29 September 1984.

67. Austria will continue to support the Contadora process as an independent Latin American initiative for peace and progress. We appreciate the acceptance of the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America [*see A/39/562*] by Central American States and, in particular, by Nicaragua. We are convinced that all parties will continue to work for lasting peace in the region.

68. The continuing crisis in Africa is a cause for special concern. Africa today faces two challenges: the immediate challenge of survival and the long-term challenge of development. It is a tribute to the leading statesmen of Africa that they have decided to rely first and foremost on their own efforts.

69. However, Africa's crisis cannot be overcome by the African peoples alone. Increased assistance will be required. Thus, we are concerned about the difficulties encountered during the last replenishment of IDA and about the present problems of IFAD. Above all, we need a stronger commitment from all sides, irrespective of social systems and historical backgrounds. This requires greater understanding for the problems of indebtedness which confront many developing countries. We also need a better appreciation of the social and political difficulties arising from painful adjustment programmes which hit the poor more than anybody else.

70. Austria welcomes the African initiative of the Secretary-General. We have participated actively in the deliberations of the Economic and Social Council on this subject. We regret that no agreement could be reached on a framework of action. My country will increase its own efforts to provide assistance to Africa. That continent—and above all its least developed countries—is already a main focus of Austrian development assistance.

71. It is our strong belief that a peaceful and harmonious development of Africa cannot succeed without the elimination of the abhorrent system of *apartheid*, which constitutes a most serious violation of human rights and dignity.

72. The Palestinian question has been before the United Nations for many years. Year after year, its solution becomes more difficult. Thus, the Middle East is a permanent hotbed of conflict and a serious threat to world peace.

73. Many plans for the solution of the conflict have been proposed. I wish to refer to the decisions adopted on 9 September 1982 by the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference, held at Fez,[2] and the Reagan plan of 1 September 1982,[3] confirmed by the President of the United States before the Assembly at this session [*4th meeting*]. The Egyptian-French initiative within the United Nations framework[4] also contains valuable suggestions.

74. Austria's position is clear: we reject policies based on military superiority and occupation of foreign territories. Any solution must be based on Israel's withdrawal from the occupied territories, on the recognition of Israel's existence as a sovereign and independent State within secure and recognized borders, as well as on the recognition of the national rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to its own State.

75. Together with the majority of the members of the Assembly, we continue to recognize the PLO as the representative and spokesman of the Palestinian people. Therefore, the PLO has to be included in all efforts to find a just and peaceful solution.

76. Israel's policy of *de facto* annexation violates international law. We strongly condemn its policy of establishing settlements in the occupied territories.

77. All parties to the conflict—Israelis and Palestinians, as well as the Arab States—must make new efforts towards peace. The initiation of such a peace process cannot wait any longer. An immediate halt to the settlements policy in the occupied territories, an end of the attacks in Israel and the complete withdrawal of Israeli troops from southern Lebanon are necessary to create the confidence needed for successful negotiations.

78. Permit me now to address briefly the problem of South Tyrol, a subject which directly concerns Austria. We have good and friendly relations with Italy as one of our most important neighbours. These relations have been further improved by the official visit by Prime Minister Craxi and Foreign Minister Andreotti to Vienna last February.

79. In 1969 the resolutions of the General Assembly of 1960 and 1961 [*resolutions 1497 (XV) and 1661 (XVI)*] led to an agreement between Austria and Italy on a new framework of autonomy for South Tyrol. However, 15 years later, some of the provisions of that autonomy agreement still remain to be fulfilled. This is particularly the case with regard to the use of the German language. Despite the agreement in principle of May 1983 between the Italian Government and the minority concerned, that important provision has, to our regret, still not been implemented. This has significantly increased the concern of the South Tyrolean population. We are confident that the promise made by Prime Minister Craxi at Vienna to implement that provision will soon be fulfilled.

80. Austria has noted with satisfaction that the assurance given by the Italian Head of Government regarding the establishment of an autonomous section of the regional administrative court in Bozen has already been honoured by the passing of appropriate legislation. The commitments made by Prime Minister Craxi at Vienna and by Foreign Minister Andreotti at Venice increase our confidence that the Italian Government will soon take the remaining steps for a mutually accepted and full implementation of South Tyrolean autonomy.

81. The issues I have dealt with have more in common than one may realize at first glance. In every instance, the key to their peaceful solution lies in

readiness to engage in dialogue, respect of the rights of others and willingness to compromise. Austria's own experience encourages us to promote close and friendly relations with all our neighbours. It shapes our approach towards the solution of regional conflicts and motivates our co-operation in international organizations.

82. Let me close my statement with a personal recollection: Shortly after the end of the Second World War, I met with many young people from all over Europe. We came from destroyed towns and villages in a continent devastated by war. We had few personal belongings; we had no riches; our countries were in ruins. But we had three things: hope, optimism and an unshakeable belief in our ability to rebuild our countries, to abolish hate and mistrust and to shape a new world.

83. Since then, much has been achieved. And now, having reached a somewhat riper age and also responsible positions, we are unsure and deeply pessimistic about our ability to solve the problems of today. Let us approach the problems we face with optimism and hope and with a belief in the future of mankind. Let us recapture the spirit of our youth. We owe it to the young people of today whose world we are shaping.

84. Mr. ANDREOTTI (Italy) (*interpretation from French*): Sir, I should like first of all to extend my warmest congratulations to you on the high office to which you have been called. Your election is testimony to the esteem in which your country, Zambia, is held by the entire world, and to the efficiency and realism of its international commitment.

85. I should also like to take this opportunity to express our warm appreciation to your predecessor, Mr. Jorge Illueca, who presided over the deliberations of the thirty-eighth session with skill and competence, and at the same time to express our conviction that under your presidency, whose firmness and efficiency we have already begun to appreciate, the General Assembly will be able to accomplish significant progress on many of the questions on the agenda of this session.

86. It gives me great pleasure to extend a warm welcome to Brunei Darussalam upon its admission to the United Nations. Italy views that admission as a new step towards the objective of the Organization's universality. We intend to establish fruitful relations of co-operation with this new Member.

87. The international situation is increasingly in contradiction with the objectives of peace, social justice and human development set out in the Charter of the United Nations. While recognizing this contradiction, we must not become discouraged. Unfortunately, as we all know, the United Nations does not have suitable means of coercion, and we must therefore work to influence the conscience of individuals, in particular those of the young.

88. However, we firmly believe that in their policies all States must show the will to give the Organization a chance to work in defence of peace and respect for human rights. We feel that the common good must take precedence over specific national interests when certain questions are being considered. We all have a primary interest in ensuring that the United Nations is able to act. I will give some examples of this.

89. The question of the mines recklessly scattered in the Red Sea last summer is, in our opinion, a typical problem which the United Nations should and could have tackled because the security of such a vital waterway is of concern to every State. To our great disappointment, this was not the case, and Italy, like some other countries, felt it necessary to respond to the appeal of Egypt and the other States directly affected. It was for that reason, and because Italy is a Mediterranean country, that we decided to help clear that waterway.

90. There is another source of international tension that from time to time becomes acute. It concerns the fact that the norms relating to the extension of territorial waters and the rights of States over those waters and the contiguous zone are far from universally respected. We believe that even in this delicate area the United Nations could work effectively to uphold the law within the framework of existing international provisions and to promote desirable improvements.

91. Finally, another field in which the United Nations could effectively intervene, in addition to the good work it is already doing, is that of the fight against drugs—a scourge that affects all the peoples of the world. It is, above all, our youth and their future that are threatened. We must therefore combine our efforts and use all possible means to ensure the success of such joint action.

92. In his annual report [*A/39/1*], the Secretary-General has drawn a clear picture of the work of the Organization since September 1983. He stresses, among other things, that: "The past year has been a time of a great-Power tension accentuated by a lack of progress in disarmament and arms limitation".

93. I believe that the suspension of negotiations on the control and reduction of nuclear weapons when international relations are going through such a difficult phase causes universal concern. Other disarmament negotiations, such as those on the prohibition of chemical weapons and the prevention of an arms race in space, are also almost at a standstill. The halting of the arms race would be in the interest, and would meet the aspirations, of all our peoples. The important statement in this respect made in this Hall by President Reagan on 24 September [*4th meeting*] contained constructive proposals that we hope will find a favourable response.

94. The Italian Government believes that every disarmament agreement has two crucial aims: first, to achieve a balance of forces at the lowest possible level, taking into account the progress made in, and the complexity of, weapons technology; and, secondly, to ensure verification of compliance with the agreements. We believe also that Governments, without renouncing their own prerogatives, could take advantage of scientific advances in carrying out their task. Thus, it would seem to us advisable to encourage high-level contacts between scientists of different nationalities, who could discuss the problems of disarmament and control objectively and make appropriate suggestions. The experience of recent years, especially in the field of nuclear arms reduction, has shown how difficult it is to keep the concept of the balance of forces, which must be based on accurate and objective data, free of historical and psychological prejudice.

95. In my opinion, the General Assembly would be able to play an important role in encouraging agreements on this subject, even outside the framework of the world Organization. However, a prerequisite for that is, first of all, the renunciation of proposals

which are not likely to win a consensus. Furthermore, we must recognize that there is a close link, especially for the two major military alliances, between conventional and nuclear disarmament. Today, more than ever, it is unrealistic to hope for genuinely significant reductions in one field without parallel progress in the other. The main thing is to prevent war, whether nuclear or conventional, especially since today it is conventional wars that really threaten international stability and co-operation.

96. The Conference on Disarmament has a direct responsibility for the negotiations on the complete prohibition of chemical weapons, which my Government considers to be of the highest importance. For our part, we requested and have supported the initiative taken by the United States in preparing a draft convention on the prohibition of chemical weapons,[5] based on the principal results achieved at Geneva during long years of negotiation. We believe that that document represents a solid basis for continuing efforts. We have also noted with interest the signs that the Soviet Union is ready to accept the principle of inspection to verify the destruction of stockpiles of chemical weapons.

97. Positive results in this field, if they can be achieved, would to some extent be testimony to the ability of the Conference to respond to the worldwide desire to prevent an arms race in space. My Government had sincerely hoped that by the middle of September a dialogue could have begun at Vienna between the United States and the Soviet Union on the repercussions that research programmes in the field of space weapons could have on the strategic balance. Obviously, that dialogue cannot ignore the objective being pursued also in the field of conventional and nuclear weapons. The Vienna meeting could not be held because of the general climate of misunderstanding surrounding the disarmament negotiations, but we trust that more careful reflection will lead in the near future to the beginning of a dialogue which we believe to be both important and necessary. We hope that the high-level political meetings that have taken place in the past few days between the United States and the Soviet Union have provided an opportunity for a constructive clarification of their respective positions on the main problems of our time.

98. Notwithstanding the difficulties that I have indicated, I feel that in the field of security and disarmament there is a promising framework for dialogue in which the neutral and non-aligned European countries are actively participating. I refer to the Conference on Confidence- and Security-building Measures and Disarmament in Europe, meeting at Stockholm. The high political level of the delegations present at the Conference has given rise, since January, to some optimism among the participating States, which also reflects the state of mind of the general public.

99. By ensuring the transparency of military activities in Europe and thereby reducing the risks of a surprise attack or of a conflict caused by a misunderstanding, the Stockholm Conference could contribute to the establishment of a climate of understanding and détente in the European continent. The preparation of an instrument which strengthens and gives specific content to the principle of the renunciation of the threat or use of force would provide a suitable basis for the adoption of technical and military measures designed to increase confidence among European countries.

100. One of the prerequisites for the successful development of the process started by the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe is that it should continue harmonious work in all the fields considered in the Helsinki Final Act,[6] including that of human rights and fundamental freedoms. In this respect, we cannot conceal our concern at the lack of progress and, even more, at the regressive trends in regard to the solution of these problems. This is all the more unfortunate because, at the beginning of next year, a meeting of experts will be held precisely in order to make progress in those fields.

101. The problems of development and of relations between the industrialized and the developing countries also affect the international balance. This is a challenge we had to face even during the recent recession in our countries. But our task remains just as complex and arduous in present economic conditions. While there have been encouraging signs of recovery in some economic areas, difficulties nevertheless remain, and much work is needed to consolidate the economic recovery and extend its benefits to a broader range of countries.

102. We have never believed that the crucial problem of economic relations between the industrialized countries and the developing countries can be solved by unilateral measures taken in a paternalistic spirit. We should keep this in mind when we tackle the imbalances and disorder caused by the recession. The interdependence of our economies has a significance far beyond the strictly economic aspect. It involves a completely new idea of international co-operation, of its spirit and its instruments. Interdependence requires a concept of co-operation based on dialogue, whose participants must be all the members of the international community.

103. The Fourth General Conference of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization, held at Vienna from 2 to 19 August 1984, was an important stage in that dialogue. Its results may not have satisfied all the expectations. For our part, however, we take the overall view that they were positive, even though some of the discussions must be continued by the General Assembly at this session. In many respects, the Fourth General Conference did good work, which should facilitate the future task of UNIDO when it becomes a specialized agency.

104. The economic difficulties plaguing the whole world have struck with particular harshness the regions now suffering the scourge of drought and other natural disasters. Entire populations are compelled to struggle for mere survival.

105. Italy, despite its own problems, has increased its bilateral efforts. We are convinced, however, that those efforts should be made in the context of international co-operation. We hope that such co-operation can assist in reviving the North-South dialogue. At the London Economic Summit, held from 7 to 9 June 1984, the Italian Government unequivocally reiterated its support for all initiatives likely to revive this dialogue. Also, we proposed that a world summit conference be held for a comprehensive and basic review of long-term North-South relations.

106. More decisive international action would seem to be necessary to tackle the core of the problem—that is, the indebtedness of the developing countries.

More appropriate trade regulations must also be defined. Italy has already ratified the agreement for the increase in the quotas of the IMF and has agreed to the principle of the cancellation of the debts of the least developed countries, which have particularly serious balance-of-payments problems. For many years, Italy has been emphasizing in UNCTAD the need for the adoption of appropriate machinery to stabilize raw material prices.

107. Among our initiatives, I shall mention only the Italian project for the Sahel, which, because of the techniques chosen and the magnitude of the financing, seems to us to be an effective means to wage the struggle against famine in that vast region. We have also given high priority to problems affecting children. This has enabled us to co-operate even more closely with UNICEF.

108. I turn now to the question of the Middle East. After decades of negotiations and conflict, that region is still plagued by crisis; the Arab-Israeli conflict has not been solved. We cannot but note that during the present year there has been a dangerous stalemate in the situation. The prospects for negotiation opened by the proposals put forward on 1 September 1982 by the President of the United States,[3] as well as by the decisions adopted on 9 September 1982 by the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference, held at Fez,[2] have faded. Bitterness and frustration have taken over, especially among those who have so far worked the hardest for a political settlement. As a member of the European Community and as a Mediterranean country, Italy is prepared to do everything possible to help to bring about a resumption of negotiations. The parties must not be given any reason to be tempted once again by confrontation, which could only bring more sorrow and ruin to all the peoples of the region.

109. We believe that any lasting solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict must take into account the security requirements of all the States of the region, as well as the requirements of justice, which necessarily entails the creation of a Palestinian homeland. The Palestine question must return very soon to its rightful central position in the Arab-Israeli problem. In this respect, we address an urgent appeal to Israel, for which only peace can open the way to the genuine security to which it is entitled and to great possibilities of co-operation within the region.

110. Even in the present phase of stalemate, some positive elements can be seen. There is a greater trend towards unity in the Arab world. We think that this is a positive sign, because divisions do not lend themselves to any serious political commitment. Egypt has returned to the Organization of the Islamic Conference: that is another positive sign, because the work of that organization will undoubtedly benefit from the contribution of such an important country. Still another positive sign is the policy that Saudi Arabia, a country of such great traditions, is pursuing in favour of Arab unity. Finally, we are following with keen interest the dialogue between Jordan and the PLO. We hope that the Palestinian movement will regain its unity and will advance towards negotiations, for it is only through negotiations that prospects for a successful solution to the important Palestine question can be opened.

111. We view with deep concern the prolongation of the conflict between Iraq and Iran. The military operations of recent months have clearly shown the serious risks entailed, particularly for the Gulf States, in an intensification and expansion of the conflict. But, over and above the harm done to political balances and economic interests, it is the spectacle of the death and useless destruction caused by this conflict for more than four years that so disturbs us. Yet it is possible to do something at the humanitarian level to relieve the suffering of the peoples of the two countries involved in the conflict.

112. We have therefore warmly welcomed the efforts of the Secretary-General to guarantee respect for civilians. The entire international community must join efforts to achieve a reconciliation of the positions of the two parties to the conflict, so that there may be a negotiated settlement—indeed, on this point the two major Powers are not in disagreement.

113. As a Mediterranean country, we have traditionally close ties with Lebanon. In the past, Italy has willingly made specific contributions to the efforts to bring peace to Lebanon and to protect the local populations. The work of the Italian peace contingent has been appreciated by all the parties concerned.

114. We took a positive view, at the time, of the process of national Lebanese conciliation worked out at the Geneva and Lausanne conferences. Those conferences resulted in the establishment of the present Government of National Unity, in which all the Lebanese factions are finally adequately represented. For our part, we are committed to supporting the efforts to ensure the country's reconstruction. Finally, in my opinion, Syria's contribution to the process of conciliation must be recognized.

115. There remain, however, complex problems which have not been solved: not only the domestic problems due to the wounds caused by a decade of civil war, but also the terrorism which lurks with tragic consequences, as proved by the recent attack on the United States Embassy at Beirut, a crime we strongly condemn.

116. But all these problems will remain unsolved as long as part of Lebanon's territory stays under foreign occupation. Hence, we are convinced that a lasting settlement can be worked out only when the Israelis withdraw from southern Lebanon as a first step towards the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Lebanese soil. The United Nations, in particular UNIFIL, has an important role to play in this regard.

117. At the invitation of the Italian Government and in conformity with the provisions of the Concluding Document of the Madrid meeting of representatives of the participating States of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, a seminar on economic, scientific and cultural co-operation in the Mediterranean region will be held at Venice from 16 to 26 October, within a political framework designed to achieve and maintain détente in the Mediterranean region. Apart from the States which signed the Helsinki Final Act, the eight coastal countries of the Mediterranean which are not part of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe and the five competent organizations of the United Nations system have been invited to the seminar.

118. Italy attaches great importance to the success of the Venice seminar and intends to work actively for the continued development of Mediterranean co-operation.

119. In this same region, unfortunately, another crisis situation remains, the problem of Cyprus. The Italian Government wishes to reaffirm its full support and encouragement for the good offices of the Secretary-General aimed at solving the problems of the island, in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the Security Council. We address a warm appeal to all the interested parties that they do not fail to make their own specific contribution of goodwill.

120. In the last few days I took part, at San José, in an international conference whose goals of promoting peace, co-operation, development and respect for fundamental freedoms and human rights in as tormented a region as Central America are certainly in conformity with the ideals of the United Nations. The conference was attended by the 10 member States of the European Community, together with Spain and Portugal, in anticipation of its forthcoming enlargement. I am glad to be able to announce that we reached constructive conclusions in the fields of political support and economic aid, which are the beginning of a closer relationship between Europe and Central America. In the economic field, trilateral initiatives are possible between the countries of the region, the European Community and the United States or other industrialized countries. This important political result was made possible by the invitation of the President of Costa Rica and the ability shown by the five Central American countries to rise above the differences which divide them.

121. A few days earlier, the countries of the Contadora Group which were present at the meeting of the Inter-Parliamentary Union at Geneva did good work, resulting in the unanimous adoption—from Nicaragua to the United States—of a proposal regarding Central America. The work of the Contadora Group at San José was also of vital importance. Italy offers all its support so that the Contadora plan for peace may be realized as soon as possible.

122. The various processes of democratic normalization that have begun in South America, which can be seen in the affirmation of pluralism and freedom, reflect positive changes in a region where authoritarian and military régimes were, until recent times, in the majority.

123. Thus, we have welcomed with particular satisfaction the conclusion of the difficult process of restoration of democracy in Argentina, a great country with which we have deep ties of blood, tradition and culture and which is now playing a new role not only on the continent but also on the international scene. We are following with sympathy and solidarity the difficult progress towards democracy of another Latin American country, Uruguay, to which we are also linked by deep ties.

124. With regard to the dispute which still divides Argentina and Great Britain, whose harsher aspects result from the deadly conflict unleashed by the military régime, we appeal to the parties once again to resume dialogue as soon as possible, without prejudicial positions, as a first step to future negotiations.

125. In other Latin American countries, however, the development of democracy and respect for human rights are impeded in spite of the profound aspirations of their peoples for a better political system. We express the strongest disapproval of this state of affairs. In this respect, we are thinking particularly of Chile.

126. I come now to the economic problems. The enormous foreign debt of Latin America may hinder these encouraging political developments if the international community and institutions do not make an appropriate response. Also at the request of the countries concerned, we have advocated in the appropriate international forums, in particular at the London Economic Summit, that, in agreement with other Western countries, possible solutions to this problem should be studied.

127. Turning to Africa, we note that in addition to the crises, tensions, conflicts, natural disasters and nutritional problems which have become very serious and weigh heavily on the development of that continent, new elements have recently emerged which, although insufficient and limited, open up new prospects in the search for peace and stability.

128. The agreements concluded in southern Africa are positive. They are a step in the direction we have always advocated, namely, towards a political and negotiated settlement of the problems of that part of Africa within a framework of respect for sovereignty and the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of States. The withdrawal of the South African forces in Angola is not yet complete; other signs could even make one think of the possibility of a regression. We also note with regret the slow progress towards the independence of Namibia on the basis of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). That resolution should, on the contrary, be implemented rapidly and unconditionally. The independence of Namibia represents the touchstone for definitely assessing in a positive way the new elements of détente between South Africa and its neighbouring States. Our condemnation of the intolerable system of *apartheid* and of the policies of forced resettlement remains very firm.

129. The recent agreement to withdraw the French and Libyan troops from Chad opens up prospects for peace in that country, which we hope will be achieved. This agreement will obviously have to be followed by concrete action aimed at national reconciliation. Italy supports the efforts undertaken by the Organization of African Unity [*OAU*] to promote an understanding between the Government and the opposition.

130. We also hope to see negotiations based on the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and that of the Organization of Africa Unity to settle the conflicts in the Horn of Africa, a region with which we are closely linked by historic ties and ever-growing co-operation. Ethiopia and Somalia must rediscover the path of dialogue and co-operation; they must also free themselves from the crushing burden of hostility, in terms of human and economic resources, which impedes development and the struggle against poverty. We hope that the solutions to the problems of that region will be based on respect for the territorial integrity of States within existing frontiers and for non-interference in internal affairs. These solutions should also take account of the historical and cultural identities of the peoples concerned.

131. Italy is following events in Asia with the greatest interest. We are convinced that that immense continent, with its history, culture and wisdom and the capacity for work of its peoples, can

make a fundamental contribution to peace, stability and progress in the world. Italy is linked by ties of esteem and friendship with the Asian countries—from Japan to the People's Republic of China, to the countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations. The Pacific region may take off economically for the benefit of all the peoples of the world.

132. In this context, we believe that a political solution of the Cambodian crisis, in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, could free the Asian continent from a very serious regional problem, thus releasing its energies for economic and social development. Our position is the same with respect to the Afghanistan crisis.

133. The Italian Government is carefully watching events in the Korean peninsula and hopes for the resumption of direct dialogue between the two parties, without external interference. Such a dialogue in favour of peace could promote initiatives likely to help attain the priority objective of the unification of the peninsula. The recent contact between the Red Cross Societies of the two Koreas seems to us to be a positive step. Another step forward might be an understanding between the two parties on their joint participation in the next Olympic Games at Seoul, thus giving back to the Olympics the universal character which was missing in the last two Games. We also believe that the two Koreas should be admitted to the United Nations. This would not compromise, but would on the contrary help, prospects for reunification of the peninsula.

134. Like its nine partners in the European Community, Italy is contributing to the expansion of an economic and political community open to co-operation with all other peoples. Our Community is a factor for peace, equilibrium and progress in international society. Its aims therefore—as explained by the President of the Council of Ministers of the European Community—are in harmony with those of the United Nations.

135. The prospect of the admission of Spain and Portugal, which Italy regards as a historical turning-point, and the proposals to build a more advanced institutional structure and lay the foundations of European union are likely to have a positive influence at the world level.

136. In helping to overcome differences and find ways to resolve the difficulties and instability of the international situation, the European Community believes it can also assist other peoples. Through our efforts to establish close relations between countries on both sides of the Atlantic and within a united Europe, we are convinced we can strengthen the capacity of the West to contribute to the creation of a better future for all mankind.

137. The building of Europe is aimed at consolidating co-operation within our continent and, on a basis of equality, with the States of other regions. Italy is working to give new impetus to the process of European integration, in the conviction that, together, our nations can more effectively offer the contributions of their culture, historical tradition and political experience.

138. The good intentions and efforts of the Europeans will, however, prove insufficient without co-ordinated action, for which all Members of the United Nations are equally responsible. That is why we offer our full co-operation to this great institution, without which, as the Secretary-General stated in his report on the work of the Organization, "the world would certainly be a much more dangerous and disorderly place".

139. Mr. AL-KHALIFA (Bahrain) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Allow me, Sir, at the outset to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. I pay a tribute to your friendly country, Zambia, and wish you all success and good luck in conducting the work of this session. I assure you of the full co-operation of the delegation of the State of Bahrain in carrying out the duties of your high international office.

140. I should also like to offer the thanks of the delegation of my country to Mr. Jorge Illueca for his skill in conducting the work of the thirty-eighth session.

141. It gives me pleasure likewise to pay a tribute to the unremitting efforts of the Secretary-General to strengthen the role of the Organization and achieve the goals of the Charter of the United Nations, particularly with regard to the maintenance of peace and security in the world.

142. I have the pleasure also of congratulating the Government and people of Brunei Darussalam on the occasion of the admission of that country to membership of the United Nations, and wish this friendly State all prosperity and progress.

143. We have all come to this international forum for the purposes of maintaining international peace and co-operation, finding effective solutions to current world problems and securing further progress for all the peoples of the world. These purposes can be attained only by an international community which believes in interdependence and solidarity, works for justice and co-operation among the peoples of the world and adheres to the purposes and principles of the Charter, whose high goals we have all promised to respect.

144. It is regrettable that developments over the years have rendered our duty more difficult and more onerous. We have to take such developments as a challenge which requires collective, concentrated effort.

145. The war in the Gulf has now entered its fifth year. Its dangers and the threat that it poses to world peace and security have intensified. It has taken a particularly dangerous turn over the last few months with attacks outside the zones of hostilities on oil tankers belonging to States which are not parties to the Iraq-Iran conflict. This dangerous development requires us more than ever before to increase our efforts at mediation to settle this dispute peacefully.

146. Moved by their desire for peaceful co-existence and good-neighbourliness, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, the Arab States of the Gulf Co-operation Council asked the Security Council to adopt a draft resolution calling upon States to respect the territorial integrity of the States that are not party to the hostilities in the Gulf, to exercise the utmost restraint and to refrain from any act which might lead to a further escalation or widening of the conflict.

147. Security Council resolution 552 (1984) confirmed the conviction of the international community that such attacks constitute a threat to the safety and stability of the area and have serious implications for international peace and security. The Security Council is requested to follow up the implemen-

tation of this resolution to ensure the free and safe navigation in international waters and sea lanes for shipping *en route* to and from all ports and installations of the littoral States that are not parties to the hostilities in the Gulf. The Security Council should carry out its responsibilities, in accordance with the provisions of the Charter, and take positive and decisive action to end this war and have it settled peacefully.

148. To reduce the tension of the war, the State of Bahrain called upon Iraq and Iran, early in July of this year, to accept the principle of the neutrality of seaports in the Gulf, as a natural step after both parties, on the proposal of the Secretary-General, had agreed not to attack civilian targets. We hope that our call will be heeded by Iran, since Iraq has responded to it, so that the lives of civilians in the warring States may be spared and the economic interests of all countries in the Gulf protected.

149. We again call upon the two neighbouring countries, Iran and Iraq, to settle their differences by peaceful means and to re-establish normal relations between them on the basis of mutual respect, good-neighbourliness and non-interference in each other's domestic affairs, so that peace and constructive co-operation may prevail in the region, for the well-being and prosperity of its people. I commend the positive response of Iraq to all international attempts at mediation to settle this war by peaceful means.

Mr. Gumucio Granier (Bolivia), Vice-President, took the Chair.

150. The Arab Gulf region has been the centre of attention of the States of the world because of its important strategic location and large oil reserves, which supply world markets with a great part of their energy needs. The Gulf Co-operation Council countries have frequently affirmed that the maintenance of peace, security and stability in the region is their own collective responsibility, free from any foreign interference whatsoever. This joint policy has become a fact, thanks to fruitful understanding and co-operation among the countries of the Council in the political, economic, defence and other fields.

151. The war in the Gulf, the continuous Israeli aggression against the Arab countries, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the intensification of East-West rivalry are all dangerous warnings that the world is constantly facing acute crises that threaten international peace and security and entail the elimination of all the achievements of the United Nations over the four decades since the Second World War. Now, more than ever before, the international community is facing a difficult historical option: either war and the non-observance of the rule of law, or the peaceful settlement of disputes and respect for the Charter of the United Nations. Peace based on justice, on the dignity of man and on non-interference in the internal affairs of other States is a noble human aspiration which should be attained despite all difficulties.

152. The crisis through which the United Nations is passing is due to the fact that some Governments ignore the Organization and its Charter and try to reach certain political goals through the threat or use of force to prevent the United Nations from accomplishing its main objective: the maintenance of international peace and security. The Security Council, the organ responsible for the maintenance of peace and security, is often unable to carry out its duties because of East-West rivalry and conflict.

153. The two super-Powers, which should bear greater international responsibility as regards the maintenance of peace and security, have disappointed other States by their preoccupation with the arms race, particularly strategic nuclear weapons, and the creation of political and military spheres of influence in the world. This has stalled détente between the two super-Powers and disturbed the atmosphere that is needed for positive and constructive dialogue between them.

154. Although détente between the two super-Powers is considered to be a positive factor for the reduction of world tensions, the current crisis in international relations should not be looked upon as a crisis between two parties, without a third. The current crisis is unfortunately universal in its nature and ramifications. The security and stability of the world should therefore be the collective concern of all countries. Atomic terror, the world food crisis, and peace and stability in the world are problems of a universal nature, which all States in the world should effectively contribute to solving. Hegemony in international relations should therefore be replaced by equality and the rule of law, in order that faith in the international Organization may be strengthened and it can play a prominent humanitarian role, enabling all the peoples of the world to enjoy peace and prosperity.

155. The aggravation of acute international problems is a source of concern and pessimism in relation to the future of current international relations. We still hope, year after year, that this concern and pessimism will vanish through the emergence of a new era of co-operation and understanding among States. We believe that the cause of the pessimism is not the existence of problems in international relations, for mankind has always faced such problems. What is really distressing is that, after centuries of civilization and progress in all fields, nations have not been able to establish an effective international system based on co-operation, justice and mutual respect. Narrow national interests still dominate international relations and often involve the use of force as the main instrument for securing such interests.

156. A question that arises in this respect is the nature and role of the United Nations—as the Organization that should maintain and preserve peace and security in the world—in such a welter of international problems and crises.

157. Despite its great contributions in the social and development fields, the United Nations has not been able—or has not on many occasions been afforded the opportunity—to play the role entrusted to it under the Charter. The international community should face this fact with a sense of responsibility and realism so that it may disentangle itself from the vicious circle of hope and wishful thinking and so that the international Organization can become an effective instrument for the implementation of the purposes and principles of the Charter. To do so, of course, is not easy. It is an arduous and complex task and one that requires a new, collective outlook characterized by courage and faith. It is clear that there is a collective international feeling that changes should inevitably be made in the United Nations to

modify and strengthen its role, particularly as regards the maintenance of world peace and security.

158. The Middle East has been the scene of bloody and tragic events since 1948, when the Arab land of Palestine was forcibly seized to establish a Zionist State on it. All the international attempts and efforts to reduce tension in this strategic and sensitive region of the world have failed because they have not touched the root of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

159. The core and the root of the Arab-Israeli conflict is the refusal to grant the Palestinian people their imprescriptible and inalienable right of sovereignty and the establishment of their own State on their national soil, under the leadership of the PLO, their sole legitimate representative.

160. Israel's refusal to recognize the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, which have been reaffirmed by recurrent United Nations resolutions over the course of 37 years, has aggravated tension in the Middle East, particularly since Israel has revealed its imperialist and expansionist ambitions through its militaristic, sectarian and racist war against the Arab States, the occupation of their lands by force and the exercise of the most inadmissible forms of repression and terrorism against the Arab population, especially the Palestinians who live under the yoke of Israeli occupation.

161. The increase in the ferocity of the Israeli aggression against the Arab people has reached such a level that decisive and effective international measures should be taken to curb it because it contravenes the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations. The Organization, and particularly the Security Council, which is responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security, are still unable to prevent Israel from pursuing its aggressive policy because of the support it receives from the United States Government.

162. We declare now, as we did last year, at the thirty-eighth session [*21st meeting*], our support and approval of the unified Arab peace plan, adopted at Fez on 9 September 1982 by the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference.[2] That plan, which deals with all the aspects and details of the Arab-Israeli conflict, is a realistic attempt to find a just and lasting solution to the Middle East conflict. Its elements are derived from the principles of the Charter and from resolutions of the United Nations which call upon Israel to withdraw from all the Arab occupied territories, including the Holy City of Jerusalem, and to dismantle all settlements which it has unlawfully established in those territories. The plan also reaffirms the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and the exercise of their imprescriptible and inalienable rights, including the establishment of their independent State on their national soil.

163. Israel has rejected the Arab peace plan for the Middle East and all serious initiatives for the solution of the Arab-Israeli conflict. It has thereby confirmed that it is an expansionist settler State which condones the crimes and massacres perpetrated against the Arab nation, particularly against the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples. For how long will the international community remain powerless to carry out its declared intention, embodied in recurrent resolutions, to put an end to Israeli aggression, the dangerous nature of which is escalating daily, threatening not only the security of the region but that of the whole world?

164. The continuation of aid and support to Israel has made it more arrogant and resolute in its violations of United Nations resolutions and basic human rights. Israel still procrastinates and imposes unreasonable and unacceptable conditions for its withdrawal from Lebanon, which proves its evil intention to perpetuate its occupation.

165. It is a principal historical duty of the international community, as represented by the Security Council, to restore security and stability to the victimized land of Lebanon. This can be done only by restraining Israel and compelling it to withdraw from all Lebanese territory, in accordance with the numerous Security Council resolutions in that respect.

166. The Israeli invasion of Lebanon has complicated the internal situation in the country and increased tension in the Middle East region. We hope that Arab Lebanon will recover from its ordeal through the unity and solidarity of its people, so that its territorial integrity and sovereignty may be maintained for a better future, with the restoration of security, tranquillity and stability to that Arab country, whose sufferings have been beyond imagining.

167. There are other important questions which still occupy the attention of the international community and for which suitable solutions have not yet been found.

168. Soviet forces have been occupying Afghanistan since the end of 1979, despite numerous United Nations resolutions and renewed appeals to the Soviet Union to withdraw from Afghanistan so that its people may regain their freedom and return to the policy of non-alignment which they have adopted for themselves. I should like to call now—and it is a call of the international community as a whole—upon the Soviet Union to withdraw its forces from Afghanistan and leave the people of that country free to choose its political system without any pressure or threat.

169. In South Africa, the minority white Government subjects the black majority to the harshest forms of racial segregation and discrimination, contrary to all the high moral principles contained in the Charter of the United Nations. I appeal to the Security Council to take all appropriate measures to ensure that the Pretoria Government abandons its racist policy.

170. With regard to the question of Namibia, the Government of South Africa still procrastinates and evades the finding of a just solution. The State of Bahrain is convinced more than ever of the need to increase international pressure on South Africa to implement Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which calls for the independence of Namibia under United Nations supervision.

171. With regard to the question of Cyprus, we reaffirm the importance of creating a suitable atmosphere to pave the way for a peaceful settlement acceptable to both parties to the dispute. We should pay a tribute to the ceaseless efforts of the Secretary-General to narrow the differences between the parties and find a durable and just solution to this problem.

172. In connection with the attempts made to settle the dispute between the two parts of Korea, we welcome the call for unconditional negotiations and the unification of the Korean peninsula for the well-being and prosperity of the Korean people as a whole.

173. The world is now passing through the worst stage of economic stagnation and recession since the Second World War. The recovery the world witnessed some years ago, which varied in different parts of the world, is now over. The end of the recovery in some large industrialized countries has aggravated the economic difficulties of developing countries, particularly the poorest among them.

174. Economic stagnation and recession in the world have caused the debts of developing countries to increase to an amount estimated at present to be over $800 billion. It is worth noting that the increase in the debts of the developing countries was caused originally by the reduction of the prices of raw materials produced by those countries and the increase of the prices of manufactured goods imported from industrialized countries. This has had dangerous adverse repercussions on economic and social development in developing countries and widened the deep gap in the standard of living between the countries of the North and those of the South.

175. We may ponder whether on the same planet two such different worlds can coexist—one too rich and one poor, suffering from hunger and disease—without acute crises arising in the world, both North and South. We should realize that our world is one in which interests are interconnected and interrelated and in which the importer and the exporter depend on each other. The rich and the poor are individuals of one community and, if the gap between them widens, deprivation will inevitably lead to confrontation. The international community should therefore consolidate its collective efforts to reduce the intensity of the crisis and its destructive effects. This cannot be achieved except by the establishment of the new international economic order based on justice, independence and collective partnership.

176. The delegation of my country hopes that the current session of the Assembly will adopt appropriate resolutions to deal with world problems which threaten humanity with dire consequences if no collective action is taken to combat them. I should like to reaffirm that the Government and people of Bahrain are fully prepared to work with the peoples and Governments of the world to attain the aspirations of the world community, in accordance with the high aims and principles set forth in the Charter of the United Nations. We should work to build a better world in which security and harmony prevail, so that we may fulfil our mission to allow future generations to live in peace, prosperity and stability.

177. Mr. YAQUB-KHAN (Pakistan): It gives me great pleasure to congratulate Mr. Lusaka on his election to the presidency of the General Assembly at its thirty-ninth session. My delegation is particularly happy that this office is being held by the representative of a country with which Pakistan enjoys close bilateral ties and shares common views. His unanimous election as President is a tribute to the constructive role that Zambia has consistently played in the quest for a just international order. It also recognizes his personal qualities of statesmanship and wisdom and his dedication to the cause of decolonization, freedom and justice. Let me assure him that he will have the full co-operation and sincere good wishes of my delegation.

178. I would also like to express the deep gratitude of my delegation for the great skill and dedication with which Mr. Jorge Illueca guided the deliberations of the Assembly at its thirty-eighth session.

179. It is a special pleasure for me to extend my warmest congratulations to Brunei Darussalam on its accession to membership in the United Nations and to welcome its delegation to our midst. As a fellow Asian and Islamic country, Pakistan has already established a cordial and fraternal relationship with Brunei, and we look forward to working in close co-operation with it in the United Nations and in other international forums.

180. Allow me to express our deep gratitude to the Secretary-General for his tireless efforts in the pursuit of international peace and security. Since he assumed office, we have admired his annual reports to the General Assembly not only for their evaluation of the achievements of the Organization but, equally, for their candid analysis of its inadequacies and recommendations for remedial measures.

181. This year again, as we undertake preparations to celebrate the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations, the Secretary-General's important report on the work of the Organization [*A/39/1*] emphasizes the imperatives of strengthening multilateralism and revitalizing the role of the United Nations as mankind's only institution for the preservation of international peace and security.

182. The thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly has had an auspicious beginning because, after a long night of confrontation between the major Powers, we may well be witnessing the first light of a new dawn. It is our earnest wish that the hopes of a thaw in relations among the major Powers may not only be sustained but become a prelude to a new phase of détente in the interest of global peace and progress.

183. In an age in which the very survival of civilization is threatened, it is imperative that a beginning be made to break away from the pursuit of global domination and regional hegemony, which have so often brought countries of the world into apocalyptic conflicts.

184. The international community has before it a clear agenda which must be addressed in the interest of a peaceful and secure future. There are regional conflicts awaiting peaceful settlement and situations of colonial and alien domination that need to be rectified. There is the arms race, particularly the growth of nuclear arsenals which cast a shadow over the future of mankind. Accompanying these grim realities of the international situation, misery and deprivation afflict a vast section of humanity and an inequitable international economic order persists as a legacy of the past and continues to accentuate the gap between the poor and the rich.

185. International peace will remain elusive so long as powerful nations continue to resort to the use of force with impunity and until the frontiers of smaller nations are secure and their right to seek freedom and self-determination is fully respected.

186. Pakistan firmly believes that the security of smaller and medium-sized nations can be assured in an international environment of peace, stability and progress. In pursuit of these objectives, Pakistan has made unremitting efforts to promote co-operative and good-neighbourly relations and to seek peaceful solutions to the problems in our region. This attitude is clearly manifest in the sincere efforts made by Pakistan to find a peaceful settlement of the grave situation created by the presence of foreign troops in

Afghanistan, which continues to be a cause of deep concern to us and to the international community.

187. Ever since our independence, successive Governments of Pakistan have sought to develop fraternal relations with Afghanistan based on the historic ties that bind our two peoples and on the imperative of mutual co-operation dictated by geography, economic interdependence and political realities. Consistent with these objectives, Pakistan has continued to extend its hand of friendship to whichever Government was in power in Afghanistan.

188. The foreign military intervention in Afghanistan in 1979, however, brought about a fundamental change in that country. An indigenous national movement, directed against the presence of foreign troops and the régime imposed by them, began a struggle for liberation throughout the length and breadth of Afghanistan. The ensuing conflict has witnessed ruthless military operations to stamp out the heroic struggle of the Afghans and has forced millions of Afghans to leave their homeland in order to seek shelter in neighbouring countries.

189. As a neighbour, Pakistan has been affected by these convulsions and has given refuge to over 3 million Afghans who have fled their country. We have provided them with shelter and with means of sustenance in accordance with our Islamic and humanitarian obligations. We shall continue to do so within our limited resources until conditions are created inside Afghanistan that will enable these unfortunate people to return to their homes in safety and honour.

190. Apart from the human suffering it has caused, the military intervention in Afghanistan has radically altered the environment of security in the region. It has created a potentially dangerous situation and has contributed to the heightening of international tension. The persistence of military intervention in this non-aligned country constitutes stark defiance of respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of States and the non-use of force in inter-State relations.

191. For Pakistan, the danger is direct and tangible, as is evident from the continuing violations of our territory from the Afghanistan side, which have resulted in tragic loss of innocent lives and damage to property. Recently, there has been a sharp escalation in the intensity and frequency of these violations. Last August, 54 innocent lives were lost in incidents involving shelling and bombardment of our territory. The latest such attack, which occurred only last Thursday, took a further toll of 32 lives. The Government of Pakistan takes an extremely serious view of these wanton attacks, which have aggravated the situation on our northern borders. Pakistan has so far acted with restraint, and it hopes that the concern of the international community over the continuation of such attacks and their dangerous consequences will compel those responsible to desist from further aggression.

192. For Pakistan, therefore, as indeed for the entire international community, the continued occupation of Afghanistan by foreign forces is a matter of utmost concern. We are deeply aware that the situation in Afghanistan does not admit of a military solution and can only be resolved through political means. We have, therefore, been working sincerely for a political settlement that would restore peace and stability to the region.

193. In our search for a solution to the Afghanistan problem, we have recently concluded another round of indirect talks through the intermediary of the Personal Representative of the Secretary-General. This round has marked a further step forward in the diplomatic process initiated two years ago. We remain confident that this dialogue will ultimately lead to an honourable negotiated settlement. For our part, we will continue to extend our full co-operation to the Personal Representative of the Secretary-General in his search for a comprehensive settlement based on the principles enunciated by the United Nations.

194. The establishment of tension-free and good-neighbourly relations between Pakistan and India is clearly of crucial importance in bringing about a secure and tranquil environment in which peoples of these two countries can devote themselves fully to the urgent tasks of national development. Pakistan has, therefore, assiduously endeavoured to build up a climate of confidence, understanding and mutual trust with our neighbouring country. We are fully aware that the path we have chosen for ourselves may be long and arduous, but we shall remain undaunted by temporary set-backs in pursuing the charted course of peace and good-neighbourly relations.

195. Our offer to India in 1981 of a non-aggression pact remains an important initiative designed to remove mistrust and fear. We have also given constructive consideration to the proposal of a treaty of peace and friendship. Negotiations between the two Governments to evolve an integrated text made encouraging progress last May, and we remain confident that the gaps between the respective positions of the two sides can be bridged.

196. In accordance with our established policy of promoting good-neighbourly relations with India, we remain prepared to revive and intensify the negotiations and to take concrete steps to build mutual confidence and promote co-operation between the two countries. In the same spirit, we seek a just and honourable settlement of the Jammu and Kashmir question, which will ensure lasting harmonious relations and durable peace between the two countries.

197. The seven nations of the South Asian region, which together constitute a quarter of humanity, are today engaged in a vigorous and determined effort to increase and institutionalize their mutual co-operation for the economic and social progress of their people, in accordance with the principles of sovereign equality and mutual benefit. Pakistan has participated actively in this process because we believe that it will help to improve the living conditions of our people. It will also promote an atmosphere of confidence, stability and harmony in our region. Considerable progress has already been made in setting up a framework for South Asian regional co-operation, and we look forward to the summit conference next year, which would in itself be a landmark in the promotion of peace and understanding in the region.

198. As a littoral State on the Indian Ocean, Pakistan is fully committed to the goal of a zone of peace in the area, which it regards as an important element in the quest on the part of the Indian Ocean States for peace and security. We view the convening of a conference on the Indian Ocean as a step in that direction. We believe that the establishment of a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean area requires practical measures that would lead to the elimination

of great-Power rivalry and military presence and the prohibition of nuclear weapons from the Ocean and from the territories of the littoral and hinterland States. States in the region would also have to commit themselves to settle peacefully all outstanding disputes and to ensure that a climate of confidence, peace and security should exist among themselves.

199. In our relations with the major Powers, we have adhered scrupulously to the policy of non-alignment, consistent with the interests of peace and security in our region. We will not be party to any military blocs or alliances, nor will we grant any military bases to outside Powers or engage in collusion with one against the interest of the other. Development of our relations with the major Powers, as with other States, is on the basis of bilateralism and mutual benefit, and we desire to see the major Powers help in the promotion of peace in our region.

200. The tragic conflict between Iran and Iraq, now in its fifth year, has already taken a vast toll in human life and has caused massive destruction of national wealth. The people of Pakistan are deeply anguished at the continuation of this conflict, which serves the interest of neither the belligerents nor any other country in the region.

201. If the conflict continues unrestrained, the flames that consume Iran and Iraq today are likely to affect other States in the region and to attract the involvement of outside Powers in this strategic part of the world. Pakistan has, therefore, made incessant efforts by using all its resources, bilaterally or as a member of the Islamic Peace Committee, to bring about an early end to this fratricidal conflict. We deplore its continuation and we deplore its expansion in the form of the use of chemical weapons and attacks on international shipping. We once again urge the belligerents to respond to the desire of the international community to end the hostilities and support all international efforts towards achieving peace, including the mediatory role of the Secretary-General, which deserves a rich tribute, particularly for its success in securing an agreement on the cessation of attacks on civilian population centres.

202. The Middle East question has been on the Assembly's agenda for more than three decades and remains the most explosive issue threatening international peace. At the heart of the issue are the Israeli occupation of Arab and Palestinian lands, the denial of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people and the relentless Israeli expansion against its Arab neighbours. Instead of responding to the opportunities offered by peace, Israel has persisted in its design to annex territories occupied by it since 1967 and has embarked on a systematic policy of changing the historic character of these territories, especially through the establishment of settlements.

203. Israeli occupation of southern Lebanon represents a new dimension in Israeli expansionism and its attempts to assert its diktat in the area. While compounding the Middle East conflict, the Israeli invasion of Lebanon has given rise to a new wave of violence in the area.

204. In spite of Israeli intransigence, the international community has repeatedly made proposals that could lead to a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. Last year, the General Assembly called for an International Peace Conference on the Middle East [*resolution 38/58 C*]. In September 1982, Arab leaders offered the elements of a peace plan at the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference, held at Fez.[2] Proposals were offered by President Reagan,[3] and the most recent proposals were made by the Soviet Union last July [*see A/39/368*]. All these initiatives demonstrate that the avenues of a just settlement remain open. What is required, however, is a concerted effort by the international community to compel Israel to respond positively to these initiatives with a view to recognizing the imperatives of peace and security in the region.

205. The principles on which a Middle East settlement must be based are clear and have been affirmed repeatedly. These include: withdrawal of Israeli forces from all the territories occupied by it since 1967, including Jerusalem; attainment by the Palestinian people of their inalienable rights, including the right of an independent state in Palestine; the right of the PLO to represent the Palestinian people and to participate on an equal footing in all peace efforts.

206. The fulfilment of these conditions alone can ensure peace and security for every State in the Middle East. Any effort to achieve this objective by circumventing the essential imperatives for peace is destined to prove counter-productive.

207. Pakistan's commitment to the principle of non-intervention and non-interference in the internal affairs of other States is also reflected in the position adopted by it on issues concerning regions located far away from us. Accordingly, we have consistently supported the international call for the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea and the restoration of the right of its people to determine its own destiny free from external interference or pressure. Pakistan supports the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, the lawful Government of the country, in its struggle for national liberation and independence. It remains our hope that Viet Nam, whose people themselves suffered deeply from the privations of war, will recognize the futility of its presence in Kampuchea and respect the world demand for the unconditional withdrawal of its forces.

208. We also oppose any meddling by outside Powers in the affairs of the countries of Central America, whose peoples are engaged in a struggle to overcome deep-rooted socio-economic problems inherited from the past. The peace initiative of the Contadora Group offers the best hope for harmony and progress in the region and deserves the support of all countries.

209. It is an affront to mankind that vestiges of colonialism and racism should survive in southern Africa. We are convinced that, before long, the valiant people of Namibia and South Africa, who are waging a heroic struggle against colonialism, racism and *apartheid*, shall be free. Pakistan fully supports their struggle and will rejoice with them in their final triumph.

210. In South Africa, the racist Pretoria régime is pushing a new racial constitution in a sinister attempt to perpetuate the system of *apartheid* in new forms. In Namibia, it continues to resort to a combination of subterfuge and aggression to deny independence to the people of Namibia.

211. Pretoria has sought to obstruct the implementation of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia by linking it to extraneous issues and by intensifying its brutal repression of the people of the territory. As the just struggle of the Namibian

people, under the leadership of SWAPO, continues, it is vital that the international community bring maximum pressure on Pretoria to secure early and faithful implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). We also affirm our solidarity with the front-line and neighbouring States, which have been frequent victims of Pretoria's aggression because they uphold the cause of justice and freedom in South Africa and Namibia.

212. In this nuclear age, disarmament is a moral imperative. In an absolute sense, the arms race threatens the survival of mankind and, while it continues, it represents a sinful waste of human and material resources. The buildup of nuclear stockpiles and the new dimensions of the arms race now reaching outer space have outgrown the logic and rationale of deterrence and only serve to bring closer the stark prospect of the extinction of human civilization. The arms race cannot continue unrestrained. It must be halted and reversed.

213. We are convinced that the absence of negotiations would only fuel, rather than control, the nuclear arms race. We therefore regret the continued breakdown of bilateral talks between the United States and the Soviet Union on intermediate-range nuclear forces and the suspension of the Strategic Arms Reduction Talks, and we earnestly hope for an early resumption of negotiations.

214. The issue of the arms race concerns all peoples and, accordingly, the United Nations must play a central role in advancing the collective international thinking on disarmament for the promotion of its objectives. The lack of tangible progress on disarmament issues within the United Nations framework, therefore, remains for us a source of concern. Within the world body and also outside it, pressure must be maintained to outlaw the further development of weapons of mass destruction and to prevent the extension of the arms race to outer space.

215. The specific initiatives taken by Pakistan within the framework of the United Nations for negative security guarantees for non-nuclear States and the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in South Asia stem from a comprehensive approach that we pursue in matters relating to disarmament. We feel that all efforts in the field of nuclear or conventional disarmament, whether global, regional or bilateral, or whether long-term or interim, are worthy of support by the international community. Similarly, we discern a valid co-relation between disarmament and the global security environment, and we stress the need for confidence-building measures, as experience has shown that goals of disarmament cannot be achieved in a political environment of tension and conflict.

216. Pakistan's abiding commitment to nuclear non-proliferation is reflected in our unqualified support for disarmament measures advanced in the United Nations framework, our consistent pursuit for the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in South Asia, our initiative for a joint declaration for non-acquisition of nuclear weapons by the States of the region, our offer to our neighbour India concerning inspection of nuclear facilities on a reciprocal basis, as well as our preparedness to explore ways to keep our area free of nuclear weapons. As repeatedly affirmed by President Zia-ul-Haq, Pakistan is committed, and shall remain committed, not to develop nuclear weapons or allow their deployment on its soil.

217. The deepening international economic crisis is evident in the world-wide phenomena of a steep decline in the level of economic activity by diminishing investments, increasing protectionism and a high level of unemployment. The developing countries have been its worst victims. Their vulnerable economic and social systems have been ravaged by the crisis, which is compounded by a deterioration in their terms of trade, a reduced level of external demand for their goods, high interest rates, a reduced flow of official and private resources and a crushing and unprecedented burden of external debt. Efforts to improve this intolerable situation have been thwarted by the absence of political will on the part of the industrialized countries to engage in a meaningful dialogue on finding long-term solutions to the problems of the international economy.

218. The failure of successive gatherings, such as the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held at Belgrade from 6 June to 2 July 1983, and the Fourth General Conference of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization, held at Vienna from 2 to 19 August 1984, is yet another reminder of the negative attitude of the developed countries, whose apathy towards the plight of two thirds of the world's population is reflected in the fact that even the Committee on the Review and Appraisal of the Implementation of the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade failed to reach any agreement. Yet another example of this negative attitude is the failure of the Economic and Social Council, at its second regular session this year, to agree on measures in favour of the African countries, whose critical economic situation, aggravated by drought and famine, is recognized by all.

219. Claims of recovery by certain developed countries are of no solace to the developing countries which continue to suffer from present recessionary trends.

220. The undeniable interdependence between the economies of the developed and developing countries and the recognized need for an orderly and stable international economic system make it imperative that a dialogue commence in the interest of equitable economic relationships.

221. For five years now, the international community has been considering a proposal for a simultaneous, coherent and integrated examination of international economic relations by launching "global negotiations". It is indeed regrettable that these negotiations have not yet been launched in spite of broad agreement reached in 1979 at the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly, when it adopted resolution 34/138, and in 1980 during the eleventh special session.

222. The developing countries have made efforts to satisfy the concerns of the industrialized countries in regard to certain aspects of these negotiations. They have also shown flexibility, as is evident from the proposals of the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi in March 1983.[7] We hope that the industrialized countries will show sensitivity to the need for a more stable and equitable international

economic system by adopting a flexible and positive attitude towards these proposals.

223. The promotion of co-operation among developing countries is an important element in their endeavour to improve the well-being of their populations and rationalize their own economies. The efforts in most of those countries to bring about the necessary economic adjustment have often been undertaken at great economic, social and political cost. Though their achievements may have been uneven, their commitment cannot be faulted. While those efforts are important, they are not an alternative to a more healthy and more co-operative relationship between the developed and developing countries.

224. We hope that the present session of the General Assembly will prove to be a turning-point in the impasse in the dialogue between the developed and the developing countries and provide the setting for the adoption of measures leading to the restoration of confidence in international economic co-operation and to the establishment of the new international economic order.

225. The international community today faces issues of a magnitude never faced by it before. The spectre of nuclear annihilation, the deprivation suffered by a vast section of humanity and the stunning pace of contemporary technological advance present unprecedented dangers, challenges and opportunities. The question that confronts us today is whether we have the imagination and the courage to act in concert to ensure an era of peace and progress for this generation and those succeeding it. Peace and survival cannot be taken for granted in the present age. Left to itself, our world will drift towards war and self-annihilation. A conscious, determined and collective effort is imperative to fulfil the vision of the United Nations for a peaceful, just and prosperous world.

The meeting rose at 1.25 p.m.

NOTES

[1] *Military and Paramilitary Activities in and against Nicaragua (Nicaragua* v. *United States of America), Provisional Measures, Order of 10 May 1984, I.C.J. Reports 1984,* p. 169.

[2] See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-seventh Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1982,* document S/15510, annex.

[3] See *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* (Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1982), vol. 18, No. 35, p. 1081.

[4] See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-seventh Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1982,* document S/15317.

[5] See CD/540/Appendix II/Vol. III, document CD/500.

[6] Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, signed at Helsinki on 1 August 1975.

[7] See A/38/132 and Corr.1 and 2, annex.

United Nations
GENERAL ASSEMBLY
THIRTY-NINTH SESSION
Official Records

17th
PLENARY MEETING
Tuesday, 2 October 1984,
at 3.35 p.m.
NEW YORK

President: Mr. Paul J. F. LUSAKA (Zambia).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. The PRESIDENT: I have great pleasure in welcoming the Prime Minister of the Republic of Zimbabwe, Mr. Robert Gabriel Mugabe, and I invite him to address the General Assembly.

2. Mr. MUGABE (Zimbabwe): First, Mr. President, I wish to congratulate you most warmly on your richly deserved election to the highest office of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. Yours is probably one of the longest associations with the United Nations, making you one of the most experienced and knowledgeable diplomats with regard to its operations. This, together with your tested and proven personal abilities, gives us advance confidence in your stewardship of this Assembly. I wish also to note with particular satisfaction that your great country and people are linked to my own by a commonality of geography, history and culture, all of which shape our common destiny. As I wish you well in your tenure in this onerous office, let me also pledge the full co-operation of the Zimbabwe delegation in all your efforts to make this session the most successful.

3. Secondly, I should like also to congratulate your distinguished predecessor, Mr. Jorge Illueca, the President of the Assembly's thirty-eighth session, for the efficient manner in which he performed his duties and responsibilities.

4. My third, and a special, tribute goes to the Secretary-General for his untiring efforts for the enhancement of the effectiveness and strength of the Organization and for his quest for international understanding, harmony, peace and prosperity. His efforts in Africa in general and in the volatile southern African region in particular have earned him the admiration of all of us in Africa. His thought-provoking and honest analysis of the prevailing unstable world situation, as outlined in the 1982, 1983 and 1984 reports on the work of the Organization, not only reflects a deep concern about the state of our international relations, but also calls for serious reflection by all who are concerned that the United Nations fulfil the original ideals and purposes its founding fathers intended for it 40 years ago.

5. Finally, on felicitations, we of the Zimbabwe delegation very warmly greet and welcome to our midst the 159th and newest Member of this great international family of nations, the sovereign State of Brunei Darussalam.

6. I am deeply grateful for the opportunity to participate today in the Assembly's deliberations. My last address to the General Assembly was on 26 August 1980, at the eleventh special session [*4th meeting*], on the historic and momentous occasion on which my then only four-month-old sovereign nation was admitted to the United Nations. My pleasant, if also rather difficult, task then was to thank, on behalf of my Government and people, the international community and all progressive international forces, countries and groups for their respective assistance to the gallant Zimbabwean masses in our glorious liberation struggle to end a century of one of the most vicious and brutal types of colonialism, imperialism and capitalist exploitation. I also enunciated the main principles and ideals inspiring and guiding my fledgling nation's domestic, foreign and economic policies, which, as I emphasized at that time, are also very consistent with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

7. At the risk of boring the Assembly, I should like with its indulgence to say a word about developments in Zimbabwe since my last address to this body. Soon after the attainment of our independence, our most immediate and paramount task was the integration of the three previously hostile armed forces. Painstakingly, that was done, and today we are proud to speak of a single integrated Zimbabwe National Army.

8. At the national level, we embarked on the policy of reconciliation. We did not embrace this policy of national reconciliation just for its own sake. In fact, as a Government we believed that, for the people to tackle the enormous task of national development, past differences had to be forgotten and past crimes forgiven. We believed that peace, mutual respect and trust, as well as unity of purpose, would be the only way to surmount the daunting social and economic problems that faced us after a long and bloody conflict.

9. In line with the policy of reconciliation, a Government of national unity was created in which members of minority parties were invited to participate actively. Owing in no small measure to that policy and, of course, to the sheer determination of our people, we have gone a long way in our tasks of reconstruction, rehabilitation and resettlement. Hence, it is fair to say today that true democracy, social justice, national confidence and peace—hitherto a mere dream—are now realities in Zimbabwe.

10. We are determined not only that our people must exercise political power but also that their political independence and freedom should be accompanied by the enjoyment of concrete and material benefits emanating from the new order. In other

words, the satisfaction of the material needs and welfare of our people is to us as important as their right to political control. It means, therefore, that the building and development of the new Zimbabwe has to be done in conditions of sustained economic growth with equity.

11. Major and far-reaching political decisions designed to enable the country both to attain its domestic policy objectives and to play its rightful role in the regional and international arenas continue to be adopted. The latest of these were taken by the Second Congress of my Party, the Zimbabwe African National Union, held at Harare last August. The Congress gave policy guidelines on all major national issues.

12. This session of the General Assembly, like the two or three sessions before it, is taking place against the background of a really sombre international environment. The world economic situation, world peace and security, and respect for the principles of equal rights and self-determination of all peoples, which are the main concerns of the United Nations, are all in jeopardy. Unless we all, and especially the wealthy and the militarily more powerful nations, rise to our collective responsibilities in accordance with the trust which all mankind reposes in us by virtue of being Members of the Organization, the crisis now confronting world civilization will continue relentlessly until this civilization is brought to its extinction.

13. In commenting upon the gravity of our contemporary international situation and the numerous serious problems buffeting it, I wish, with the Assembly's indulgence, to begin by drawing urgent attention to developments in southern Africa. As representatives know, there the *apartheid* Pretoria régime's dual policy of domestic terror, repression and exploitation of the mass of the black population under its ferocious rule, on the one hand, and the systematic military intimidation, brute bullying, political and economic blackmailing of neighbouring and front-line States, on the other, is endangering the sovereignty of those States. It is also seriously undermining and threatening the entire region's economic viability, peace and security.

14. The people of Namibia continue to suffer under the colonial domination and brutal oppression of the South African racist régime. Although the latter has long declared its acceptance of the now six-year-old Namibian plan designed to effect the peaceful transfer of power to the people of Namibia and, therefore, end the liberation war, Security Council resolution 435 (1978) has yet to be implemented because South Africa, encouraged and assisted by some respectable Members of the General Assembly, has since 1981 been equivocating and prevaricating on this plan. But the more important aspect of the Namibian problem to us is the fact that a quid pro quo for the withdrawal of South African occupation forces in Namibia has been introduced which has nothing to do with the issue of decolonization of that Territory; and the even more surprising feature of that demand is the fact that it has been fully endorsed by some Members of the Assembly. I am referring to the demand that Cuban troops must be withdrawn from Angola before Namibia can achieve its independence, which thus envisages the parallel or simultaneous withdrawal of Cuban troops and South African occupation forces from Angola and Namibia, respectively.

15. Zimbabwe continues to reject categorically and totally that linkage and any other insidious machinations contrived by Pretoria or any other Government to delay Namibia's independence. Further, we also want to make it abundantly clear that we stand totally opposed to any initiatives designed to undermine Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which has been reaffirmed by Council resolutions 532 (1983) and 539 (1983). Namibia is a unique United Nations responsibility and cannot and should not therefore be reduced to a bilateral issue, as that would be detrimental to the interests of Namibia and to international peace and security. Zimbabwe fully subscribes to the position adopted by the Summit Meeting of Front-line States, held at Arusha on 29 April 1984, that:

> "the immediate objective for Namibia is and must be the rapid implementation of United Nations Security Council resolution 435 (1978), in order that Namibia may attain full and internationally recognized independence on the basis of self-determination by all people of that country" [*see A/AC.115/L.611*].

The leaders of the front-line States also reiterated the continuing role of the Security Council and the Secretary-General in the implementation of the United Nations plan, as reaffirmed in Security Council resolutions 532 (1983) and 539 (1983).

16. In South Africa itself, we continue to witness the brutal exploitation and oppression of the masses by the racist *apartheid* régime. We do not wish to take up precious time in merely condemning that iniquitous system based on racial bigotry. Thousands of South African patriots are languishing in prisons because of their resistance to and repudiation of the *apartheid* system. Many more have lost their lives in the struggle for their birthright and freedom. The racists are making efforts to extricate themselves by trying to hoodwink the international community through the introduction of the so-called constitutional reforms.

17. I must, however, warn that not even that so-called political dispensation and the subsequent sham elections among the Coloured and Asian communities can deceive the oppressed South African masses about the real political objectives of the racist régime. The oppressed masses of South Africa and all their external friends and allies know full well that these so-called constitutional changes are but another chapter in the dark and sordid history of *apartheid* and that their real objective is the enhancement of and not the tampering with institutionalized racism. It is not surprising, therefore, that the so-called elections were boycotted by the majority of the peoples whose interests they purported to protect. Not surprising also were the demonstrations against the elections in black and other townships during the first weeks of September. Sad, but equally predictable, was the violent and bloodthirsty manner in which the legitimate protests were handled by the ferocious police machinery of the *apartheid* régime, which left no fewer than 50 persons dead, including schoolchildren.

18. In the face of the brutality and stubbornness of the racist *apartheid* régime, the international community has no alternative but to give more help to the South African national liberation movement and all those waging a just struggle for freedom and dignity in South Africa.

19. It is now common knowledge that the racist Pretoria régime is engaged in a vigorous campaign of destabilizing the front-line States. It has recruited, trained, financed and equipped mercenaries and armed insurgents to carry out acts of banditry against the sovereign States of Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, Zambia and Zimbabwe. Economic blackmail and sabotage are all tactics used by the racist South African régime. The racist régime has not even refrained from taking advantage of the unfortunate position of its land-locked neighbours.

20. The States Members of the United Nations are well aware that the South African forces are still occupying parts of the Republic of Angola. The abortive *coup d'état* against the Government of the Seychelles two years ago showed once again the dangerous nature of the racist régime. In December 1982, the racist troops of the Pretoria régime committed yet another heinous act of aggression in neighbouring Lesotho, where they massacred more than 40 innocent people, including women and children, in cold blood.

21. We vehemently condemn these acts of aggression, which seek to foment political and economic instability in our region and increase the dependence of the front-line States on South Africa. We call upon South Africa to stop this policy of aggression.

22. Only through broader economic co-operation with the rest of the world can the countries of the southern African subregion evade one of their major problems, emanating from a complex linkage of their economies to that of racist South Africa.

23. As a region, we have taken concerted action to free ourselves from South African economic domination, and to that end, as is known, we formed the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference in 1980 and the Eastern and Southern African Preferential Trade Area in 1981. These two organizations should not be viewed in a narrow sense as merely economic organizations but rather in the broadest perspective as components of wider strategies and instrumentalities designed to facilitate a number of the grand aspirations and objectives of our respective States and Governments. We seek to promote closer economic interdependence between the economies of our countries with a view to creating a viable and meaningful economic community. Although appreciable progress has been made in both organizations, economic sabotage and incursions against our infrastructure, installations and other equipment by South African-sponsored insurgents have caused a lot of set-backs for our economic development. It is in this light that we are calling upon members of the international community to aid and co-operate with the front-line and other States of the subregion in fostering their economic independence and sovereignty.

24. I come now to other world issues. It is our feeling that the United Nations must be gravely concerned about and must reject and condemn racism, colonialism, military aggression, intervention and destabilization wherever and by whomever they are perpetrated, be it in Western Sahara, where the Saharan people are denied their self-determination; in the Middle East, where the root cause of all the tension and conflict is zionism and Israeli expansionist policies and practices and where the Palestinians' right to a homeland and to self-determination is denied them; in Cyprus, where external aggression and interference have promoted and encouraged the unilateral secession now threatening that country's territorial unity, political integrity and sovereignty; in Central America and the Caribbean, in particular in Nicaragua and Grenada, where external intervention and interference in the affairs of States is sowing seeds of tension and conflict which hamper and impede democratic processes of transformation and interstate harmony; in East Timor, where foreign occupation prevents the people from exercising political independence and sovereignty; in Afghanistan and Kampuchea, where the presence of foreign troops and the lack of strict observance of the principle of non-intervention and non-interference in the affairs of other States are threatening the political sovereignty and the non-aligned position of those countries.

25. My Government's concern over the situation in these countries has been reiterated in every international forum, including the General Assembly, and is therefore well known; so also is our moral and diplomatic support for and solidarity with the liberation movements and progressive forces striving to bring about change in their respective countries.

26. I now turn to a theme that is of particular relevance and importance to the General Assembly at its current session, that is, the state of world peace and security. This session is taking place on the very eve of the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations and unhappily also against the background of an international situation characterized by everything the Organization was founded to prevent. This session therefore provides us with an opportunity for serious introspection regarding those noble objectives and ideals which inspired and guided the founders of the Organization 39 years ago. As we begin this introspective exercise, we will do well to recall that the founding nations committed themselves, in the words of the Preamble to the Charter of the United Nations, "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind".

27. To the extent that, since the founding of the United Nations, mankind has not witnessed a global tragedy, an agony and turmoil of the magnitude of the two world wars, we can perhaps congratulate ourselves. We can also hope that the tragic lessons of the two world wars have had a salutary and permanent impact on our generation and on future generations. We are afraid, however, that such hopes may not be worth much when viewed against the realities of the increasingly threatening international situation, characterized as it is by disrespect for and gross violations of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. Some Members, especially those which are militarily more powerful, do not hesitate to resort to the threat or actual use of force or armed intervention in the internal affairs of other States in the pursuit of their own, often narrow, national interests or aspirations.

28. Such disregard for and violations of Charter principles and international law, together with the now more than apparent powerlessness and inability of the Security Council to act effectively in such situations, throw into doubt the efficacy of the system of collective security, as envisaged in the Charter. The small and militarily weaker nations, constituting by far the largest percentage of the membership of the United Nations, live in real fear

that this is the tragic direction in which the world is moving.

29. The fears about the increasingly deteriorating international situation and the uncertainty about the future of world civilization are exacerbated further by the proliferation of the arms race. I am not suggesting here that the small and militarily weak are the only ones concerned about international peace and security. But it is common knowledge to all of us that the arms race competes with development objectives. Not only is the development process robbed of much-needed resources, but humanity in general is deprived of the means of improving the quality of life. As the old African adage goes: "Where two elephants fight, it is the grass that suffers"; so is it true that through the proliferation of armaments, the least developed countries suffer most. To halt the arms race has therefore become one of the most urgent tasks of our times. The United Nations will have failed dismally if it does not heed the eloquent calls, emanating from all corners of the earth, to halt the arms race.

30. This already tense international situation is further exacerbated by the current international economic crisis, unparalleled in modern times. We are convinced that the problem afflicting the international economy is a structural one, resulting from the asymmetry and disequilibrium of the world economic system.

31. The gravity of the crisis can be seen from the fact that no group of countries has escaped its malignant consequences. Even the developed countries have experienced low growth rates, stagnating incomes, excessive interest rates, high rates of inflation and massive unemployment. The social and political manifestations of the prevailing malaise can be seen from organized protests, strikes and growing social violence.

32. The situation has been and continues to be even more critical in the developing countries, some of which have the weakest national economies in the world. For these and, therefore, for the many millions of the world's population, the effects of the worsening world economic situation have been really catastrophic. In Africa, our fragile economies have been experiencing negative growth rates, and per capita incomes have actually dropped to about 4 per cent below the 1970 levels. This drop in per capita incomes clearly spells grave socio-political consequences when viewed against the fact that Africa's population growth rate is 3 per cent per annum. In many parts of the continent, too, successive years of drought have resulted in complete crop failures and threatened the very viability of agriculture, on which millions of the continent's population depend for sustenance and gainful employment. Africa's problem is further compounded by other natural factors, including desertification, the siltation of riverbeds and, in some cases, flooding too.

33. Even where and when we have been able to produce enough and are seeking outlets for our exports, tariff and non-tariff barriers in the industrialized countries have arrested our export growth. Similarly, our economies continue to endure balance-of-payments problems, and the position has not been ameliorated by the completely unrealistic approach taken by the IMF to the problems of the developing countries. In fact, our terms of trade have been failing, because the prices of raw materials—on the export of which our economies depend—are experiencing a downward trend, whilst those of manufactures and capital goods have been rising.

34. We are also seriously concerned by the indebtedness of the developing nations. For example, developing Africa's estimated outstanding external debt alone reached $150 billion at the end of 1983. That is $25 billion more than in 1980. The rise in indebtedness coincided, of course, with a steep increase in the associated debt-servicing costs. Efforts to alleviate the debt-servicing costs through rescheduling have not been very successful because they have been on conventional lines, providing only short-term relief. In fact, greater proportions of the debt are composed of previously rescheduled debts, which in normal conditions have lost their eligibility for further rescheduling.

35. In these circumstances, our countries would have expected more development aid. Although sub-Saharan Africa's share of the otherwise stagnant or declining official development assistance has been slightly increasing, net capital flows from private sources have declined by as much as 50 per cent since 1980. Another worry we have is the progressive erosion of multilateralism in official development aid. The bilateral nature it is assuming is, much to our dissatisfaction, accompanied by its increasing politicization and commercialization. In fact, this trend is evidenced by the under-funding of international development institutions—IDA, UNDP, IFAD—institutions that are of particular significance to African and other low-income countries.

36. In order to ameliorate this situation we have tried to get the global negotiations launched. The Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, at their Seventh Conference, held at New Delhi in March 1983, suggested a two-pronged approach to this problem. Emphasis was laid on a programme of immediate measures to encompass such important areas as commodities, trade, development, money and finance. The other measures would relate to the restructuring of the world economy in the long term. Unfortunately, all our efforts to get these negotiations launched have been in vain. Global negotiations must remain the framework of concerted efforts aimed at restructuring international economic relations to match our new needs. Let us recognize the interdependence of all economies, for there can be no revitalization of the world economy without active participation by all countries.

37. Let me conclude my statement with a sincere call on all members of the General Assembly for bold and far-sighted action. The problems facing the Assembly need dedication and audacity, so that together we can implement the mandate given to us by the millions of people all over the world who have reposed their confidence in the United Nations. We cannot afford to fail.

38. I wish to assure you, Mr. President, and all the representatives here present that Zimbabwe will do its utmost towards the fulfilment of the noble goals of the United Nations.

39. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I thank the Prime Minister of the Republic of Zimbabwe for the important statement he has just made.

40. Mr. SAVETSILA (Thailand): I am pleased to extend to you, Sir, on behalf of the delegation of Thailand, our warmest congratulations on your elec-

tion to the presidency of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. You are recognized as the person most eminently qualified for this high office during a crucial period in the life of the United Nations. Your undoubted dedication and wisdom, together with your proved diplomatic skill and sense of fairness, are bound to have a beneficial impact on the Assembly's deliberations. It is fitting, therefore, that in these challenging times, the international community has chosen wise and prudent leadership and is grateful to Zambia and to Africa for providing the services of one of its most distinguished sons.

41. In the same manner, I should like to pay a warm tribute, on behalf of my delegation, to Mr. Jorge Illueca, an illustrious son of Panama and of Latin America, and President of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly. The United Nations is indebted to him for the exemplary manner in which he presided over the Assembly and for his invaluable contribution to international peace and co-operation.

42. My delegation wishes also to congratulate all the Vice-Presidents of the General Assembly, who represent the different regions of the world, reflecting thereby the universality of the United Nations.

43. The admission of Brunei Darussalam to the United Nations is a historic milestone in its inevitable progress towards complete universality. I am indeed most gratified to extend, on behalf of the Thai delegation, our sincere congratulations to the Government and people of Brunei Darussalam and to its delegation on this momentous occasion. Brunei Darussalam and Thailand are fellow members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations [*ASEAN*] and are thus committed to the cause of regional peace, harmony and co-operation.

44. The past year has been marked by contrasting developments which portend both promising and ominous prospects for the future.

45. On the one hand, the industrial nations have overcome one of the most serious recessions since the Second World War; on the other hand, the developing countries are saddled with a crushing debt burden with little relief in sight. While recovery is proceeding, albeit at an uneven pace, in the developed economies, the poorer nations can only look forward to a continued stalemate in the North-South dialogue and various interrelated multilateral agenda.

46. While the world has escaped a major conflagration for another year, armed conflicts continue in many parts of the globe, with increasing risks of escalation. While mutual restraints prevail, there is a virtual deadlock in all super-Power negotiations relating to arms control, with grave implications for all mankind. Not only the fearsome spectre of nuclear holocaust but also the ghosts of famine and mass starvation, indiscriminate violence and terrorism continue to stalk and haunt us, and the basic requirements for exorcising them are too often neglected or ignored. The root causes of these and other problems are too frequently a matter of controversy, and as long as they are not dealt with the problems will persist and may indeed worsen.

47. In all these developments the United Nations has an abiding interest and an important stake. Its membership represents the variegated world in which we live. Its difficulty is derived from the varied interests and preoccupations of our troubled and divided world. Its opportunity can arise from the growing sense of interdependence which the Organization itself has helped to foster over the years.

48. On the eve of its fortieth anniversary, gnawing self-doubt and external criticisms are threatening to cause a severe malaise towards and within the United Nations. Although this institutional crisis is not the first, or even the worst in United Nations annals, it can lead to paralysis, to the discredit of multilateralism at the very time when international co-operation is imperative to reduce world tension and to strengthen international peace and security.

49. Since collective security and peace-keeping were the main concerns of the founding fathers of the Organization, and these areas are the primary functions of the Security Council, much thought-provoking discussion has been focused on the role of the Council.

50. It is to the credit of the Security Council and the United Nations system in general that, despite recent criticisms of its performance, there is never a lack of candidates for the vacant seats in the Council. Another interesting point is that, on most issues where no veto power is exercised, the votes in the Council tend to reflect the sense of the international community as expressed on the same or related issues in the General Assembly. This point highlights the need to maintain a proportional balance in the Council's membership.

51. Another significant aspect of the Council's composition is that, while there is a need to maintain a balance in proportion to considerations of geography or group, there is also a need for objectivity and moderation, especially in the face of explosive situations. Above all, adherence to principles and a just and reasoned approach to issues are prerequisites for improving the Council's performance.

52. Among the serious issues faced by the United Nations there are two which would seem to many observers to be less difficult to resolve, partly because they do not appear directly to involve the vital interests of the super-Powers or to indicate any prospect of immediate super-Power confrontation. Moreover, failure or further delay in resolving them will in the long run injure certain important interests of the respective super-Powers. These two issues are the question of Namibia and the situation in Kampuchea.

53. In both instances it is clear that the respective occupying Powers are acting illegally as well as in an inhumane manner. Any country or individual professing love of freedom, independence, human decency and dignity must find the ongoing situations in those two countries—Namibia and Kampuchea—abhorrent and unjustifiable. Thailand's positions on both issues are identical. We continue to support the legitimate rights of the Namibian and Kampuchean peoples. We continue to support the demands for withdrawal of the occupying forces without delay. As the front-line State in the Kampuchean situation, Thailand suffers similar attacks and acts of aggression, as well as a similar refugee problem, to those experienced by the front-line African States. We continue to support the just struggle of the Namibian people under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization [*SWAPO*] in the same way that we continue to support the just struggle of the Kampuchean people under the leadership of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea with Prince Sihanouk as its President. At the same

time, we continue to support the role of the United Nations in trying to achieve a peaceful solution in accordance with its relevant resolutions and the principles of the Charter.

54. Despite the efforts of the United Nations for many years, especially in the case of Namibia, the Namibian and Kampuchean peoples remain deprived of their legitimate rights and dignity. It is not difficult to see why. Both South Africa and Viet Nam have used similar tactics to deceive the world while determinedly maintaining their ruthless objectives. Both South Africa and Viet Nam have relied on their superior military capabilities to subjugate the occupied countries as well as to intimidate neighbouring countries.

55. However, a cogent argument is that the super-Powers also have a vital interest in maintaining peace and stability in the regions of southern Africa and South-East Asia, which are undoubtedly important parts of the world. Moreover, their interests can be severely damaged by strained relations with the majority of countries in those regions. Since their immediate interests are not involved in supporting South Africa and Viet Nam, respectively, but only their fears of the other's intentions, their interests would be better served by ensuring the implementation of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia endorsed by the Security Council in resolution 435 (1978), and the framework for a settlement of the Kampuchean problem adopted by the International Conference on Kampuchea, held in New York from 13 to 17 July 1981.[1]

56. Thailand had the honour of hosting the extraordinary plenary meetings of the United Nations Council for Namibia, held at Bangkok, from 21 to 25 May 1984, at which the Bangkok Declaration and Programme of Action on Namibia [*A/39/24, para. 495*] were successfully adopted. My Government will continue to maintain its support for the Namibian people until they achieve sovereignty and independence in a united Namibia.

57. By the same token, Thailand will maintain its support for self-determination by the people of Kampuchea. Recently, the Foreign Ministers of the member countries of ASEAN issued a joint appeal calling for the restoration of full independence and sovereignty to Kampuchea through withdrawal of all foreign forces from that country, national reconciliation among all Kampuchean parties and the exercise of self-determination free from outside interference.

58. It is important to note that in the ASEAN appeal there is a factual cognizance of the existence of Kampuchean factions whose reconciliation is necessary—indeed, essential—for the survival and well-being of the nation, and that an independent, neutral and non-aligned and united Kampuchea will best serve the interests of the Kampuchean nation. On the other hand, foreign occupation, under whatever pretext, will never conform to the legitimate aspirations of the Kampuchean people. Moreover, it will only lead to more bloodshed, regional tension and external intervention. For these reasons, therefore, the ASEAN States hope that their joint appeal will find increasing support among the States Members of the United Nations.

59. With reference to the incidents near the Thai-Lao border, my Government regards them as minor border incidents which can unfortunately occur in any part of the world. The issue itself concerns only three small, remote villages covering an area of 19 square kilometres and with a population of 1,100 people. The matter arose when Lao troops began harassing a Thai work crew building a road some distance from those villages and well inside our border. Once military actions had taken place, it became difficult for either side to yield for fear of giving the advantage to the other side.

60. This bilateral issue was further complicated by an undue interference from a third country, which has seized upon the opportunity to divert world attention from its military occupation of Kampuchea and to introduce an extraneous factor in the form of linkage to the Kampuchean problem.

61. It has long been the policy of the Royal Thai Government to maintain good-neighbourly relations with Laos. The issue of the three villages should not be permitted to stand in the way of improved relations between the two peoples, who speak the same language and have relatives on both sides of the border. Therefore, despite efforts of the other side to impede progress towards a peaceful settlement, the Royal Thai Government has decided to remove the Thai military presence from the three villages in order to defuse the situation and bring about a peaceful solution to the problem.

62. The situation in Afghanistan involves one of the super-Powers as a combatant against the Afghan patriots, who only wish to see the restoration of sovereignty and independence to their country. Having undergone some internal dissension, Afghanistan fell prey to foreign intervention and naked armed aggression. Five years of foreign occupation have resulted in nearly a quarter of its population being displaced and in their hapless existence in refugee camps in neighbouring countries. My delegation wishes to pay a fitting tribute to Iran and Pakistan for providing these unfortunate refugees with temporary refuge, which imposes a serious burden on their economies.

63. The Thai delegation reaffirms its full support for the repeated calls by the Organization of the Islamic Conference, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the General Assembly for the immediate and total withdrawal of foreign forces from Afghanistan, in order to allow the Afghan people to exercise their right to self-determination, free from outside intervention, subversion, coercion or constraint of any kind. My delegation also reaffirms its full support for the effort of the Secretary-General and his Personal Representative to bring about a negotiated settlement in accordance with the relevant United Nations resolutions.

64. The Middle East continues to be embroiled in conflicts which are of the greatest concern to us all.

65. The war in the Gulf area between Iran and Iraq constitutes a worrisome source of instability in the region, with grave implications for international peace and security, as well as tragic human consequences.

66. The Government of Thailand enjoys friendly relations with both conflicting parties and earnestly wishes to see the two parties engage in a cease-fire and peaceful settlement of their dispute. We watched with deep concern the start of the present conflict by Iraq and continue to watch with equal concern the determined persistence of Iran in proceeding with the war until certain conditions are met. Does this mean that the hostilities and the accompanying agonies and

risks will be prolonged? The world has already witnessed "qualitative" escalation in the use of arms both on land and sea, including chemical weapons. It bodes ill for the patriotic youths of both great nations having to lay down their lives in a war that may never be won.

67. The core of the Middle East problem remains the question of Palestine. Thailand deplores the fact that the Palestinian people are still denied their inalienable rights, including self-determination. While we are asked to ensure the right of all States in the area to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries, the rights of the Palestinians to national independence and statehood are ignored. While we were rightly horrified by Nazi persecution of the Jews and are deeply moved by the plight of dissident Jews, the right of the Palestinians to return to their homes and properties has never been adequately addressed. Nor has the plight of the Palestinians in the occupied territories.

68. The Arabs in the occupied territories, too, share a similar plight, having to live under foreign occupation while Israeli authorities adamantly refuse to implement the relevant United Nations resolutions and to withdraw their forces from the Arab territories occupied since the 1967 war. Thailand's consistent policy is to demand the prompt withdrawal of all Israeli forces from those territories and the full implementation of all relevant United Nations resolutions without further delay.

69. Since the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, the Middle East has been fraught with heightened dangers. Lebanon is today wracked by civil strife and outside interventions, posing a grave threat to Lebanese sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity. It is with genuine sadness that we observe Lebanon, with its dynamic people and ancient heritage, being ravaged by destruction and incalculable suffering. It has been the consistent policy of Thailand to recognize the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Lebanon. The ongoing crisis in its southern part, which is under Israeli occupation, has recently deepened, owing to illegal actions by the occupying authorities. It seems only just that the position of the Lebanese Government be scrupulously respected, since it constitutes the Administration recognized by all, including Israel, which had indeed concluded an agreement with the same Administration.

70. Above all, Thailand calls for the immediate implementation of Security Council resolution 509 (1982) and urges all United Nations Members to respect the sovereignty, political independence, unity and territorial integrity of Lebanon, as well as its inalienable rights to its resources, and to support the efforts of the Lebanese Government to restore the legitimate authority of the Lebanese State throughout its territory within the internationally recognized boundaries.

71. The situation in Central America continues to be a cause of concern for the international community. My delegation is of the view that the Contadora Group's proposal for negotiations among all parties concerned, in order to arrive at a peaceful settlement with viable guarantees, is constructive and conforms to the aspirations of the peoples of the region. We wish, therefore, to express Thailand's support for the efforts of the Contadora Group, which apparently enjoys increasing acceptance not only by the regional countries, but also by the international community.

72. One of the tragic human consequences of conflict is the refugee problem. While we have not successfully dealt with its root causes, we must continue to perform our humanitarian task, within the limits of our capabilities, in taking care of uprooted and displaced persons. There is nothing more symptomatic of our troubled times than the existence of millions of refugees all over the globe. The fact that poorer countries have had to bear a disproportionately heavy burden also indicates the state of the world's conscience.

73. The refugee population in Africa alone numbers 5 million. It is gratifying to note the successful convening at Geneva, from 9 to 11 July 1984, of the Second International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa, and the fact that other countries with a similar problem, including Thailand, participated in that Conference and made their pledges to assist their African brothers.

74. In numbers, Asian refugees follow closely behind those in Africa. There are 2 million Afghan refugees in Pakistan, for instance. The magnitude of the problem in Asia is often compounded by the circumstances and duration of their plight, as in the case of the uprooted Palestinians. In Thailand, some Indo-Chinese refugees have languished for over nine years. Following the invasion of Kampuchea by Vietnamese forces, the number of Kampuchean refugees reached its peak a few years ago. Continued Vietnamese occupation has brought about widespread famine and food shortages and has driven a quarter of a million more Kampucheans to the Thai border, a fact that is a matter of concern to the international community.

75. The refugee influx has, in turn, displaced the local population. However, their predicament is less well appreciated by the world at large and should be given due sympathy and assistance.

76. On the other hand, international concern is more clearly perceived with regard to the Vietnamese boat people. Since 1975, Thailand has given temporary refuge and protection to approximately 80,000 Vietnamese boat refugees. It continues to be Thailand's policy, as in other refugee cases, to assist these hapless boat people in ways that are commensurate with Thailand's limited resources and capabilities. The fact is that, long before their plight had become an issue of international concern, Thai authorities had provided them with relief and assistance. As long as the root causes are not dealt with, there will continue to be people who are willing to flee their country in rickety boats and to risk dangers on the open sea. Unfortunately, there will also be ruthless individuals who will prey on them. In 1981 the Royal Thai Navy set up an anti-piracy unit of its own. In 1982 the Government commenced an anti-piracy programme in co-operation with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. However, owing to financial and territorial constraints, it was possible for the programme to cover a sea area of only 15 per cent of the total area envisaged. In this connection, it should be noted that the so-called Gulf of Thailand comprises sea areas belonging to several coastal States, as well as parts of the high seas. Even then, according to UNHCR statistics, the incidents of piratical attacks on the boat people as well as on fishermen have decreased significantly. In July of

this year, the programme was extended for another year, thereby indicating the confidence of the participants in the continued usefulness of the programme.

77. The principle of burden-sharing must remain the cardinal tenet in dealing with the aftermath of a refugee influx, so as to enable the countries of first refuge to continue with their humane policies. Not only must the international community do its part in alleviating their burden, but it must also try to deal with the root causes in order to alleviate the refugee problem itself.

78. There are many important aspects of the humanitarian problem of concern to mankind, but among the most serious and appalling must be the deprivation of the basic and fundamental human rights of the black majority in South Africa. The policy of *apartheid* and its practice by the Pretoria régime are roundly condemned by the international community. Thailand's consistent policy is well known to all, and my delegation will continue to demand the abrogation of *apartheid* by the Pretoria régime and the recognition of the legitimate rights of the black people in South Africa in accordance with the principle of majority rule and with respect for human dignity and equality.

79. By the same token, the international community has a stake, and an important role to play, in dealing with another humanitarian issue, namely, drug abuse. The Royal Thai Government intends to remain in the forefront, in co-operation with the international community, in its efforts to suppress opium cultivation and to interdict trafficking in illegal narcotics in the areas under its jurisdiction. While it is true that not all our efforts have been completely successful, we remain no less committed and determined. The task is made more difficult by the inability to curb demand, which is often the responsibility of another sovereign Government, and by the rugged terrain and the limited equipment in the hands of enforcement officers. Moreover, in the case of opium cultivation by hill tribesmen, any ill-considered actions in contravention of their age-old custom and belief should be avoided. Indeed, one can safely predict that if such precipitate actions were taken, they would be condemned by many people from the same country which now demands such actions.

80. The problem of drug abuse, if permitted to continue unabated, would become a time bomb that might ultimately lead to the debasement, and even the destruction, of man. Death would not be as rapid as in a nuclear war, but man would lose his reason for being long before death overtook him.

81. The world is still confronted with the unprecedented threat arising from a massive buildup of arms and competition in the qualitative refinement of weapons of all kinds. Furthermore, rapid advances in science and technology have made the extension of the arms race into the new dimension of outer space a very real possibility.

82. Negotiations, both within and outside the framework of the United Nations, to halt the spiralling arms race and reduce the risks of nuclear confrontation have not thus far made any significant progress. To this paralysis of multilateral negotiations is added the recent suspension of the bilateral talks between the two super-Powers on intermediate-range nuclear forces and strategic arms reduction issues. Moreover, the deterioration of the international situation provides added impetus to the arms race, thereby bringing the world closer to the brink of doom.

83. In view of the unabated escalation of the arms race and the dangers that confront the world today, disarmament has become more urgent and imperative than ever before. The Thai delegation fully shares the views expressed in the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly [*resolution S-10/2*], the first special session devoted to disarmament, that, while the final objective should be general and complete disarmament under effective international control, the immediate goal must be the elimination of the dangers of nuclear war and the implementation of measures to halt and reverse the arms race. My delegation urges that all States, particularly the nuclear-weapon States, pursue as a matter of urgency negotiations on the implementation of the Programme of Action contained in the Final Document, taking into account the legitimate security interests of nuclear-weapon and non-nuclear-weapon States alike.

84. As a further step to advance the cause of disarmament, measures to halt and reverse the arms race should be complemented by other initiatives, such as the establishment of zones of peace. Such zones could strengthen the fabric of regional peace and stability and prevent extraregional interference, thereby creating conditions conducive to regional co-operation in economic and social development. In the light of this fact, Thailand and the other countries members of ASEAN will exert every effort to bring about the early establishment of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in South-East Asia.

85. In the same manner, Thailand supports an early convening at Colombo of the Conference on the Indian Ocean. My delegation urges that the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Indian Ocean continue to make determined efforts to overcome the outstanding problems and finalize all preparations for the Conference in a timely manner.

86. Recent reports of the use of chemical and biological weapons in certain parts of the world, including South-East Asia, are an appalling reminder of the urgent need to control and eliminate this type of armament. In view of their inhumane and indiscriminate effects, my delegation is strongly opposed to the development, manufacture, stockpiling and use of these weapons in any circumstances. A comprehensive treaty banning such weapons, with adequate mechanism for verification, should be a matter of the highest priority in the ongoing work of the Conference on Disarmament.

87. On the eve of this session of the General Assembly, my delegation was encouraged to see some signs that the two super-Powers were more inclined towards a resumption of their bilateral arms talks. While it may be too optimistic to hope for a meaningful dialogue between them before the end of this year, it should be realized that time passes and with each passing day the risks of confrontation increase. In this connection, the tone set by President Reagan in his statement before the Assembly [*4th meeting*] should further encourage us to renew our collective efforts in the quest for a world free from weapons of mass destruction. Such a step would indeed be a giant step for mankind.

88. If the world can be spared the immense costs of the arms race, then enormous amounts of resources

can be released for such constructive uses as the economic and social development of the poorer countries.

89. The Thai delegation is conscious of the crisis at present affecting the global economy. While the underlying problems are structural in nature, international efforts to revitalize the development process in the developing countries are indispensable for sustained global recovery. In this regard, my delegation is convinced that such recovery and continued economic development are inseparable. My delegation therefore wishes to express its disappointment at the lack of progress towards the launching of global negotiations and to reiterate its call for their early inauguration. At the same time, we endorse the proposal for an international conference to re-examine the functioning and rules of the present international monetary, financial and trading systems and to bring them within the framework of global negotiations.

90. Since Thailand is a developing country heavily dependent on export earnings from food products, agricultural commodities and industrial raw materials for the financing of its development programme, it is concerned that in the past year commodity prices have dropped to their lowest levels in more than 30 years. Increasing recourse to protectionist measures, including export subsidies, quantitative restrictions and the use of other non-tariff barriers by the industrialized countries continues to accentuate the economic plight of the developing countries, to the detriment of trade growth and global economic recovery. The Thai delegation believes that verbal commitments to honour an open trade system must be followed by concrete actions to reduce trade barriers.

91. Protectionism in developed countries has imposed severe constraints on our food production and marketing, and too little attention has been paid to the impact of trade barriers on the problem of famine and malnutrition in the world at large.

92. Thailand is deeply sympathetic regarding the economic difficulties of the least developed and land-locked developing countries, which are the world's poorest and most disadvantaged. These countries include Thailand's neighbour, the Lao People's Democratic Republic. Many such countries, in Africa in particular, have to face serious famine and privation. Despite its limited resources as a developing country and despite its various commitments, Thailand has been able to provide modest assistance in the form of food aid and financial contributions, as well as technical assistance, to those nations most severely affected. Recognizing the seriousness of food shortages, particularly in Africa, my Government will look further into possibilities for bilateral co-operation with African countries in food production in order to promote self-sufficiency.

93. Regarding the question of energy, recent adjustments in fuel prices should not be regarded as diminishing the need for lasting and effective solutions to energy problems, including those of energy conservation and the utilization of alternative sources of energy. Investment, development and growth of production in the energy fields in the developing countries should also be encouraged. The Thai delegation supports the need for a sustained mobilization of international financial resources as a means of assisting the national efforts of developing countries in using domestic energy resources. My delegation also renews its call for the early establishment of the proposed energy affiliate of the World Bank and for an early implementation of the Nairobi Programme of Action for the Development and Utilization of New and Renewable Sources of Energy.[2]

94. With regard to the debt problem, Thailand feels that it not only imposes a burden on debtor nations but also constitutes a far-reaching constraint to world trade and recovery and contributes to the weakening of the international financial system. We were therefore disappointed at the failure of the London Economic Summit of the seven major industrialized countries, held from 7 to 9 June 1984, to address adequately the problem of debt and the whole range of problems besetting the majority of countries in the world, including trade liberalization, commodities and financial flows.

95. On science and technology, Thailand welcomed the agreement reached on 20 June 1983 on the establishment of the long-term financial and institutional arrangements for the United Nations Financing System for Science and Technology for Development.[3] Although the agreement falls short of world-wide expectations, it is hoped that successful collective efforts will be made to mobilize adequate resources for the system, to enable the long-term arrangements to take effect as soon as possible. The Thai Government stands ready to make a financial contribution to the arrangements.

96. As a founding member of the Group of 77, Thailand attaches high priority to the goals of collective self-reliance through economic and technical co-operation among developing countries, both within its own subregion and at the global level, under the aegis of the Caracas Programme of Action[4] and the Buenos Aires Platform,[5] respectively. In this connection, Thailand has recently played host to two technical meetings under the sponsorship of the Group of 77 and at the Group's request. One of the important outcomes was the establishment of an action committee on co-operation in fossil fuels, which is the first of its kind under the Caracas Programme of Action.

97. This year marks the twentieth anniversary of the founding of the Group of 77. It is indeed a significant milestone in international co-operation. My delegation joins the other Members in extending its best wishes to the Group, as well as in thanking its chairmen, past and present, and their able staffs for their dedicated work on behalf of the Group, to which Thailand is proud to belong.

98. It is perhaps through lending one another a helping hand that we can best learn to experience the multilateral approach. The value of multilateralism cannot be gainsaid in a forum such as this, where leaders of so many countries have taken the trouble to be present.

99. This is an opportune moment to pay a well-deserved tribute to the Secretary-General, who has courageously appraised the role of the United Nations, noted its accomplishments and shortcomings, and added stature to his position during his relatively short tenure thus far.

100. In the conclusion to his report on the work of the Organization [*A/39/1*], the Secretary-General has reiterated his call for a multilateral and rational

approach to the problems of international peace and development, and he states that:

> "It is widely understood that without such a system we shall run unacceptable risks and that it is therefore irresponsible to weaken the multilateral approach. Without the safety net which multilateral organization provides, the world would certainly be a much more dangerous and disorderly place."

101. My delegation fully subscribes to his views. On the eve of the Organization's fortieth anniversary, the Thai delegation pledges its continued co-operation to you, Mr. President, and to the Secretary-General in the furtherance of the noble aims and objectives of the United Nations. Let the cry in this Hall be: "Forty more years!"

102. Mr. HAYDEN (Australia): May I congratulate you, Sir, warmly and sincerely, on behalf of the Australian Government, on your election as President of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. Although at opposite ends of the alphabet, Australia and Zambia enjoy closer relations than many would expect. We do this through the Commonwealth and bilaterally. I know, too, that Australia can regard you, personally, as a friend. As a member of the United Nations Council for Namibia, the Government of Australia is well aware of your valuable contribution as President of that body.

103. I should also like to extend a warm and neighbourly welcome to Brunei Darussalam as the newest Member of this world body. The admission of the 159th Member brings us closer to the goal of universality in membership of the United Nations.

104. As all representatives will know, Australia is one of the two agreed candidates of its regional group standing for election to the Security Council for 1985 and 1986. We see membership of the Council as an opportunity for Australia to pursue its obligations under the Charter of the United Nations. I should like to take this opportunity of assuring other delegations that Australia, if elected, will approach its duties with a sense of responsibility and self-confidence. We shall also strive to uphold the Charter and to make the Council a more effective instrument for the containment of existing conflicts and the prevention of new conflicts.

105. It has to be said that in the last 12 months the long march to world harmony and the achievement of universal basic human freedom has been painfully slow. Australia agrees with the observation in the report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization [*ibid.*] that a major reason for this is the regrettable tendency to retreat from internationalism and multilateralism. I propose to explain Australia's position on those issues in which, for strong historical and geographical reasons, we have a special interest.

106. The United Nations continues to spend much energy on the state of affairs in southern Africa and particularly the poisonous effects there of the *apartheid* policies of the South African Government. The façade there of constitutional reform has in fact made matters worse. Indeed, the non-white citizens have demonstrated this in the most dramatic way possible. Black South Africans—70 per cent of the population—have been allowed no part in this alleged reform. Only one Coloured or Indian person in five was persuaded to vote for the new constitution.

107. The constitution that emerged in this so-called reform depends totally on the system and the laws of *apartheid. Apartheid* is designed, as we know, to entrench the domination in South Africa of a racial minority. This evil doctrine depends on injustice and fosters violence. The world community has condemned it and Australia is unequivocally opposed to it. So long as it continues and so long as the South African Government pursues it, South Africa cannot expect to be welcomed back into the international community.

108. In Namibia, we are still waiting for the promised outcome of the latest round of negotiations, which started early this year. All principal parties have professed to agree to the terms of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). Australia therefore regrets that the principle of linkage between independence negotiations and the presence of Cuban personnel in Angola has been raised as a barrier to progress. Moreover, there is no guarantee that more issues outside the scope of resolution 435 (1978) will not be raised in the future to impede solution of an issue which could and should have been solved by now. Australia shares the impatience of African and other nations over the delay of Namibia's independence and we question the professed good intentions of the South African Government in this regard.

109. In the South-East Asian area, stability is subjected to undesirable strain by Viet Nam's continued occupation of Cambodia. Australia condemned the invasion of Cambodia when it happened and we continue to condemn it. Nobody can tolerate armed incursion by one country into another, wherever it occurs. Accordingly, Australia considers that Viet Nam should withdraw from Cambodia. The reasonable way for this to take place would be in the context of a settlement acceptable to all parties. This is why the need continues for negotiations towards a settlement, for which Australia has been working in the past 18 months. Australia remains ready to provide the site and any facilities necessary so that the parties involved, or any combination of them, can discuss ways in which settlement can be reached in Cambodia.

110. The Soviet Union continues its occupation of Afghanistan and, through recent offensives, including high-level bombing of the Panjshir Valley, has added immeasurably to the suffering of the Afghan people. The recent widening of the conflict through the bombing of civilian targets in Pakistan by Afghan aircraft has served to heighten the degree of risk associated with the continued Soviet occupation. The needless loss of civilian and military life in the region will come to an end only when the Soviet Union withdraws from Afghanistan in accordance with successive United Nations resolutions.

111. In the South Pacific region, Australia remains alert to the fact that a colonial situation remains in New Caledonia. We continue to support peaceful evolution to independence in New Caledonia, determined in accordance with the wishes of the people there and free from outside influence. We welcome the recognition by the French Government of the legitimate claim of the Kanak people to an inherent and active right to self-determination in which independence is an option. We note that an act of self-determination is scheduled to be held by 1989. Australia calls on France to ensure that the transition to an independent, multiracial New Caledonia is

achieved speedily and peacefully and, indeed, in a shorter time-scale than previously envisaged.

112. A just and lasting peace in the Middle East remains a necessary but elusive goal. It can be achieved only if it is accepted that Israel must be allowed to exist within secure and recognized boundaries and that the Palestinian issue is centrally important for any settlement. Acceptance of these principles does not mean that Israel can feel free to continue its settlement programme in the West Bank, since these settlements are contrary to international law and an obstacle to peace. The Palestine Liberation Organization [*PLO*], which represents a significant proportion of the Palestinian people, should be included in the search for peace. Australia acknowledges also that the Palestinian people have a right to self-determination, including a right to choose independence and the possibility of their own independent state. However, there is limited, perhaps non-existent, opportunity for the PLO to engage productively in the search for peace so long as it persists in denying Israel's right to exist. The Australian Government will maintain its refusal to recognize the PLO while it persists in that denial.

113. A major cause of fear around the world community, of course, lies in the unsteady state of relations between the super-Powers and the obstruction this is creating to effective arms control leading to disarmament. This year has seen more growth in nuclear arsenals and deployment of new missiles in both East and West. The prospect for talks between the super-Powers in September on arms control for outer space was withdrawn, for what to the rest of the world must seem specious reasons. Their negotiations on intermediate-range nuclear forces and on strategic nuclear weapons have been suspended. In the negotiations at Stockholm and Vienna about European issues, there has been no progress despite the new proposals. In the Conference on Disarmament, meeting at Geneva, a shameful procedural deadlock is holding up the agenda of negotiations.

114. Australia has a special right to express its concern about this, as the site of the joint facilities with the United States, and as a major supplier of uranium. The Australian Government believes that the joint facilities are an essential part of the monitoring system in effective arms control. It believes that holding on to our uranium would be an obstacle to disarmament because it would mean abandoning the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*]. The Government has gone to great lengths to convince Australians to accept the paradox that the existence of the facilities and the supply of uranium make nuclear war less, not more, likely. We believe that our role in these matters gives us the right to be heard on the need for genuine progress towards nuclear disarmament.

115. This crucial issue has the very highest priority among our policies. We have fully supported moves to draw up a draft convention on chemical weapons. We believe that there is a general will within the Geneva Conference to establish a convention that prohibits chemical weapons and their means of production. The Australian Government welcomed the submission by the United States of a draft convention on the prohibition of chemical weapons,[6] which contains what we consider to be elements of an effective system. This draft text has been criticized in some quarters. Let us not leave it there; let the critics come forward with constructive alternatives.

116. We—Australia—have put it to the Conference on Disarmament that in its exploration of the issue of arms control in outer space it should consider measures to protect from attack all satellites which help to preserve the strategic balance and which can contribute to monitoring disarmament agreements. We have proposed also that the same protection be given to the ground stations which are essential to the operation of those satellites.

117. The Australian Government has given an extraordinary amount of attention to the issue of a comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty, an issue which is central to effective arms control and disarmament. Our objective is to get meaningful negotiations on the way to establishing such a treaty. We have been trying to help overcome the procedural obstacles which have been put in the way of the treaty. We have been trying to get a subsidiary body of the Geneva Conference set up to do the urgently needed practical work with a view to negotiating such a treaty. Naturally, we would prefer a so-called full negotiating mandate. We would prefer agreement in clear terms that parties will start negotiating with a view towards drafting a truly comprehensive test-ban treaty. But the consensus for such a mandate apparently is not there. The mandate that we have proposed instead is the best possible in the present circumstances. It proposes that the *Ad Hoc* Committee of the Conference on Disarmament should work on scope, verification and compliance with a view to the negotiation of such a treaty. I submitted a working paper at Geneva in August[7] as a guide for negotiations on these very points.

118. The Australian Government will give all possible support to work on the treaty. But I will repeat now what I said in August at Geneva: we cannot accept a state of affairs in which an already limited mandate is used to justify delay in progress towards a treaty which has been in the gestation phase for far too long as it is. It would be wrong for anybody to presume that Australians in general have an inexhaustible well of patience with the slow pace of the work being done in the cause of solving a problem that could destroy us all.

119. In his report on the work of the Organization, the Secretary-General urges that the multilateral forums be used to deal with this compelling issue. All Member States should use those forums to let the nuclear-weapon States know that real progress is needed towards limiting those weapons that cause such fear around the world. Let us smaller States remember the opportunity that the United Nations provides—in the General Assembly, in the various disarmament forums and in the IAEA. In common, we have an influence on even the most powerful of our colleagues that we lack when we act alone.

120. In the context of disarmament, I refer briefly to two important developments: first, the increased international interest in Antarctica promoted by our good friend Malaysia. The Antarctic Treaty[8] has provided an effective basis for peaceful co-operation, for scientific co-operation and environmental conservation for a quarter of a century. The disarmament provisions of the Treaty have established the only denuclearized and demilitarized zone in the world today. While we believe the Treaty system is flexible and that the operation of the Treaty can be im-

proved, Australia will oppose any proposals in this body which we consider would lead to undermining the Treaty. The best course on Antarctica is to await the expected report of the Secretary-General. Only when we have examined it will we be in a position to consider what, if any, further steps involving the United Nations might be considered.

121. The second development of importance was the recent decision by the countries of the South Pacific to begin work on a treaty to create a nuclear-free-zone in the South Pacific region. The proposal, brought by Australia to the countries of the South Pacific Forum, has significance not only for the region but also for the whole of the international community which wishes to make the world a nuclear-safe place. This time next year, I feel sure, the countries of the region will be able to report that a significant step in reaching this objective has been taken.

122. Another great issue the resolution of which demands our combined will concerns the instability caused by the indebtedness of developing countries. This issue is pressing not only because of its impact on the world financial system but also because of the hardship involved for developing countries that are undertaking adjustment programmes. The Australian Government firmly supports the international consensus for the central role of the IMF in this issue and the case-by-case approach it has adopted to deal with current problems. This approach has its critics, but there is in the short term no effective alternative. It is important that the IMF continue to insist on a disciplined attack on a most complex problem and that it be given consistent support while it is doing so. But we must be careful to keep our eyes on the political dangers ahead as we deal with the debt problem.

123. One of those dangers concerns the burden of interest rates—a matter that the leading economies represented at the London Economic Summit, held in June this year, failed to address adequately. It would be unfortunate if rescheduling attempts now being arranged were to be overrun by any sudden climb in interest rates. I say that although there appears to be a fairly solid level of confidence that these arrangements have been crafted together in a more secure way.

124. A note of caution also needs to be sounded about the possible political effects of some of the conditions imposed by IMF debt rearrangements. There are States going through the adjustment process—with all that that implies about strict economic management—which are also undergoing complex and sensitive political change; some are emerging into democracy from long periods of authoritarian rule. We must be careful that policies for economic recovery and stability do not undermine their fledgling social and political reforms.

125. Another danger lies in the tendency to oversimplify the debt problem. The debts that command our attention are those of the relatively well-off countries which tapped the commercial markets in the 1970s to help achieve their considerable industrial growth potential.

126. There is, however, a real danger that the problems of other debtor countries, less significant in terms of their implications for their creditors but no less serious in relation to their own domestic impact, will be crowded out of our attention. Such countries, generally poorer and with less ability to attract the new opportunities of commercial borrowing in the 1970s, are linked more to traditional sources such as official development assistance and development institution loans. The solutions may be different, but the task is no less urgent. When coupled, as in Africa, with additional problems such as drought and rapidly spreading desertification, the need for attention is all the more compelling. This issue was recently reported on by a Commonwealth Group of Experts on the Debt Crisis. That Group, established by the Commonwealth Heads of Government at their 1983 summit, included among its proposed measures to help low-income debtor countries a call for additional resources for IDA. Australia has decided to respond by making a voluntary and unilateral special contribution to IDA, in addition to our pledged contribution of $200 million.

127. I have said that this complex problem demands our combined will for its resolution. It is in the United Nations—which has striven for 40 years to serve the interests of all members of the world community—that this combined will can best be utilized.

128. Australia emphasizes the point, because we disagree with the disposition in some quarters to accept that the United Nations is perhaps afflicted by a kind of premature hardening of the arteries. Part of the blame for this feeling must be attributed to the Organization itself. From earliest days, Secretaries-General have complained of lack of co-ordination and of inefficiency. Many persons inside and outside the United Nations have become disenchanted with its reputation as a talking-shop. But we should be careful not to encourage too extreme a reaction to this. The complaints made about the Organization may to some extent be true, but they are far from the whole truth.

129. For all its imperfections, the United Nations has developed a range of policies and activities that have brought comfort and even life to people all over the world. As the Secretary-General says, it has played a decisive role in the process of decolonization. I should like to mention parenthetically in this context that Australia conducted an act of self-determination in the Cocos (Keeling) Islands, which was observed by a United Nations Visiting Mission. We expect that this development will lead at this session to the de-listing of the Cocos (Keeling) Islands as a Non-Self-Governing Territory, thereby ending Australia's role as an administering Power.

130. In the field of human rights, the United Nations has facilitated the development of a framework of international standards and obligations which translates into practical terms the humanitarian ideals of the Charter. This is a continuing process. Australia very much hopes to see the Assembly take the necessary steps to adopt an effective convention against the abhorrent practice of torture.

131. United Nations agencies have helped eradicate disease, provide care for refugees, control drug abuse and expand food production. I specify the literacy and education programmes of UNESCO, since that agency has been subject to intensive examination recently.

132. I am not convinced either that all the 4,000 or so resolutions adopted by the General Assembly are entirely the "hollow voting victories" that Dag Hammarskjöld suggested they were. The whole ritual

of conference and dialogue has played an underestimated role in dampening down tension and satisfying passions.

133. Another source of criticism of the United Nations is the natural disappointment that has followed the enthusiastic but unreal expectations of early years. People expected the United Nations to create a Utopia—something requiring powers that no nation was prepared to cede to it.

134. Yet another part of the United Nations problem is that it is no longer the tight little community of the Second World War victors that was set up nearly 40 years ago. The balance of representation in the United Nations is now starting to reflect the balance between the main regions of the world in terms of population. If the United Nations were today what it was 40 years ago, then it would truly be irrelevant; instead, it represents the real world, not the world some would like it to be.

135. I am saying this because the Organization, which has brought untold benefit to so many people, should be defended against attack. I am saying it because my country, Australia, feels that it has a special obligation to take part in this defence. Australia was not only a founding Member of the United Nations, but also an active supporter of the view in its early days that the United Nations should not be the preserve of great Powers. We foresaw the opportunities for Members of a truly representative United Nations to advance interests in common that we could not promote individually. We wanted the newest and humblest of nations to be able to mix with the oldest and mightiest in conferences and dialogue. We believed that smaller States like ourselves would be swamped if great Powers in a nuclear age were free to arrange matters among themselves in private as they did at Potsdam and Yalta. We are all affected by the arrangements between great Powers. We have the right to be able to express views about them and to be involved in the formation of these views.

136. I have said that disarmament and international economic stability are the major pressing issues of our time. The Australian Government urges that more energetic ways to settle these issues, in particular disarmament, should be pursued within the multilateral framework. Not only is the search for answers urgent; it is also of paramount importance that the answers be fully representative of us all, large and small nations alike.

137. Mr. ANDRADE-DÍAZ-DURÁN (Guatemala) (*interpretation from Spanish*): May I first be allowed to extend to you, Sir, on behalf of the delegation of Guatemala, our warmest and most cordial congratulations on your election to the presidency of the General Assembly at the thirty-ninth session. Your great human and professional qualities and well-recognized dynamism and achievements in helping to bring about the unity of the sister countries of Africa, as well as your thorough knowledge of the problems with which we deal in this forum, are a guarantee of the positive results we will no doubt reach in our work. I offer you my delegation's co-operation in carrying out the sensitive and important tasks entrusted to you.

138. I should like to express the gratitude of Guatemala to Mr. Jorge Illueca for the excellent work done by him as President of the General Assembly at the thirty-eighth session.

139. I carry also the greetings of the people and Government of Guatemala to the Secretary-General, who has been working tirelessly for peace and harmony among the peoples of the world, a task that my country would like to encourage him to continue, with renewed faith in the principles of the United Nations.

140. I wish also to greet the representatives at this Assembly, who will have to shoulder the responsibility for the various items on the agenda of this session.

141. Guatemala would like to join other Members in welcoming Brunei Darussalam most cordially on its becoming a Member of the United Nations and to express its best wishes for the well-being of its people.

142. I should like also to thank all delegations for the resolute support extended to my country to occupy one of the vice-presidencies of the Assembly for the Group of Latin American States.

143. Guatemala, as a founding Member of the United Nations, has always followed with special interest the work done by the Organization over a period of almost 40 years to fulfil the purposes and principles that inspired it. We must recognize the fact that the United Nations, at various times and in various circumstances, has served as an instrument for the preservation of peace and security among peoples and has promoted multilateral co-operation in all fields. There is no doubt that this most important world forum has served as a framework for dialogue and understanding and has fostered the loftiest ideals of today's world.

Mr. Gbeho (Ghana), Vice-President, took the Chair.

144. From here efforts have been made to democratize international society and, by means of the peaceful settlement of disputes, the United Nations has avoided confrontations that had endangered world peace. Nevertheless, we must recognize the fact that the United Nations has been unable to avoid a great number of conflicts in the course of its history. We continue to experience regional crises that are a grave threat to peace, as well as tensions which seem to deepen between the two super-Powers, with the ensuing concern experienced by the international community. Despite various attempts and initiatives, not much progress has been made in arms control, nor do we glimpse any significant progress in the Conference on Disarmament, under the auspices of the United Nations. Most of all, there still persists the fear of nuclear confrontation which threatens to unleash the greatest catastrophe in the history of man.

145. Moreover, economic difficulties, which affect mainly the countries of the third world, still exist and, despite the recovery that we see in some highly industrialized countries, there are few short- and medium-term prospects of improvement for most States Members of the United Nations. Natural disasters have also struck various continents, and sometimes we see with frustration that economic and social development programmes are inadequate to meet the most pressing needs of mankind.

146. The international situation is certainly alarming, and it is therefore to be hoped that multilateral co-operation will materialize through the United Nations and thus facilitate the establishment of procedures and formulas that may help us overcome these serious difficulties. It is the duty of States Members of the United Nations not only to adhere to

its policies but also to practise them and to adjust their conduct to the requirements which they imply.

147. For our part, we, the countries of the third world, have been establishing closer bonds of co-operation and achieving better co-ordination of our efforts so that our statements may not only be heard but also heeded, as is only just.

148. Despite these imperfections, the United Nations retains its unique universal character and is constantly enriched by the incorporation of new States as they become independent. Guatemala wishes to reaffirm its faith in the United Nations and in the principles of the Charter, but at the same time we believe that an objective evaluation of its achievements and failures should be conducted so that it may truly be the effective instrument for the achievement of peace and security.

149. I shall now briefly set forth the general lines and the most salient features of Guatemala's national and international policy.

150. In my statement last year, at the Assembly's thirty-eighth session [*24th meeting*], I listed in general terms the political, economic and social objectives of the Government headed by General Oscar Humberto Mejía Víctores. Today I can state with deep satisfaction before the international community that what was promised has indeed been done and that the process of political liberalization and democratization has now been set in motion in Guatemala. The law that had established special tribunals, placing limits on the right to self-defence and the principle of due process, has been abrogated, and those who had been sentenced under the law have been pardoned. The amnesty decreed from the very outset by the Government, for the purpose of fostering, facilitating and accelerating the efforts at national reconciliation, is still in force. Thousands of Guatemalans who, directly or indirectly, had participated at some time or other in subversive activities—forced to do so by circumstances or misled and confused by false promises—have benefited from this amnesty. Peace reigns in areas that had been the scenes of conflict in former years, and this has been made possible basically by the understanding and identity of purpose achieved between the people and their authorities.

151. A spirit of solidarity now exists in Guatemala. It is a spirit that we intend to see prevail in the future also. That will make it possible for us to face, with hope, the task of the comprehensive development of all Guatemalans.

152. The Government has fostered a climate of peace and harmony, which made it possible to appeal to the conscience of Guatemalans so that those able to vote would register to do so and past irregularities would not be repeated.

153. Two and a half million Guatemalans registered to vote, exceeding the most optimistic forecasts. Elections were held for a national constituent assembly empowered to promulgate the Constitution of the Republic, a habeas corpus law and a definitive electoral law. Sixteen political parties and two civic committees, representative of the various ideological trends, having complied with the established requirements, were authorized by the electoral college to take part in the elections.

154. The political campaign began in January this year. It culminated on 1 July in a great civic celebration, in which 1,856,000 citizens—that is, 73 per cent of those who had registered—a number unprecedented in the history of the country, came to the polling places to vote freely, without any kind of coercion.

155. We are pleased to say that these elections took place in the presence of observers of the Organization of American States, the Contadora Group and many other friendly countries, who congratulated the people and praised the way the elections had been held.

156. The Government remained absolutely neutral and fully guaranteed the honesty of this most important event. The electoral supreme court, a body independent of other State organs, had the responsibility for organizing the depositing and counting of the ballots. No political parties challenged the results of the elections. That is clear proof that all sectors agreed that no objections to the elections could be raised.

157. On 1 August, the National Constituent Assembly was solemnly installed, and it immediately began its work.

158. The successful conclusion of this first stage of the policy of liberalization pursued by the Provisional Government of Guatemala confirms the irreversible nature of the democratic process thus initiated. These elections are striking proof that the people of Guatemala believe in democracy and political pluralism and categorically reject violence as a means of imposing ideas.

159. The Government is ready to call for general elections in 1985, to choose a president, a congress and municipal councils, at which time the Constitution of the Republic and the constitutional laws will be promulgated. The Head of State has repeated his decision to hand over power to those who will be elected by the free and sovereign will of the people of Guatemala.

160. The public sector has also been working to strengthen the various forms of people's organizations—associations, co-operatives, community groups—that will assist in the comprehensive development of Guatemala.

161. Through political parties and their own civic organizations, the ethnic groups are represented in the National Constituent Assembly.

162. The Government has shown respect for the autonomy of the national university and the private universities. It has been in constant communication with them and has consulted them on cultural, economic and social matters of national interest. Similarly, the principle of separation of church and State has been scrupulously observed. We must emphasize that full respect has been maintained for freedom of thought and that there now exists a process of national awareness to ensure respect for human rights.

163. Guatemala demands changes and reforms in order to ensure that all Guatemalans have an equal opportunity to improve their economic and social conditions.

164. We recognize that we are a developing country and that, therefore, we must solve a number of problems deriving from that fact; that is true of most of the countries of the third world. The achievement of peace, democracy and development is a responsibility shared by all Guatemalans. We draw inspiration from the concept of a comprehensive development which, simultaneously, seeks the improvement

of material life, respects human rights and preserves freedom.

165. In rural matters, the Government has worked tirelessly to ensure that those who were displaced by violence from their communities of origin are guaranteed the means for their protection, as well as sufficient food and whatever else they need to improve their economic and social conditions. Through effective co-ordination of State institutions, an ambitious programme has been started to establish new bases for development in better circumstances. Thus, in the Guatemalan highlands, model towns and villages have been established, with basic services enabling the people to cultivate their fertile land; they also receive technical and financial assistance in order to make the most of their resources.

166. Nevertheless, we must recognize that the international economic crisis continues to have a negative impact on the people of Guatemala and that the groups promoting violence—groups financed and supplied from abroad—are trying to frustrate our efforts to achieve peace and progress in our country.

167. As a consequence of the subversive violence from which certain areas of Guatemala suffered mercilessly, especially in 1981 and 1982, thousands of Guatemalans were displaced; they abandoned their communities of origin and moved into Mexican territory, where they settled in camps close to our border. The present Government is deeply concerned at the situation of these compatriots and has therefore started negotiations with the Government of Mexico, with which it is in constant communication on this problem. By mutual agreement, we have requested the co-operation of humanitarian bodies such as the Guatemalan Red Cross, the Mexican Red Cross, the League of National Red Cross Societies, the International Committee of the Red Cross and the UNHCR for the purpose of adopting some kind of procedure to facilitate the orderly return of these refugees to Guatemala and to supply them with food, medical care and the necessary protection.

168. When they return we shall offer them housing and work, so that, in an atmosphere of peace and security, they may devote themselves to their usual endeavours in their communities of origin or other communities which are being built. Repatriation must be conducted on a voluntary basis in absolute freedom, and each of the refugees must be consulted ahead of time about his or her views on a possible return to Guatemala. Our Government is preparing to begin a procedure for direct consultations as soon as possible, and we hope that this machinery will be adopted and put into effect expeditiously. The Government of Guatemala has accepted supervision of this process by the international bodies that I have mentioned to verify full compliance with the agreed terms.

169. Quite apart from the foregoing, I am pleased to say that many Guatemalan refugees in Mexico are already returning to Guatemala of their own accord. They have been welcomed by the authorities in our country, who have given them the immediate assistance they require and transported them to their places of origin. We have reported consistently on these events at both the national and the international level.

170. To sum up, the policy involving refugees is marked by humanitarian aims and concrete actions, designed to ensure that these Guatemalans may enjoy their legitimate right to live in peace in their homeland.

171. Guatemala shares the view of the international community that respect for human rights is of fundamental importance in contributing to the achievement of individual and collective well-being and security. Respect for human rights is the constant concern of the various national sectors. Hence, my Government continues to adopt internal measures designed to protect and guarantee respect for universally recognized human rights, both individual and social.

172. In keeping with its open-door policy, as compared with other countries, Guatemala has permitted and facilitated visits of representatives not only of human rights committees but also of non-governmental organizations and various other groups concerned with human rights. Our country has nothing to hide from the international community. On the contrary, we want the truth about Guatemala to be widely known, so as to counteract certain campaigns which are encouraged abroad and whose sole purpose is to tarnish our image. In the last few years, we have received visits from various political figures, journalists and foreign correspondents, who have had interviews with leaders of various political parties and of economic, academic and religious groups, as well as with various special-interest groups.

173. My country shares the view that the international community must protect human rights, and for this reason we have co-operated with Viscount Colville of Culross, Special Rapporteur of the Commission on Human Rights, who is entrusted with the task of preparing a report on the situation of human rights in Guatemala. In August of this year he visited us again, and as in the past he was given every opportunity to carry out his important functions in the best possible conditions. The Government of Guatemala accepted a renewal of the mandate of the Special Rapporteur for one more year, and we reiterate our firm desire to continue to co-operate closely with him.

174. The development of a political process with wider participation has had a very healthy effect in considerably diminishing the political violence that affected my country for a number of years. This was noted by the Special Rapporteur and by many non-governmental bodies concerned with human rights issues. We believe that international understanding and support are extremely important to Guatemala, as it will have a positive effect and help us continue the encouraging trend towards the reduction of violence and the strengthening of the democratic process.

175. Thus, Guatemala is concerned by the fact that human rights problems do not always receive objective, serious treatment by the United Nations. The practice of censuring countries—for political reasons or motives or because they are not part of certain military or political alliances—for violations of human rights is one which my country cannot accept. We cannot permit the politicization of the debate on human rights or a selective way of dealing with this question. This issue must be dealt with very carefully. The United Nations has lost some of its moral force in this connection because it has not applied the same criteria and parameters in every case. Thus, some States which commit grave violations of human rights are often not even mentioned.

176. As to international economic policy, Guatemala, like most of the States represented in this forum, is suffering the effects of the structural maladjustment of the international economic system, which has a decisive impact on domestic sociopolitical problems. Unless there is a renewed effort and determination on the part of the developed countries to work with the international community, it will be difficult to overcome this crisis, which has had a serious effect on the well-being of the peoples. We view with deep concern the fact that advantage has not been taken of the opportunities to improve the multilateral dialogue. The developing countries continue to face also such adverse factors as the decline in commodity prices, drastic fluctuations in exchange rates, an increase in protectionism, high interest rates, the flight of capital, the decline in development assistance and the crisis in resources being faced by multilateral financial institutions.

177. Guatemala fully identifies with the third world and supports its cause, which is that of development and peace. It participates actively in initiatives aimed at finding ways and means of establishing a more just international economic order that would eradicate inequality and the scourge of hunger, disease and illiteracy. There can be no political stability without a just and humane international order in which the sovereignty of each country over its natural resources would be recognized and in which commercial relations between developing and industrialized countries would be a reflection of equality, with a sense of co-operation and recognition of the fundamental values of the human being, whose dignity demands that he be well fed and have access to well-being and culture.

178. My delegation would like to highlight its contribution to the cause of development and South-South co-operation within the framework of the Group of 77. Within this framework, my country is actively participating in efforts being made, particularly in the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, at Geneva and in New York, in the implementation of the Arusha Programme for Collective Self-Reliance and Framework for Negotiations,[9] the Caracas Programme of Action,[4] the Buenos Aires Platform[5] and the Cartagena Consensus [*A/39/331, annex*] in order to develop economic co-operation among developing countries. In January of this year, Guatemala hosted a meeting of experts, in conformity with the Caracas Programme of Action, at which the issue of trade-related services was broached. Together with Central American countries, we signed the Agreement Establishing the Common Fund for Commodities[10] at the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held at Belgrade from 6 June to 2 July 1983, and in response to this common effort financial assistance was provided by Norway to facilitate the joint access of our countries to this Fund. At the same time, we approved and supported the Declaration of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Group of 77 [*A/39/536, annex*], adopted at their meeting in New York from 26 to 28 September 1984.

179. Guatemala reiterates its concern at the reluctance shown by industrialized countries to initiate global negotiations, in which the developing countries have high expectations as regards the search for solutions to their serious economic and financial problems. We supported the Quito Declaration and Plan of Action [*A/39/118, annex*] adopted at the Latin American Economic Conference, held at Quito from 9 to 13 January 1984, and we have subscribed to trade agreements of limited scope with Colombia and Mexico.

180. Latin America has a very high external debt, which makes it indispensable for the industrialized countries to show understanding and agree to fair renegotiation with the assurance of longer terms and more reasonable interest rates, thus making it possible for our peoples to increase their rate of economic growth and live not merely to pay but rather to develop better living standards.

181. As a Central American country, Guatemala is profoundly concerned about the worsening crisis in our region. There can be no doubt that we are living through dangerous and tense times. Peace and security are jeopardized by severe domestic conflicts in various countries, which could spill over and turn into generalized problems of unpredictable consequences.

182. Political, economic and social problems, indissolubly intertwined as they are, have a negative impact on Central America, but there are also adverse phenomena spawned from abroad that have an impact on our situation, rendering it even more serious.

183. Fortunately, the creative mediation of the Contadora Group has made it possible not only to maintain a frank and permanent dialogue, but also for there to be a political negotiating process, the main thrust of which is to broaden and promote détente and permanent peace in our region. The Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Central American countries, meeting at Panama City on 7 September last, recognized the invaluable efforts made by the Foreign Ministers of the Contadora Group and reaffirmed confidence in their worthwhile initiative, which marks a genuine regional alternative and a viable and appropriate framework for resolving our differences.

184. A year ago, on 9 September 1983, the five Central American countries and the Contadora Group countries adopted by consensus the Document of Objectives,[11] which contains political, security and socio-economic principles and aspects, and the revised Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America [*see A/39/562*] has recently been submitted for our consideration. This is an extremely worthwhile document, comprising the observations, suggestions and proposals made by the Central American countries.

185. In Guatemala's view, this document constitutes an orderly, systematic approach to the proposals of the Governments individually, and puts forward certain formulas and machinery aimed at reconciling the various aspects of the situation where divergence has arisen. My Government feels that this document can become a binding juridical instrument and, in viewing it favourably, would point out that certain refinements in the procedure for putting into practice the commitments to be assumed must be considered. In any case, good faith and political willingness on the part of the Governments concerned are required to fulfil effectively the commitments assumed, making possible verification and control to ensure that what has been agreed upon in the pact is strictly complied with.

186. Guatemala appreciates and is grateful for the efforts of the Contadora Group and recognizes and

fully appreciates its delicate task and its genuine achievements. For these reasons, the Government of Guatemala once again declares its unconditional support for this process of negotiation. We are pleased to note the general backing that has been lent in the Assembly to the Contadora Group, and we urge the international community also to contribute to this vital endeavour of concerted political effort, so that it can be translated into peace, democracy and development for Central America.

187. I should also like to mention that it was a high honour for my country to be chosen as spokesman at the recent gathering which, for the first time in the history of international relations in the Central American isthmus, brought together at San José, in the sister republic of Costa Rica, on 28 and 29 September, the Foreign Ministers of the countries of the European Community and of Spain and Portugal and those representing our own sister nations of Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela—the Contadora Group—and the five Central American States.

188. I should like here to reaffirm that Central America is a concert of peoples and countries indissolubly linked by geography, culture, history, tradition, personal ties, common interests and, above all, awareness of our common destiny and of the factors that unite us, factors that are much more important than those that may divide us. The permanent interrelation, the common objectives and our specific and tangible needs lead us to act in concert and to promote an integrated development for the benefit of our peoples so that they may achieve a life of dignity with peace, solidarity, justice and progress for all—aspirations which rest on the bedrock of a right which is inalienably ours. Furthermore, to preserve Central America's unity is not merely to continue proclaiming a romantic dream or to rehearse anachronistic formulas bereft of any substance. We fully recognize the reality in our region, which is that of a group of small developing countries whose economic capacities and viability are limited by virtue of the limited dimension of our markets. Nor can we deny that various exogenous factors affect us and impinge upon our political order. United we shall have a broader realm of action to cope with the problems of our region; if separated, this possibility becomes minimal.

189. We reaffirm our commitment to achieving unity—an aspiration that is shared by our five peoples. This has been demonstrated in various ways, above all in the following: our process of integration and its institutions function reasonably well; intraregional trade continues to amount to one fifth of our total exports; interconnected electric power systems have been established; we are carrying out joint development projects, and the national experience thus gained is mutually enhancing the activities of the other countries.

190. With regard to Belize, my delegation believes that this is a propitious moment for informing the Assembly that throughout this year we have held informal exploratory meetings with representatives of the United Kingdom, with the participation of Belize, aimed at finding a just and honourable solution that would satisfy and safeguard the rights and legitimate interests of the parties concerned. The Government of Guatemala reiterates its readiness to continue these negotiations in a broad spirit of understanding, and it hopes for a similar stance from the other side. Notwithstanding what I have said, the Government of Guatemala reserves its rights over the territory of Belize and, consequently, does not recognize the independence granted to it unilaterally by the United Kingdom; nor does it recognize Belize as a State or its alleged territorial and maritime frontiers.

191. Moreover, we are in favour of continuing to strengthen our ties with the people of Belize and to lend it all manner of co-operation so that we might in the best way possible resolve the various problems affecting us.

192. The existence of colonial situations in the world—some recognized and others disguised—continues to be an affront to the ideal of universal peace. We view with profound concern the fact that the talks between the United Kingdom and the Argentine Republic have led to no positive outcome because of the reluctance of one of the parties to discuss the sovereignty of the Malvinas Islands. Once again, we appeal for a renewal of this dialogue as the only way to avoid situations threatening international peace. We must not abuse dialogue; nor must we avoid it. Hence the principles of the Charter of the United Nations must be respected and Security Council resolution 502 (1982) implemented.

193. Direct negotiations between the Governments of South Korea and North Korea is the most appropriate way for the Koreans to settle the question of reunification. We consider that this should foster a process of dialogue free from external interference and in a climate of mutual confidence. The international community welcomed the recent contacts between the two countries in the wake of the natural catastrophes in South Korea. We consider this to be a positive indication of co-operation in humanitarian terms and urge the Governments of North Korea and South Korea to ask the Secretary-General to use his good offices to help bring about a solution to the Korean question.

194. With regard to the Middle East problem, the Government of Guatemala has always maintained a clear-cut position which recognizes the existence and respects the independence of the State of Israel. We once again affirm this here. At the same time, we cannot ignore the legitimate aspirations of the Palestinian people to free self-determination or its right to regain its own territory—the least that can be demanded by the international community.

195. Guatemala cannot remain indifferent to the agonizing situation of Lebanon. For the last several years, the Lebanese people, once an example of democracy and economic development, have suffered aggression and violence. There must be an end to the occupation of Lebanon, and, therefore, the foreign forces that occupy part of its territory must be withdrawn forthwith. We hope that in the near future the people of Lebanon will be able to re-establish a climate of concord and peace.

196. Guatemala categorically condemns the racist policy of *apartheid*, which is an affront to the most elementary standards of human dignity. The situation in southern Africa is intolerable, and the international community must show its solidarity with those suffering the effects of this racial discrimination.

197. The war being waged in the Persian Gulf between the neighbouring countries of Iran and Iraq is a source of profound alarm for the international community. We deplore the loss of thousands of lives

and the enormous material damage caused by this war, which, regrettably, is being waged with sophisticated and lethal weapons. We believe that the Assembly must once again appeal for dialogue and understanding to take the place of the armed confrontation which has caused such desolation and loss of life.

198. Since we subscribe to the principle of the self-determination of peoples, we support Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which recognizes Namibia's right to independence.

199. Guatemala is profoundly concerned over the arms race, particularly in the nuclear field. That is why Guatemala adhered to the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (Treaty of Tlatelolco),[12] which proscribes the introduction of nuclear weapons into Latin America. If the economic resources devoted by the major Powers to military expenditures and to enlarging their arsenals were used instead for the promotion of development, the living standards of mankind as a whole would markedly improve.

200. The international community, horrified by the effects of the Second World War, which cost millions of lives and caused incalculable material damage, greeted with hope the idea of creating an organization, the United Nations, which would preserve international peace and security in the future. For over four decades, there have been intensive debates in the Organization on subjects and issues of a political, economic, social and cultural nature. At times of crisis and confrontation, small and medium-sized countries, like the major Powers, have come to this forum to set forth their grievances and to ask for understanding and support. The sovereign equality of States, which presupposes the same rights and obligations for every one of the Members of the United Nations, makes this possible.

201. However, the United Nations has not always been able to respond to the challenge of history because, regrettably, strategic interests, among other things, have prevailed over the principles and norms embodied in its Charter. Mankind still has a long way to go before reason and justice can take the place of force. Human beings, by their very nature, can discriminate between good and evil; that is to say, they have free choice and act on the basis of their conscience and convictions. But all human beings do not respect the same scale of values, and the desire for domination over others is manifested in various ways. Human beings are imperfect, but they have been endowed as superior beings with intelligence, a will and feelings; therefore, they must act responsibly and learn to respect the rights of others as they respect their own. To know how to respect others is to know how to live in fellowship and share material, cultural and spiritual well-being with justice and fairness.

202. Without the human being there would be no State; therefore, the rights and duties of States must be a mirror image of the rights and duties of human beings. The State was created not to enslave and subjugate human beings, but to serve them. Thus, the United Nations, in order to realize its full potential, must not only take into account the interests of States but, above all, watch over and work for the well-being of all people. Human beings all over the world must be protected. We must combat hunger and poverty and, to the extent possible in the world of today, provide people with a life in dignity, in which they can attain their highest goals, to which they are called by a higher order.

203. My Government reaffirms its faith in and commitment to the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations. It is the duty of us all to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war and to build a new world in which peace will reign and from which hatred, racism, selfishness and lack of understanding will be banished once and for all.

204. It is the duty and obligation of each and every State Member of the United Nations to contribute to the integrated development and harmony of peoples and the elimination of the conditions of social injustice now prevailing in the world. Guatemala reaffirms its commitment to peace, freedom, democracy, and development.

205. Mr. SIPRASEUTH (Lao People's Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from French*):[*] On behalf of the delegation of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, I should like first to congratulate Mr. Lusaka on his unanimous election to the presidency of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. I am sure that with the active participation of all delegations and under the wise guidance of the President, an experienced diplomat from Zambia, the work of this session will lead to concrete results in many areas.

206. I should also like to offer my sincere congratulations to Mr. Jorge Illueca, President of the Assembly's thirty-eighth session, on the excellent manner in which he fulfilled his mandate.

207. The Lao delegation would like in particular to praise the tireless efforts of the Secretary-General to promote the equitable and effective achievement of the noble purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations for the maintenance and strengthening of international peace and security.

208. The Lao delegation welcomes the admission of Brunei Darussalam, a country from the same region as ours, as the 159th Member of the United Nations.

209. This session of the General Assembly is taking place at a time when the international situation is tense and when there is an acceleration of the arms race carried out by the major imperialist country, on land, in the oceans and in outer space.

210. In many parts of Asia, Africa and Latin America, the war of aggression, direct or indirect, undertaken by the imperialists, the war of destruction and of territorial annexation which is being waged by the expansionists, and the policy of brutal oppression of the racial discrimination régime, the instrument of the imperialists, have been gaining ground, thus infringing the independence and territorial integrity of several countries and threatening the right of those peoples to exist.

211. At the same time, in the economic field there is a further widening of the gap between the developed capitalist countries and the developing countries. The North-South negotiations are simply marking time now. The economic crisis, the exploitation and plundering of resources and the restrictive trade practices and protectionist measures applied by the capitalist countries have all placed the developing countries in an increasingly difficult situation. However, the overall picture is far from being a complete-

---

[*] Mr. Sipraseuth spoke in Lao. The French version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

ly dark one, for the time when imperialism, expansionism and international reaction had absolute power is gone for ever.

212. Today, more than ever before, the movements in support of disarmament and against nuclear war are developing rapidly, as they were last year. They are involving millions of people from all social strata and in all continents in a great effort of solidarity to crush the warlike manoeuvres of the imperialists and to achieve a lasting peace on our planet.

213. The Lao delegation considers it essential to improve international relations, in particular the relations between the major countries which have a determining role in reducing the danger of confrontation.

214. Against this background, the Lao delegation firmly supports the consistent policy of peace, a policy of principle, of the Soviet Union, which has undertaken not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. We believe that the proposal of the Soviet Union to include in the agenda of this session of the General Assembly an item entitled "Use of outer space exclusively for peaceful purposes for the benefit of mankind" [*see A/39/243*] demonstrates that country's sense of responsibility with respect to the future of mankind. Accordingly, we fully approve and support the reasonable and realistic proposals made by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries with a view to achieving disarmament and the limitation and reduction of nuclear weapons, as well as the various strong measures designed to prevent acts of war provoked by imperialism and international reaction and to ensure the peace and security of peoples.

215. The Lao delegation fully supports the proposal of the Mongolian People's Republic to conclude a treaty of non-aggression and non-use of force in relations among the countries of Asia and the Pacific and its proposal relating to the right of peoples to peace, submitted at this session of the General Assembly [*see A/39/141*]. By its activities in support of international peace and co-operation, the Mongolian People's Republic is indeed a good candidate for election as a non-permanent member of the Security Council.

216. The Lao delegation supports the countries of the region of the Indian Ocean which call for the dismantling of the United States military bases on Diego Garcia and making the Indian Ocean a zone of peace.

217. The Lao delegation supports the Joint Declaration of the Heads of State of Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Sweden and the United Republic of Tanzania [*A/39/277, annex*], addressed to the five nuclear-weapon States. We welcome the favourable response made to that proposal by the Soviet Union.

218. From its own historical experiences, the Lao people clearly recognizes that real peace can be achieved only in true independence and freedom. Thus, the bold struggle of the peoples of the world against the policy of interference, aggression and exploitation by imperialism and international reaction and in support of social progress is an integral part of their struggle for peace and security.

219. The Lao delegation fully supports the just struggle of the Palestinian Arab people, under the leadership of the PLO, its authentic representative, to regain their basic national right to self-determination, including the right to establish their own State in Palestine. We support the Lebanese people and other peoples of the Arab countries in their struggle against the aggression of the Israeli Zionists and interference by the United States. In this connection, we support the proposals made by the Soviet Union on 29 July 1984 [*see A/39/368*] with regard to an overall just and lasting solution to the question of the Middle East.

220. In Central America and the Caribbean, despite enormous difficulties and deprivations, the heroic peoples of Cuba and Nicaragua are able victoriously to defend their independence, sovereignty and illustrious social régimes. And the people of El Salvador, Guatemala, Puerto Rico, Grenada, Honduras, Costa Rica, Chile and other Latin American countries will without any doubt be able to defeat the policy of interference pursued by the United States imperialists, to overthrow military dictatorship and to defend their right to a free and independent existence.

221. We fully support the struggle of the peoples of South Africa and Namibia, under the leadership of the African National Congress of South Africa and SWAPO, respectively. We support the struggle of the peoples of Angola and Mozambique against the aggression and machiavellian manoeuvres, the divide-and-rule tactics, of the racist administration of South Africa.

222. The Lao people fully supports the struggle of the Afghan people against the undeclared war unleashed by imperialism and international reaction and in defence of what they had achieved through their April revolution.

223. We also lend our support to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in its struggle to achieve the withdrawal of United States troops from South Korea and to ensure the peaceful unification of Korea.

224. In the world today, the problems of international economic relations are the focus of the concern of many developing countries, particularly the Lao People's Democratic Republic, a small, land-locked country, one of the least developed.

225. We believe that it is imperative to bring about a radical reform of current international economic relations and to establish a new international economic order that is more just and more democratic. In this connection, the Lao People's Democratic Republic supports the just positions taken by the non-aligned countries and the Group of 77 relating to the launching of global negotiations on international economic co-operation for development.

226. At the present time, the situation in South-East Asia is becoming increasingly tense. The escalation of the war undertaken by the Chinese expansionists along the Chinese-Vietnamese borders in April 1984 was an extremely dangerous occurrence, the most dangerous since the war of aggression waged by Chinese troops against Viet Nam in February 1979. The overt armed intervention by the extreme right-wing Thai reactionaries along the border between Thailand and Kampuchea to save the genocidal Pol Pot clique and the other Khmer reactionaries from their total defeat was also the most serious event to have occurred over the past five years; and the fact that they have sent in regular troops to commit acts of aggression and occupy three areas of Laos is the most serious occurrence since the creation of the Lao People's Democratic Republic.

227. It is clear that all this benefits the Chinese expansionists and the extreme-right reactionaries in leading Thai circles in carrying out their policy, one that is directly hostile to the three peoples of Indo-China, in instigating confrontation between the countries members of ASEAN and the three countries of Indo-China, and in interfering with the movement towards dialogue between those two groups of countries, thereby creating tension and undermining peace and stability in the region. Their accusations against Viet Nam and the Soviet Union will in no way succeed in misleading world public opinion.

228. As is well known, the question of South-East Asia has been on the agenda of the General Assembly for nearly five years. It is indeed deplorable that the United Nations should have adopted so erroneous a decision as to have seated here the genocidal political corpse of the Pol Pot clique, alongside masked members of that clique, for that is in fact a denial of the Kampuchean people's right to rebirth and to existence and self-determination, as well as a denial of the aspirations of the peoples of the region to peace.

229. The Lao people, like the peoples of Viet Nam and Kampuchea, aspires only to live in peace in order to build up its country, to build a new life and to live in peace with its neighbours, including China. Over the past five years, the three countries of Indo-China have put forward various proposals with a view to normalizing relations with the People's Republic of China and have done everything possible to promote dialogue between the two groups of countries, those of Indo-China and those of ASEAN, in order to make South-East Asia a zone of peace, stability, friendship and co-operation. Those principles, which we regard as inviolable, have been confirmed on many occasions; they are as follows: to enter into dialogue on the basis of proposals made by the Foreign Ministers of the Indo-Chinese countries, meeting at Vientiane on 28 and 29 January 1984 [*see A/39/108*], and the proposals advanced by the ASEAN member countries on 21 September 1983.[13] The Indo-Chinese countries mandated Viet Nam to be their representative, and the ASEAN countries asked Indonesia to act on their behalf. We trust that this session of the General Assembly will give additional impetus to the efforts to achieve dialogue between the two groups of countries.

230. In this connection, we welcome the initiative of Australia, which has offered its capital, Canberra, as the site for a meeting between the countries of Indo-China and the ASEAN countries.

231. At this session, the Lao delegation would like to draw attention to the most serious event that has occurred in Lao-Thai relations since the founding of the Lao People's Democratic Republic. I am referring to the attack by Thai troops on three areas of Laos—namely, Bane May, Bane Kang and Bane Savang in the Paklay District, Sayaboury Province, in the northern part of Laos—and the occupation of those areas.

232. Our Government has already informed the Secretary-General and has issued several documents, namely, the statement of 13 June 1984 [*see A/39/3107.*], the memorandum of 17 August 1984 and the declaration of 26 August 1984 [*see A/39/451*], the statement of 6 September 1984 [*see A/39/475*] and the White Book issued on 18 September 1984 [*see A/39/540*]. Those documents set forth all the facts relating to the three localities, the truth about Thai-Lao relations past and present, and our proposals for a settlement.

233. Here I should like to refer to some aspects of the problem. First of all, the occupation of these three areas of Laos is an act of premeditated aggression. Laos and Thailand are two neighbouring countries that share a common border 1,650 kilometres long. From time immemorial, these two peoples have been united by good-neighbourly relations and linked by ties of blood and by similarities in culture, language, customs and religion.

234. The boundary between the two countries was settled by the Franco-Siamese treaties of 2 February 1904 and 23 March 1907. There has never been any boundary dispute between the two countries in these past few decades. History, law and effective administration have proved, indisputably, that these three villages, occupied by the Thai Army since 6 June 1984, come under Lao sovereignty.

235. In 1979, the two countries signed two joint declarations containing principles intended to govern relations between the two countries. Those principles were as follows: mutually to respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of each country; to respect each country's right to choose its own way of life free from outside interference or threat; not to interfere in the internal affairs of the other country, and to refrain from carrying out, directly or indirectly, hostile acts against the other; to settle differences by peaceful means in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and on the basis of equality; and not to use force or the threat of force against the other and not to allow others to use their territory as a base to intervene, threaten or commit aggression against other countries in any manner whatsoever. Such were the terms of the joint Lao-Thai declaration of 4 April 1979.

236. The declaration reiterated that:

> "The two Prime Ministers agreed to make the Lao-Thai border on the river and on the land a border of peace and friendship, based on respect for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and legitimate interests of each and the principle of the peaceful settlement of disputes between the two countries."

237. To justify their acts of aggression, the extreme-right Thai reactionaries presented a farce whereby they claimed that Laos had sent troops to occupy three Thai villages in May and then used other subterfuges, saying that this was a "frontier incident", a "border dispute", thus covering up the cynical nature of their aggression.

238. In the attacks against the three Lao villages, the extreme-right Thai reactionaries used several infantry units, together with tanks, artillery and reconnaissance aircraft, all of which were directly commanded by General Arthit Kamlang Ek, Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces and the Army of Thailand. In order to perpetuate their occupation of the three villages and justify their claims, they removed the frontier markers in the region and used Thai administration to replace the Lao administrative authorities. They decreed obligatory education in the Thai language, forced the Lao population to use Thai currency, increased their troops to 3,000 men—that is, double the number of people in the villages—strengthened the fortifications and unilat-

erally and tendentiously drew up their own map of the region.

239. At the same time, in order to prepare for a further escalation of the war, they sent their troops and Lao reactionaries in exile along the frontier across from the province of Sayaboury and other provinces in Laos.

240. This was not simply a border incident and it was certainly not simply a border dispute, which is something that can happen quite often between two neighbouring countries. Rather, it was an act of premeditated aggression, violating Lao sovereignty and territorial integrity; it was a serious violation of the two joint Lao-Thai declarations; it was a provocation to confrontation in the region; and it was a violation of the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. One might therefore wonder if, with such conduct, this country, a Member of the United Nations, would be a suitable nominee for non-permanent membership of the Security Council.

241. Secondly, the underlying cause of the aggression by Thai troops against the three villages in Lao is the expansionist ambition of the extreme-right Thai reactionaries, an ambition which arose out of pan-Thaiism and which enjoys the support of the Chinese expansionists, who instigated the escalation of this destructive war against the three countries of Indo-China.

242. The White Book published on 18 September 1984 by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of the Lao People's Democratic Republic exposed the reality of Lao-Thai relations and the hegemonist and expansionist policy of the reactionary military circles of Thailand—formerly known as Siam—*vis-à-vis* Laos from the sixteenth century until the present time.

243. History clearly shows that the expansionist and hegemonist policy of the reactionary Thai leading circles *vis-à-vis* Laos has remained unchanged. From the sixteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth century, the reactionary Siamese leading circles committed acts of aggression against, occupied, administered and annexed a large part of Lao territory. For 115 years—from 1778 to 1893—they made Laos a vassal State. During the Second World War, from 1941 to 1946, Thailand used the Japanese Fascists to force the French, who were in a difficult situation, to yield the two Lao provinces west of the Mekong, the provinces of Sayaboury and Champasak. During the United States war of aggression in Indo-China, the reactionaries in power in Thailand transformed their territory into a United States base and made their troops participate directly in this war against Laos and the other countries of Indo-China. From 1975 to the present time, Thailand has been a decisive bastion, a docile instrument, used by Chinese expansionism in South-East Asia as a santuary for the genocidal Pol Pot clique and its consorts and for other reactionary exiles from Indo-Chinese countries who came to struggle against their own people.

244. The Thai reactionaries used military pressure against the Lao People's Democratic Republic to create tension and sow the seeds of trouble. They cooperated with the Chinese in feeding, training, organizing and commanding the Lao reactionaries in exile and then in invading the three Lao villages on 6 June 1984. This act of aggression is the product of pan-Thaiism, which is coming to life again among the extreme-right Thai ruling circles.

245. Thirdly, the aggression against the three Lao villages was part of the overall struggle of the extreme-right Thai reactionaries, in collusion with the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists against Laos and the other countries of Indo-China.

246. The incident involving the three villages occurred shortly after the visit to China of General Arthit Kamlang Ek, Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces and the Army of Thailand. He even went to the Chinese-Vietnamese border to learn from the Chinese experience of its war of aggression against Vietnamese territory. During the visit, the Chinese side declared that it would support Thailand in its aggression against the three Lao villages, an aggression which was commanded by General Arthit Kamlang Ek in person and which took place at a time when the Thais, in collusion with the Chinese, were doing everything possible to help the Pol Potists and their consorts to oppose the Kampuchean people, and at a time when the Chinese themselves also were escalating the war of aggression against the Vietnamese border.

247. It is perfectly clear that the aggression against the three Lao villages enjoyed the support of the Chinese expansionists and that it resulted from their total collusion with the extreme-right Thai reactionaries against Laos.

248. Although these three villages are still occupied by the Thai forces of aggression, the Lao People's Democratic Republic has been very restrained and has been prepared to settle the problem of the three villages jointly with the Thai side through negotiations, so as not to let the fraternal relations between the peoples of these two countries deteriorate still further. That is why the Lao side took the initiative of twice—in July and August 1984—sending a governmental negotiation to Bangkok to negotiate with the Thai side. But the results showed that the Thai side does not sincerely wish to resolve the problem with the Lao side. It submitted many proposals and demands which were unreasonable and unjustified; these all had the purpose of denying the sovereignty of the Lao People's Democratic Republic over the three villages. After vainly expending great effort in an attempt to force the Lao side to accept its unfounded demands, the Thai side decided unilaterally to break off the negotiations.

249. Moreover, the Thai side has been saying, for public opinion and in all its international contacts, that "the three villages are a minor problem"; that "the problem can be resolved through direct negotiations between the two sides"; and that "owing to Viet Nam's manipulation from behind the scenes, Laos is not its own master". In the end, they established a so-called technical committee—which we rejected—to carry out an investigation in the field. But, as I have already made clear, the border in this sector—and, indeed, throughout its length—was very clearly delimited by the Franco-Siamese treaties of 2 February 1904 and 23 March 1907 and requires no verification. This investigation is intended only to prolong and legalize the occupation and to mislead international public opinion.

250. At the same time, it has pleased the Thai side to inform the Secretary-General about this problem, in order to make it widely known. The head of the Thai delegation abandoned the first round of negotiations with the Lao side in order to pay a visit to China to consult the Chinese side.

251. As everyone knows, the three countries of Indo-China have been the principal South-East Asian victims of the policies of aggression and occupation of the Chinese, the colonialists, the militarists and the imperialists. Laos and Kampuchea in particular have also been victims of the expansionist, hegemonist policy of the reactionaries in power in Thailand. Bearing in mind these historical facts, the three peoples of Indo-China have been forced to join together at the cost of great sacrifices in the long common struggle to regain and defend their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity against the forces of foreign aggression.

252. Fourthly, after the grave effects of 30 years of war, the Lao people wants only to live in peace, to bring its country out of backwardness and poverty and to build a new system and a new life of prosperity.

253. The consistent foreign policy of the Lao People's Democratic Republic is to establish relations with all countries, irrespective of their political and social systems, on the basis of the principle of peaceful coexistence.

254. The Lao People's Democratic Republic has spared no effort to develop fraternal relations between its people and that of Thailand, its neighbour. The Government of the Lao People's Democratic Republic notes with satisfaction that, thanks to the united efforts of the two parties, the Lao Government and the Thai Government have been able to sign two joint declarations, in January and April 1979, which turned a new page in the history of relations between the peoples of the two countries. However, the extreme-right reactionaries in the Thai ruling circles took advantage of this to attain their expansionist and hegemonist designs on Laos; this runs counter to the interests of the peoples of the two countries. Accordingly, the Thai reactionaries alone must shoulder the responsibility for the present serious deterioration.

255. The just solution to the problem of the three villages is for Thailand to withdraw all its troops from those villages, to allow the inhabitants forced into Thailand to return to their homeland, to provide fair compensation to the local inhabitants for the loss of life and property caused by the troops and to return the situation in the three villages to normal, as it was before 6 June 1984.

256. The Lao people has a long tradition of heroic struggle against foreign aggression and is resolved to exercise its right of legitimate self-defence, as set out in Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations, to repel the troops of aggression and to defend the sovereignty and territorial integrity of its sacred homeland. At the same time, the Lao Government will always demonstrate goodwill and will continue to be ready to resume negotiations with the Royal Thai Government in order to resolve the problem on the basis of the principles set forth in the two joint declarations of 1979.

257. We should like to take this opportunity to express our sincere thanks to the Governments and peoples of the various countries, and to international public opinion which cherishes peace and justice in the world, for their sympathy and for the invaluable support they have lent to the just position of the people of Laos.

258. We appeal here to all delegations participating in this session of the General Assembly to urge the Thai side to respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Laos by withdrawing its troops from the three villages, by returning the Lao inhabitants, removed by force, to their homeland, by providing compensation to the Lao victims of this aggression and by restoring the situation in the three villages to normal, as it was before 6 June 1984. That would contribute to normalizing relations between Laos and Thailand and to safeguarding peace and stability in South-East Asia.

259. My delegation sincerely hopes that this session of the General Assembly will be an extremely successful one.

260. Mr. VEGA IMBERT (Dominican Republic) (*interpretation from Spanish*): On behalf of the Government of the Dominican Republic and of the delegation which I have the honour of leading, I wish to convey to Mr. Lusaka our most sincere congratulations on his election to preside over the work of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. This well-deserved distinction recognizes his role as a fighter for the cause of peace and the well-being of nations, his brilliant work as President of the United Nations Council for Namibia and his effective co-operation in the United Nations. His election augurs well for the balanced and fruitful conduct of this session. This wise choice is also an eloquent tribute to his country, Zambia, and to the entire African continent, which is characterized by its devotion to the quest for a fairer international social order.

261. My delegation also pays a tribute to the outgoing President, Mr. Jorge Illueca, for his efficient leadership of the deliberations of the General Assembly at the thirty-eighth session. His diplomatic skill won him the admiration of all and is a source of pride to the peoples of Latin America.

262. I should also like to express our gratitude to the Secretary-General for his perseverance in translating into reality the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and for his invaluable contributions to the cause of progress and international peace and security.

263. Allow me to extend a most cordial welcome to the new State of Brunei Darussalam, which recently won independence. Its efforts to realize the ideals of justice pursued by the United Nations will undoubtedly prove to be an asset to the Organization.

264. The international situation, which grows more alarming each passing day, should be a matter of collective concern to all peace-loving nations and should, of necessity, lead them to strengthen the United Nations. This firm belief inspires me to reiterate the idea I put forward in my statement at the thirty-eighth session that:

> "At this difficult time in the history of mankind, international co-operation, which is an essential element for harmonious coexistence among nations, must be the force behind our actions if we are to overcome the present situation." [*21st meeting, para. 161.*]

265. In view of the growing interdependence that characterizes contemporary international relations, today's problems affect all the members of the international community but have a greater impact on the least developed among them. We are therefore concerned at the tendency on the part of some industrialized States to abandon the necessary co-operation among States, which should be based on a profound feeling of solidarity. We must create a real

political will to embark upon genuine international co-operation, which should have as its aim the establishment of social justice among our peoples.

266. International life is dominated by the critical choice between war and peace. There is a close interdependence between two basic requirements for the growth and advancement of the developing countries: first, the creation of conditions of peace and security and, secondly, the launching of a new international economic order. The arms race militates at one and the same time against attaining both of these requirements.

267. The stalemate in the disarmament negotiations between the two super-Powers has resulted in quantitative and qualitative arms escalation. The international tension created by that escalation is one of the principal obstacles to the attainment of those goals. Moreover, the resources that should be devoted to development are being used instead to produce more sophisticated armaments.

268. In this important matter, I wish to state that we associate ourselves fully with the Joint Declaration on peace and world disarmament made on 22 May 1984 by the Heads of State or Government of Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Sweden and the United Republic of Tanzania. We agree with those illustrious statesmen that:

> "The power and ingenuity of the human race must be used, not to perfect weapons of annihilation, but to harness the resources of the earth so that all people may enjoy a life of security and dignity in an international system free of war and based on peace and justice." [*See A/39/277, annex.*]

269. For the Dominican Republic, negotiation and dialogue are the best instruments in the search for peace. There is no dispute for which a fair solution cannot be found through the means of peaceful settlement provided by international law and the Charter of the United Nations itself. As a corollary to this deep-felt conviction, our Government takes a consistent position of principle, that of rejecting, in so far as international coexistence is concerned, any threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State.

270. Keeping the peace should be an indivisible commitment for all Members of the United Nations. We applaud and encourage the work being done by the Special Committee on the Charter of the United Nations and on the Strengthening of the Role of the Organization with a view to preventing international conflicts and diminishing the risk that they pose. My delegation values that work very highly and announces here its constant willingness to contribute to the attainment of those basic objectives.

271. At the past two sessions of the General Assembly, I explained in detail that my country was desirous of and interested in co-operating in bringing about a negotiated settlement to the Central American conflict. The Government of the Dominican Republic has constantly echoed those responsible voices that offer assistance in restoring peace in those brother countries, free from outside impositions or interference, and in devoting their energies and resources to the requirements of development.

272. On his very first day in office, in August 1982, the President of my country, Mr. Salvador Jorge Blanco, in the Santo Domingo declaration issued jointly with four other Latin American leaders, recommended dialogue and negotiations as means for resolving the crisis in Central America, along with other measures for bringing about political, social and economic recovery in the region.

273. The Dominican Republic has always expressed support for the steps taken by the Contadora Group, maintaining an unchanging and unequivocal position in this regard. The outstanding process of mediation undertaken by Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela has culminated in the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America [*see A/39/562*], which we hope will be signed as soon as possible. It is clear that, while the actions of the Contadora Group have received the encouragement and backing of the United Nations and the international community, this final stage of overriding importance requires the full, active and complementary support of the countries of the Latin American region in particular and of the international community as a whole. We wish to record our gratitude and express our encouragement to the Central American countries which have already stated their willingness to sign this important document.

274. Similarly, we share the view that assistance from countries with ties to the Central American region would be highly desirable to ensure the effective implementation of the Contadora Act. We believe that the best way of achieving this important goal would be through a determined effort of solidarity by Latin America that would eliminate or at least reduce to a minimum a certain element of confrontation, directly or indirectly, in our hemisphere that could affect the situation in Central America.

275. It is the duty of Latin America as a whole to promote the détente and understanding that would effectively guarantee the establishment of peace in the region. The parties involved must therefore make reciprocal concessions which, in turn, provide mutual benefits, principally in the important areas of national security and economic and social development.

276. It has been an invariable tenet of the foreign policy of the Dominican Republic that any type of colonial domination, whatever form it might take, must be rejected. In line with this attitude, we note with concern that there are still areas of the world under colonial domination. These constitute sources of unrest and tension in the sphere of international relations and endanger international peace and security.

277. One persistent source of unrest is the disregard of the legitimate claim of the Argentine Republic to territorial sovereignty over the Malvinas. We regret the lack of progress at the meeting at Berne last July between representatives of the Governments of Argentina and the United Kingdom. We cordially urge the Governments of Argentina and the United Kingdom to resume their negotiations, and we reiterate our support for the renewed mission of good offices undertaken by the Secretary-General with a view to assisting the parties to those negotiations.

278. The insecurity and sufferings of peoples are not limited to one geographical area. I should like to refer to other events, topics and circumstances which affect international life and are of concern to the Government of the Dominican Republic.

279. First, I wish to express the Dominican Republic's profound anxiety over the situation prevailing in southern Africa. A mere glance at this part of the world shows us that *apartheid*, racial discrimination

and colonial domination continue blindly to resist the natural and legitimate forces of social change. The heroic struggle of the peoples of southern Africa for self-determination must receive the most decisive support of the international community.

280. I reaffirm the full solidarity of the Dominican people with the people of Namibia and our unreserved support for the struggle being waged by SWAPO, the legitimate representative of the Namibian people, for the liberation of their territory and the establishment of an independent State based on the principles of equality, freedom and justice.

281. Among the disturbed regions of the world, the Middle East has been a constant source of concern to the United Nations since the Organization's inception. My country unswervingly maintains its position that the achievement of a just and lasting peace in the region requires prior acceptance of the view that the question of Palestine is the core of the Middle East situation.

282. We therefore urge, as we have on previous occasions, that the necessary conditions be fostered to enable the Palestinian people to exercise, without any kind of outside interference or coercion, its right to self-determination, including its right to national independence and political sovereignty and to establish a State on Palestinian territory.

283. We reiterate equally strongly our heartfelt conviction that any peace solution in the Middle East must take into consideration Security Council resolution 242 (1967), which recognizes the right of Israel to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries.

284. No less worrying is the situation in Lebanon—a country with traditional ties to the Dominican Republic—which is cruelly torn by fratricidal battles. We believe that now more than ever the paths of dialogue and negotiation should be explored there and that the international community is morally obliged to extend its full co-operation to the reconstruction process in Lebanon.

285. However, unanimous recognition of the need for the restoration of the sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity of Lebanon and the withdrawal from its territory of all unauthorized foreign forces is an essential prerequisite for the settlement of the conflict.

286. The war between the Islamic Republic of Iran and Iraq is taking its toll in death and destruction on both sides and is adversely affecting prospects of regional and global peace and security. We believe that the international organizations should be prepared to help and encourage the peace-making process between the parties.

287. We reaffirm our belief that the desired reunification of the Korean people should be achieved through a negotiated settlement between the two parties, without outside interference or pressure.

288. One of the sustaining pillars of Dominican foreign policy is non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States. This has been a historical constant, evident throughout the life of our Republic. However, we consider that non-intervention is closely linked to another cardinal principle of international life: the self-determination of peoples. The Dominican Republic has invariably shown firm support for the right of peoples freely to decide the form of government they deem most suited to their national interests.

289. Our deep attachment to these principles impels us to express before this Assembly of the international community our profound concern at the situation prevailing in several parts of the world where foreign interference is damaging the sacred attributes of national sovereignty and independence. In this connection, we affirm our absolute rejection of the presence of foreign troops in Afghanistan, Kampuchea, Lebanon, Central America, Africa and anywhere else that this situation exists.

290. The Government of the Dominican Republic views with deep concern the upsurge of acts of terrorism in international life. It has condemned these and will always condemn them wherever they occur. We believe the recourse to terror, in any form and for any motive, is unacceptable to the international community and offends its conscience.

291. On the subject of scourges, I should like to refer to the Quito Declaration against Traffic in Narcotic Drugs, signed by the Presidents of Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador and Venezuela, by the representative of the President of Peru, by the President-elect of Panama, by a member of the Governing Junta of National Reconstruction of Nicaragua and by the Vice-President of Panama at Quito on 11 August 1984 [*see A/39/407*]. We associate ourselves fully with the approach adopted in that Declaration—that is, to consider traffic in narcotics as a crime against humanity, with all the legal consequences applicable in such cases. We also support the proposal for the establishment of an international or regional fund to furnish aid to developing countries affected by traffic in narcotics, in order to combat and overcome the causes responsible for such situations and to provide the competent national institutions with suitable instruments to deal with such activities.

292. The international community is still being battered by the worst world economic crisis of recent decades. Despite some signs of recovery observed in certain industrialized economies, the international recession persists and the third-world countries—particularly those in Latin America—are still beset by economic stagnation and subjected to painful processes of adjustment which in the main are ineffective because of the lack of equity and symmetry in the distribution of the costs of international economic restructuring.

293. From the Second United Nations Development Decade, the 1970s, which held promise of a transfer of real resources to the developing areas, we have moved into a period dominated by the group and sectoral interests of some industrialized countries which, not fully realizing that we live in an interdependent world, have caused a reversal of financial assistance flows, leading to restrictions on market access and the pursuit of economic policies that have upset the international economic order.

294. Consequently, the sustained economic growth of a few years ago has come to a halt. Our peoples' purchasing power in strong currencies has dwindled. World trade is at a standstill. A dramatic shortage of international liquidity is threatening the stability of the financial and monetary system.

295. The third-world countries, which set their sights on industrialization during the 1980s in the hope of absorbing growing unemployment, find that important industrial sectors cannot grow satisfactorily because the developed countries' economies, de-

prived of comparative advantages, are imposing quotas and restrictions on our principal exports.

296. One example is sugar, the underpinning and the mainstay of economies such as that of my country. Sugar is subjected to subsidies and protectionist measures which some developed countries extend to their producers and which are one of the main reasons for the decline in the world price of this commodity. In addition, the United States has just reduced by 20 per cent the sugar quotas assigned to our countries. This measure is contrary to the philosophy underlying the promising initiative for the Caribbean basin sponsored by that country.

297. These protectionist measures show the extent to which the world economy may be destabilized if this type of behaviour continues to spread. If the countries that are most competitive in selling certain goods cannot find outlets for their production or do not obtain suitable prices for their commodities, where will they obtain the international liquidity to purchase goods from abroad or to finance the servicing of their external debt?

298. Clearly, the answer cannot be that this liquidity should be achieved at the expense of the standard of living of our peoples, because that solution would be economically unfair and politically and socially destabilizing and would have implications that could even endanger the international financial and monetary system itself.

299. During the 1960s and 1970s, the relationship existing between trade and development was reflected principally in the fact that the surpluses generated by trade were recycled in the form of investments and loans. By contrast, the present trend is to concentrate capital inputs on the basis of incentives to encourage high interest rates and other measures involving substantial restrictions on international trade.

300. High interest rates are aggravating the external debt problem, by increasing financial costs. Thus, Latin America will have to pay out over $7.5 billion more than it would have had to pay out if the United States base rate had not risen by three points since the beginning of this year. In turn, the existence of such high interest rates encourages the outflow of capital to the financial centres, thus further reducing the capacity to pay and the international liquidity of our economies. That is one reason why Latin America, deeply in debt, has paradoxically become a net exporter of capital.

301. The figures supporting this statement are chilling. In net terms, Latin America is transferring to the industrialized countries over 3 per cent of its gross domestic product. In 1983 over $30 billion, representing half of the region's net savings, were transferred as interest and profits alone. Debt servicing—interest alone—absorbs 35 per cent of Latin American exports. In the past four years, the region's output declined by 10 per cent, and unemployment is still on the rise.

302. The severe deflation into which the developing countries' economies have been led, in order to create conditions in which debt-servicing payments can be made, has undoubtedly reduced the threat looming over the financial order of the developed countries. But this has been achieved through severe, indeed traumatic, curtailments of imports and of consumption, through a decrease in the already precarious standard of living of our peoples and, in many cases, through disruption of social peace owing to the sacrifices required of peoples with fewer resources available to them.

303. My country, which has suffered at first hand the rigours of this crisis and the consequences of economic adjustments, cannot remain indifferent to this distressing social picture, which is working against the United Nations ideal of creating the necessary conditions of stability and well-being for peaceful and friendly relations among nations.

304. Faced with the serious phenomenon of external indebtedness, which as has been seen, has significant adverse effects on them, the Latin American countries have—it must be recognized—already set in train a dynamic process of solidarity, which is increasingly becoming an example for the third world and which is backed by firm political will.

305. The Quito Declaration and Plan of Action [*A/39/118, annex*] preceded by the Santo Domingo undertaking, and more recently the Cartagena Consensus [*A/39/331, annex*] and the Mar del Plata Communiqué [*A/39/554, annex*] are eloquent expressions of this solidarity and of this common will, whose main objective is to find a solution to the serious problems identified during the dialogue and to achieve understanding between all the parties concerned—in other words, between creditors and debtors.

306. This was clearly stated by the President of the Dominican Republic, Mr. Salvador Jorge Blanco, in a speech made at the University of South Carolina, before the President of the United States, Mr. Ronald Reagan, and other leaders of the Caribbean Community. He said:

> "At Cartagena, we acknowledged the need to restructure our economies, to make the adjustments which will enable us to exercise self-discipline, but we also proclaimed the necessary joint responsibility for the solution of the crisis borne by the Governments of the creditor countries, the international banks and the international financial organizations."

307. The countries which joined in the Cartagena Consensus reaffirmed at Mar del Plata the need for direct political dialogue between creditors and debtors which would recognize the joint responsibility of all in the search for solutions to the crisis and lead to the achievement of a fairer economic order.

308. As the provisional secretariat of the consultation and follow-up machinery established under the Cartagena Consensus, the Dominican Republic will do everything in its power to help bring about the proposed political dialogue which, as stated at Mar del Plata, should preferably be held during the first half of 1985. This political dialogue would also serve as an opportunity to review the role played by important international agencies such as the IMF and the World Bank in the international economic order.

309. As we commemorate the tenth anniversary of the solemn proclamation by the General Assembly of the new international economic order [*resolution 3201 (S-VI)*], we note with regret that the attitude of some industrialized countries is hindering the start of the global negotiations, the result being that the North-South dialogue on international economic cooperation is being kept in a state of virtual paralysis.

310. There is still no progress in the negotiations, despite the notable flexibility of the non-aligned

countries and the Group of 77, as evidenced at their most recent meetings, and despite the fact that the developed countries acknowledged at their economic summit meetings, such as those held at Williamsburg in 1983 and in London last June, the global nature of the international crisis and the interdependence which must necessarily exist between North and South.

311. Nevertheless, as shown by the report of the Committee on the Review and Appraisal of the Implementation of the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade [*A/39/48 and Corr. 1*], the industrialized countries are having difficulty in taking measures consonant with the agreed principles.

312. The proposals submitted at the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held at Belgrade from 6 June to 2 July 1983, proposals that were the fruit of concerted action involving representatives of approximately 100 nations from three continents, were rejected—yet another example of the meagre responses of the industrialized countries, whose last two summit conferences, instead of giving rise to expectations and fostering hopes, caused painful frustrations.

313. The recently concluded Fourth General Conference of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization, held at Vienna from 2 to 19 August, again provided a forum for a demonstration of the inflexibility of the most powerful nations in the face of the urgent need to promote a more stable economic order, showing that the voice of the third world at the end of the century is heard almost as a monologue of over 100 voices rather than as part of a dialogue.

314. This obliges us to ponder the need for an effective expansion of South-South co-operation in all spheres, since this would create better prospects for the strengthening of our economies, without any intention of diverting trade into exclusively horizontal patterns, because we fully recognize the high degree of interdependence prevailing in North-South relations. This would not prevent our countries, which have very marked common interests, from strengthening their mutual trade, deliberately and with a very clear political will, in pursuit of the goal of remedying even partially the unequal treatment to which we are subjected.

315. We trust that the critical international economic situation will be a factor accelerating the informal consultations being held at the United Nations on the subject of global negotiations. At the end of this session of the General Assembly, we hope to have significant agreement in the area of global negotiations, the continued postponement of which is a source of discouragement to the developing countries.

316. Before concluding, I should like to say that my country, which is host to the International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women, is extremely pleased to note the very efficient and capable work of the Institute in the performance of its vital tasks. We hope that the international community will continue to extend its support to this dynamic Institute. This new autonomous United Nations body is devoting its efforts to training and to the dissemination of information on the link existing between the development process and the situation of each individual in particular.

317. In this context, we must state that the modern world seems to have understood that when international relations are subordinated to the interests of the rich countries, the problems and aspirations of the vast majority of the developing countries—all seeking diversified and democratic solutions to the world crisis—are ignored.

318. International conflicts assume a much more complex character with unforeseeable consequences when due consideration is not given to the particular identity of our peoples and to the very special needs which they have at the various stages of their evolution and growth.

319. The approach of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations will provide a very propitious occasion for a review of our international system and of its efficiency. We attach vital importance to the level of understanding and knowledge possessed by the peoples of the world on the subject of the United Nations, so that mankind can identify with the principles, spirit and ideals of its Charter.

320. Forty, for the United Nations, is an age of maturity and experience, of vigour and of youth. To reflect on the commitments assumed by this universal Organization for the solution of conflicts, for disarmament, for human rights, for justice and for co-operation, is to realize that we all belong to one and the same community, which must seek peace and development through solidarity.

321. In reiterating on this occasion the firm support of the Government of the Dominican Republic for the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, we urge the Members of the international community to strengthen the Organization, so that it may really serve as a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends.

322. Mr. FARAH (Djibouti) (*interpretation from French*): It is a great pleasure for me to extend to Mr. Lusaka my most sincere congratulations on his election to the presidency of the General Assembly at its thirty-ninth session. His election to that high office is an honour to his country and to him personally. His great knowledge and experience of the United Nations will, I am sure, enable him to guide the deliberations of this session to fruitful results. I assure him that my delegation will always lend him its entire support and co-operation to help him shoulder the heavy responsibilities entrusted to him.

323. I should like to take this opportunity to express the gratitude of my delegation to his predecessor, Mr. Jorge Illueca, of Panama, who demonstrated exemplary competence and devotion during his presidency of the thirty-eighth session.

324. It is also a great pleasure for me to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General for his zeal and devotion to the purposes and principles for which the United Nations was created and for the consistency of his efforts to promote peace and understanding among the nations of the world.

325. The delegation of Djibouti is also happy to congratulate the State of Brunei Darussalam on its independence and welcomes it most warmly to membership in the United Nations. We are happy to see Brunei Darussalam take its place here among the great family of the United Nations. We hope that soon we will be able to co-operate with that country.

326. Meeting once again here in the General Assembly, we find ourselves faced with many interna-

tional problems that require great efforts of understanding and co-operation from us all.

327. We believe that the United Nations is the forum most suited to the exchange of ideas. It provides the most favourable atmosphere for developing human relations for the promotion of international understanding, peace and security. This is why we believe in the purposes and principles of the United Nations, particularly at a time when economic, social and political turmoil are creating hotbeds of tension and disruption in many parts of the world, especially in the third world. This dangerous situation in Africa, Asia and Latin America could, if remedies are not found rather swiftly, threaten the very survival of their populations.

328. Moreover, because of the escalation of tension that has been triggered particularly by the arms buildup, the entire world is living through a nuclear nightmare which could ultimately eliminate any glimmer of hope. All of us here are concerned about this danger, which would spare nobody. The nuclear and conventional arms races do not help dialogue among nations and are not in accordance with the principles underlying the creation of the United Nations following the terrible Second World War.

329. How can we speak of co-operation if the nuclear danger and this tension hang over our heads? We trust that through our combined efforts we shall be able to bring about a relaxation of tension, which will be in the interest of the peoples of the entire world.

330. Turning to the economic crisis, we are all aware of the fact that we would be virtually powerless to control the world economy unless there were full co-operation between the United Nations and its Member States.

331. The deterioration of the international economic situation has led the international organizations to give priority to studying ways and means of achieving a rapid improvement in the economy. Yet the problem of restructuring the world economy with a view to establishing a new international economic order based on more equitable economic relations remains unsolved. Only an atmosphere of mutual trust and a common determination to arrive at agreement on the most crucial issues will enable us to overcome the difficulties and lead us out of the deadlock in the negotiations between the developed and the developing countries.

332. I want to emphasize the terrible consequences of the economic crisis for Africa, which is most seriously affected by this situation. This problem has become a source of major concern and a matter of priority in the United Nations, as can be seen by the praiseworthy initiative of the Secretary-General and as has been emphasized in many international forums.

333. The African countries, aware of the gravity of the situation, have advanced various constructive solutions to help resolve the crisis. These proposals, which are contained in the Special Memorandum on Africa's Economic and Social Crisis,[14] adopted by the Conference of Ministers of the Economic Commission for Africa, held at Addis Ababa in May of this year, reflect the views of African Governments and should be given due attention by the international community. In this connection, we urge the world community to co-operate fully with African Governments in their efforts.

334. The Republic of Djibouti, which ranks as one of the least developed countries, is experiencing a rather precarious economic situation because of its lack of natural resources and the non-existence of productive agricultural and industrial activities. My country has to import most of its consumer goods and food at very high prices. In addition, the acute shortage of qualified and experienced manpower in almost all public and private sectors aggravates the economic situation.

335. We also suffer from periodic droughts, the most recent of which affected more than a fifth of the population and destroyed a large percentage of our livestock.

336. In addition, the Republic of Djibouti, despite its meagre resources, welcomes in its territory refugees, and this makes even heavier the burden of the Government.

337. The economy of our country has so far been service-oriented, and this sector will be improved and modernized in years to come to meet national, regional and international requirements. However, to avoid complete dependence on a single sector, the Government has taken a political decision to which effect is given in its programme for the next seven years and which will enable us to establish the necessary conditions for a dynamic process capable of creating a productive economy based on the principles of collective autonomy. This programme was submitted to the international community in November 1983, when the conference of donors to Djibouti was held. Friendly countries and international organizations responded favourably to our appeal and contributed to the success of that conference. I take this opportunity to thank them for that response. We are convinced that the commitments entered into at the conference will be honoured so that we can attain our objectives.

338. The Republic of Djibouti would also like to promote fruitful co-operation with economic and trade partners based on mutual respect and the principles of interdependence and equality. We attach great importance to regional and interregional economic co-operation among developing countries, and we are ready to make our contribution to these efforts. We appreciate the value of fruitful co-operation with our Arab and African brothers and with other friendly countries.

339. We have always applied a policy of good-neighbourliness and non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries and, in the regional context, this ensures that trust, tolerance and mutual understanding prevail. Faithful to that position, we continue to work in this direction and we urge other States to intensify their efforts to create the conditions necessary to ensure the restoration of peace and stability to our region. We believe that initiatives in favour of a positive dialogue should be directed above all to developing significant co-operation in cultural and trade exchanges. We also believe that success for such a peace policy can be achieved only if we respect the fact that each of us is different.

340. Here we should like to pay a tribute to the efforts to ensure a dialogue that will have a positive impact on our region as a whole.

341. On the subject of the Indian Ocean, we believe that it is essential to apply the principles contained in the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace [*resolution 2832 (XXVI)*] in order to avoid any

continuance of the military escalation in that region. The Republic of Djibouti fully supports the wish expressed by the countries of the region and other States that want the Indian Ocean to become a zone of peace. Accordingly, we support the tireless efforts of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Indian Ocean to convene the Conference on the Indian Ocean.

342. Last July, international shipping in the Red Sea faced an unprecedentedly dangerous situation when 18 or 19 ships belonging to different nations were damaged by mines. It goes without saying that this criminal act opens up new prospects of international terrorism, the consequences of which are unforeseeable.

343. The Republic of Djibouti, as a coastal State whose economic stability depends on maritime trade, views the deliberate mining of international waters with concern and anxiety. We have said that we are willing to co-operate with States in the Red Sea basin to prevent any such occurrences in future. This danger might not be limited to a single region of the world. Nobody knows where it will strike next. In these circumstances, the international community must be vigilant.

344. The Palestinian question remains the crucial issue in the Middle East crisis. At its last session and at earlier sessions, the General Assembly adopted a number of resolutions condemning unambiguously the practices of the State of Israel in the occupied Arab territories and declaring null and void all the administrative and legislative measures taken by the occupying Power in pursuit of its annexionist and expansionist policy.

345. So far, no tangible results have been achieved. On the contrary, the occupying Power, through its discriminatory and arbitrary measures, has been strangling the economic, cultural and social life of the Palestinians and has been encouraging new settlers to come by using force and terror.

346. Much has been said about peace in the Middle East. We believe it is high time to talk about justice, for peace is a corollary of justice. Several peace plans have been proposed but none has yet taken effect because of the stubbornness and the categorical rejection of the Israeli Government.

347. We believe that the only path to just and lasting peace is recognition of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to the creation of an independent and sovereign State, the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the Arab territories occupied since 1967, including the Holy City of Jerusalem, and recognition of the PLO as the sole and authentic representative of the Palestinian people.

348. We would, here, pay tribute to the courage of the Palestinian people and congratulate the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization, our brother Yasser Arafat, for his tireless efforts to ensure that the objectives of his people are attained.

349. Since Israel has been occupying Jerusalem, the Islamic holy places have been the object of acts of sacrilege by Zionist extremists whose declared goal is to destroy the Christian and Muslim holy places, actions that they consider as the first steps towards complete Judaization of Jerusalem.

350. For centuries, the Muslims have been protecting the Christian and Jewish holy places, in accordance with the prescriptions of the sacred Koran, establishing relations between Muslims and those that received the writings before them. But, alas, nothing prevents the Zionist zealots from committing dastardly and cowardly crimes that will be inscribed in the annals of the darkest pages of the history of mankind. We believe that the international community must shoulder its moral and political responsibility and condemn such actions and ensure that the holy places of the various religions are kept safe.

351. Israel has always shown that it can indulge in acts of aggression against its neighbours as it sees fit. The most recent was the invasion of Lebanon in June 1982. We should not like to recall the horrors of that war, but we want to express our deep concern over Israel's continuing occupation of southern Lebanon and over the arbitrary measures taken by the occupying forces. Israel's attempts to isolate southern Lebanon by blocking the two main roads linking the south to the north, the restrictions on freedom of movement imposed on the inhabitants, its repression of the population there and its usurpation of the natural resources expose the real intentions of the Zionist occupiers.

352. The United Nations must exert pressure on Israel so that it will submit to the principle of the inviolability of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States and withdraw its troops from southern Lebanon, in accordance with the provisions of Security Council resolutions 508 (1982) and 509 (1982). We call on the international community to help Lebanon regain its sovereignty over all of its national territory so as to allow for the reconstruction of that country, which for a decade has been subjected to unprecedented suffering and devastation.

353. The constant search for solutions to the tragic situation in South Africa has unfortunately not yet yielded any positive results. Confrontation and violence are constantly occurring, for the racist régime of Pretoria arrogantly rejects all appeals launched by the international community to abandon its policy of *apartheid* and continues to refuse to give the great majority of the people of South Africa fundamental political and human rights and freedoms.

354. The international community believes that *apartheid* has become a well-established system of institutionalized racism and racial discrimination against the black majority of South Africa. That is why *apartheid* has repeatedly been condemned as a crime against humanity. International mobilization to ensure the total elimination of that scourge is a sacred duty of the international community.

355. We reaffirm here the legitimacy of the struggle of the people of South Africa to eliminate that odious system, which flouts the most elementary rights of an entire people.

356. It is more than high time for the international community to take concerted action to avoid any escalation of violence that could give international dimensions to this conflict. We urge all States to respect the decisions adopted at international conferences.

357. Last August, the *apartheid* régime introduced a so-called new constitution which exposed another aspect of the odious policy of segregation, racism and racial discrimination in South Africa. This so-called constitution is a new strategy of confrontation which opens the doors to violence and police brutality against the black majority. It brought back to life that old policy of the colonial era which is now in its

death throes: "divide and rule". However, we did note that the election of the three-chamber parliament required by the constitution through a referendum was almost completely boycotted. This humiliating defeat inflicted on the policy of *apartheid* was an outstanding proof of the great extent of popular support for the black majority struggling in South Africa. We believe that this so-called new constitution and the manoeuvres relating to it are just another aspect of *apartheid* which we must condemn and declare null and void.

358. We declare once again that condemning *apartheid* means actively supporting the liberation struggle and giving increased assistance to the liberation movements of South Africa.

359. As far as Namibia is concerned, the racist régime in South Africa continues to occupy the country illegally. The presence of the armed forces and the administrative authorities of South Africa in Namibia, the brutal repression of the Namibian people, the constant violation of human rights and the illegal exploitation of Namibia, and the attacks against neighbouring independent States, all of these must be forcefully condemned.

360. Any negotiations towards a political solution in Namibia must try to arrive at a cease-fire, followed by an immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the South African occupying forces from the territory so as to enable the Namibian people to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination and independence, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

361. We reaffirm that the United Nations plan for Namibia, for which Security Council resolution 435 (1978) provides a framework, remains the sole basis for a just and peaceful settlement of the question of Namibia. We must strongly condemn the most recent manoeuvres of the South African administration which are designed to flout the United Nations plan, thus violating the resolutions and decisions of the United Nations and leading to the continuing colonial domination of Namibian territory by South Africa.

362. We strongly condemn the repeated acts of aggression and attacks perpetrated by the South African armed forces against neighbouring sovereign independent States, trying to intimidate, destabilize and discourage them from providing support to the liberation fronts.

363. In particular, we pay tribute to the front-line States, which have sacrificed a great deal to the cause of Namibian liberation and have stepped up their moral and material aid to the courageous people of Namibia and to SWAPO, despite the constant threats by South Africa. We call upon the international community to increase its generous assistance to the Namibian people struggling under the leadership of SWAPO, their sole authentic representative.

364. We believe that any economic or financial co-operation with South Africa would only increase the capacity of that *apartheid* régime to commit aggression and thus intensify its brutal repression of the African majority in South Africa.

365. With regard to Chad, we have always stated from this rostrum our conviction that foreign intervention or interference can never settle that problem. We now welcome the fact that France and the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya have decided to withdraw their respective forces from that territory. We hope that this new situation will lead to a resumption of the reconciliation process between brothers in Chad and that they will embark on an authentic dialogue aimed at ending a tragic situation that has already lasted too long. We trust that the efforts of the Organization of African Unity [*OAU*] to resolve the problem will be stepped up in order to create an atmosphere and a framework conducive to dialogue in Chad.

366. My country reaffirms its position with regard to Western Sahara, namely, that the Saharan people should be enabled to exercise their right to self-determination. We fully support the consensus obtained within the framework of the OAU on organizing a referendum so that the Saharan people can express their wishes freely and in accordance with the various resolutions of the OAU summits.

367. We welcome the efforts undertaken for the solution of this problem and trust that the impetus will be maintained in order to preserve peace in our continent. We sincerely hope that the unity and understanding among the countries of the Maghreb will help the OAU in the search for a peaceful solution to this problem.

368. Turning now to the conflict between Iraq and the Islamic Republic of Iran, the Republic of Djibouti is deeply saddened by the dangerous situation in which those two countries have been involved for the past four years. They have been engaged in a bitter conflict in which they have both suffered and exhausted human, economic and material resources that could have been used for their economic development.

369. While we appreciate the constant efforts of the Security Council and the good offices of the Secretary-General and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, as well as those of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, we must nevertheless express our deep concern and sorrow at the failure of the efforts undertaken to find a peaceful solution to the conflict. We regret that the war has recently been extended to the Gulf region and we feel that this could not only threaten the region but also have serious repercussions on world peace and security.

370. We welcome the wise action of the States members of the Gulf Co-operation Council in seeking a peaceful solution to that tragic conflict, and my Government has consistently supported the efforts undertaken by the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

371. We fully appreciate the positive initiative taken unilaterally by the Iraqi Government with a view to starting negotiations and halting military operations. We believe that efforts must be redoubled and support given to all initiatives in the hope of bringing peace to that region.

372. The Afghan crisis is still unresolved despite intensive efforts in the search for a political settlement based on full respect for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-aligned status of Afghanistan. It is clear that foreign armed intervention and the permanent foreign presence make it impossible for the Afghan people to express their wishes through free elections. The withdrawal of foreign troops and strict respect for the principles of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries would enable the Afghan people to choose their future in freedom.

373. The Kampuchean people are the victims of foreign invasion and armed occupation. That situa-

tion is still unresolved and is a matter of concern to all nations that cherish peace. The Republic of Djibouti is opposed to foreign armed intervention and to the presence of foreign troops in the territory of Kampuchea. We reaffirm the need for all foreign troops to be withdrawn from Kampuchea in order to promote a political settlement that will ensure respect for the independence and territorial integrity of Kampuchea and restore its sovereignty, in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations.

374. With regard to the Korean Peninsula, we believe that the unity of Korea can be achieved peacefully through direct negotiations between the two parties concerned, without any outside intervention or interference. We call for an early resumption of the dialogue in order to reduce the present tension and establish trust between the two parties, thus preparing the ground for a peaceful settlement in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and making it possible to satisfy the national aspirations of the Korean people.

375. We wish to reaffirm the importance that we attach to what could be called the world conscience. On the basis of the elementary principles of the right to live in dignity and guided by the fundamental principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, all nations represented here must shoulder their responsibilities so that solutions may be found to the most urgent problems facing our peoples, in particular the poorest among them. We are convinced that through the determination and political will of each State we shall be able to bring to international relations more tolerance and fairness based on open and loyal co-operation. Practical examples of this exist, and we believe that, despite all difficulties, we must build upon them and strengthen them so as to give hope to future generations.

376. We might also mention South-South co-operation as part of this dynamic process. We welcome the realignments in the third world that should make it possible to ensure authentic dialogue between their peoples, leading to stability and peace.

377. I said earlier that in the context of this world conscience we all have a collective responsibility, and it is in the United Nations that we come closest to that reality. We sincerely hope, as the fortieth anniversary of the creation of the United Nations approaches, that greater and greater efforts will be made to ensure that we achieve the purposes and principles of the Organization, for the benefit of mankind as a whole.

378. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives who wish to speak in exercise of their right of reply.

379. Mr. CHUTIKUL (Thailand): With reference to the regrettably polemical statement delivered by the Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of the Lao People's Democratic Republic this afternoon concerning incidents near the border between Thailand and Laos, the Thai delegation would merely wish, in exercise of its right of reply, to reiterate the relevant portions of the statement made earlier this afternoon in the Assembly by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Thailand.

380. With reference to the incidents near the Thai-Lao border, he stated that the Thai Government regards them as minor border incidents which can, unfortunately, occur in any part of the world. The issue itself concerns only three small, remote villages covering an area of 19 square kilometres and with a population of 1,100 people. The matter arose when Lao troops began harassing a Thai work crew who was building a road some distance from those villages and well inside our border. Once military actions had taken place, it became difficult for either side to yield for fear of giving the advantage to the other.

381. The bilateral issue was further complicated by undue interference from a third country, which has seized upon the opportunity to divert world attention from its military occupation of Kampuchea and introduce an extraneous factor in the form of linkage to the Kampuchean question.

382. It has long been the policy of the Royal Thai Government to maintain good-neighbourly relations with Laos. The issue of the three villages should not be permitted to stand in the way of improved relations between the two peoples, who speak the same language and have relatives on both sides of the border. Therefore, despite efforts of the other side to impede progress towards a peaceful settlement, the Royal Thai Government has decided to remove the Thai military presence from the three villages in order to defuse the situation and bring about a peaceful solution to the problem.

383. I should like to repeat what the Thai Minister for Foreign Affairs said earlier this afternoon, namely, that "the Royal Thai Government has decided to remove the Thai military presence from the three villages in order to defuse the situation and bring about a peaceful solution to the problem".

384. In the light of my Minister's statement, it is my delegation's earnest hope that the Lao delegation will demonstrate a more constructive attitude towards the solution of any and all problems and misunderstandings that may arise between our two neighbouring countries in the sincere spirit of brotherhood that has for many centuries existed between our two peoples.

385. Mr. NGAOSIVAT (Lao People's Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from French*): The occupation of the three Lao villages by Thai troops is in no way a minor issue, as claimed by the Thai representative and by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Thailand. It is an issue of sovereignty, of the territorial integrity of an independent State, a State that is a full-fledged Member of the United Nations.

386. If Thailand deems the issue of the three Lao villages attacked and occupied by the Thai Army to be a minor one, why did it not resolve this issue in the course of the two rounds of negotiations at Bangkok and why did it unilaterally break off those negotiations? Why does Thailand seek to drag out the search for a solution to the problem and to take advantage of this session of the General Assembly to declare, in a very vague way, that it is withdrawing its troops?

387. The United States, for its part, has for several months been declaring that it would be withdrawing its troops from Grenada. To date, however, nothing has been done in that connection. Its statement is gratuitous. The statement of intent to withdraw the Thai military forces without specifying dates is also meaningless.

388. In those three villages there are not only military personnel, but also paramilitary personnel and civilians. The statement by the Thai representative is therefore aimed solely to appease, to create a

diversion and to deceive world public opinion, which forcefully condemns the occupation of those three villages. It is also aimed at winning votes for the Security Council.

The meeting rose at 8.15 p.m.

NOTES

[1] See *Report of the International Conference on Kampuchea* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.81.I.20), annex I.

[2] See *Report of the United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy, Nairobi, 10–21 August 1981* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.81.I.24), chap. I, sect. A.

[3] See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-eighth Session, Supplement No. 37*, annex, sect. B, decision 4 (V).

[4] Adopted by the High-Level Conference on Economic Co-operation among Developing Countries, held at Caracas from 13 to 19 May 1981. See A/36/333 and Corr.1, annex.

[5] Adopted at the Fifth Ministerial Meeting of the Group of 77, held at Buenos Aires from 28 March to 9 April 1983. See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Sixth Session*, vol. I, *Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.83.II.D.6), annex [illegible]

[6] See CD/540/Appendix II/Vol. III, document CD/[illegible]

[7] *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, document CD/531.

[8] United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 402, No. 5778.

[9] Adopted at the Fourth Ministerial Meeting of the Group of 77, held at Arusha from 12 to 16 February 1979. See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Fifth Session*, vol. 1, *Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.79.II.D.14), annex VI.

[10] United Nations publication, Sales No. E.81.II.D.8.

[11] *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-eighth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1983*, document S/16041, annex.

[12] United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 634, No. 9068.

[13] See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-eighth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1983*, document S/15999.

[14] E/1984/110, annex.

United Nations
GENERAL ASSEMBLY
THIRTY-NINTH SESSION
Official Records

18th
PLENARY MEETING

Wednesday, 3 October 1984,
at 10.25 a.m.

NEW YORK

President: Mr. Paul J. F. LUSAKA (Zambia).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. FERNÁNDEZ SAAVEDRA (Bolivia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, it is an honour to come to this important rostrum to represent a Government born of the people's will. Your personal qualities and experience ensure the success of this Assembly's deliberations and the continuance of outstanding leadership such as was given by the previous President, a Head of State and friend of Bolivia, Mr. Jorge Illueca.

2. My delegation is happy to welcome Brunei Darussalam to the United Nations.

3. I wish also to express the special fraternal gratitude of the Bolivian people to the Secretary-General for the interest which the United Nations system has shown in my country and for its co-operation.

4. The people and Government of Bolivia once again reiterate their support for the principles laid down in the Charter of the United Nations, particularly those concerning the peaceful solution of disputes and the non-use of force in international relations, respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States, non-intervention in internal affairs, and the self-determination of peoples. In the same way, we reject territorial conquest and all forms of military occupation.

5. Bolivia emphatically stresses its attachment to the principles of non-alignment; it rejects the occupation of Lebanon and Cyprus by foreign forces; it deplores the fact that the Secretary-General's efforts concerning the crises in Kampuchea and Afghanistan have not achieved the progress hoped for by the international community; it regrets the continuance of the Iran-Iraq conflict and reiterates the need to make more intensive efforts to resolve it; it supports all actions designed to bring about the reunification of Korea; it deeply regrets the absence of peace in the Middle East and supports the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination.

6. Bolivia, for reasons of principle and historical experience, supports the universal doctrine that conquest by the use of force is inadmissible.

7. My country stresses its solidarity with the peoples struggling to throw off the colonial yoke and reaffirms Namibia's right to independence within the framework of Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

8. Of course, we must emphatically repudiate the doctrine of *apartheid* and would point out that no constitutional change in the Republic of South Africa can be legitimate if it does not include the direct participation of the majority of its population.

9. The distressing conflict in Central America not only affects sister countries but also threatens to have negative consequences for the whole continent. Bolivia has always expressed its solidarity with the people and Government of Nicaragua in their struggle to move ahead with the country's liberating national transformation, designed to bring about the institutionalization of a pluralist democratic system.

10. The work of the countries of the Contadora Group, which enjoys the support of the international community, demonstrates the capacity, imagination and will of the Latin American countries to find their own solutions to their problems without the intervention of outside interests. The advances recorded on 7 September 1984 at the seventh meeting of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Contadora Group and the Central American countries, held at Panama City [*see A/39/495*], demonstrate that by means of dialogue and negotiation it has been possible to identify the principal problems and find formulas of conciliation for their solution. My Government reaffirms its support for the work of the Contadora Group and its hope that a final solution to the conflicts in the region may be found.

11. Since the last century, Bolivia has recognized the legitimate rights of the people and Government of Argentina over the Malvinas. We express the hope that the Governments of Argentina and the United Kingdom will resume negotiations and work to find a just and honourable solution. I should like to mention once again our concern at the deployment of nuclear weapons in the islands.

12. My country views with satisfaction the beginnings of the application of the Torrijos-Carter treaties,[1] which have restored to Panama its sovereignty over the Canal Zone. We hope that the provisions of the treaties will be complied with faithfully within the scheduled timetable.

13. Bolivia is the epicentre of political and social movements that are sweeping the continent. The rugged terrain of its mountains is swept by the winds of geopolitical storms, the drug traffic and the economic crisis. Against this background, the dramatic epic of the building of democracy among the Latin American peoples is being played out.

14. In October 1979, the General Assembly of the Organization of American States [*OAS*] stated that "it is in the permanent interest of the hemisphere to find an equitable solution whereby Bolivia would acquire sovereign and useful access to the Pacific Ocean". This categorical assertion can be explained only by recognition of the fact that the war of 1879

brought about an artificial breach in Bolivia's sovereign rights on the Pacific Ocean, altered the continental equilibrium and introduced elements of tension and mistrust which threaten peace in the hemisphere.

15. In another statement in the same Assembly, on the occasion of the centenary of the Pacific war, I pointed out that not only was that war unjust but also that it was an historical error, because it severely limited the continental role which properly belongs to my country as a crossroads between the Pacific and the basins of the Amazon and the Plata. The land-locked status forced on Bolivia created an atmosphere of tension which was most dangerously manifested in the arms race unleashed in the zone, which has just in the last decade swallowed up a sum amounting to almost $25 billion and at the same time placed barriers on the path to harmonious and fruitful economic co-operation between countries which were born to be complementary but which have ended up artificially separated by an historical error which must be corrected.

16. The consequences for the economic and political development of Bolivia have been still more serious. It has drained the natural resources of a territory five times as large as that of Belgium and deprived it of access to the riches of the sea along a coastline of 450 kilometres. It has limited sovereign access by my country to the Pacific ports and its traditional routes for foreign trade and placed it in an unacceptable situation of dependency *vis-à-vis* other Powers. It has increased the cost of Bolivia's external trade with an invisible customs toll which is estimated at approximately 35 per cent of the total of its imports and exports, because of the amount of losses, the delays and the mishandling of goods. In truth, the lack of a coastline is in itself a genuine cause of economic lag, as is shown by the circumstance that countries without their own access to the sea occupy the lowest places on the scale of development in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

17. In the case of Bolivia, this geographical seclusion involves an additional psychological factor, since to this temporary land-locked status must be added the feeling of isolation and mistrust resulting from an unjust war. This circumstance makes a clear difference between the situation of my country and those which for other reasons of international justice are seeking free transit and access to the sea. It is for this reason that the non-aligned countries stress the "inalienable right" of Bolivia to recover sovereign access to the Pacific Ocean, since there is a universal doctrine to the effect that conquests brought about by force are not legitimate.

18. It is my hope that this description will help members of the Assembly to have a better understanding of the unswerving determination of my country to return to the sea with the same rights of sovereignty as those which it possessed at the time it gained its independence. There has never been any doubt as to what Bolivia seeks in its demand for access to the sea, although the dynamism of international relations has several times modified the context in which its demand has been made, almost always to the detriment of its national interest.

19. Recently, the constitutional Government of President Hernán Siles Zuazo, based on the popular will, brought forward a process of internal consultation from which emerged a national consensus to put an end to the enclosed position of my country between the Andes mountains, the high plains and the Amazon jungle.

20. These objectives can be summed up in the statement that Bolivia must recover its own useful and sovereign coasts and ports on the Pacific, linked to the country by a sovereign and useful land route which would guarantee the effective continuation of the territorial status and make it possible to bring together all the geographical attributes which would finally make Bolivia a country linking the great South American basins and not merely the scene of confrontation of conflicting interests.

21. Before thinking of the concept of territorial compensation, which cannot be sustained in the light of juridical precedent and the universal principles of equity, we venture to remind the Assembly that the solution to this problem would liberate resources designed for unproductive and senseless purposes of war and open the door to broad and beneficial integration and economic complementarity between countries which are rightly known as sisters, something that has been lost on a far-distant battlefield.

22. There can be no substitute for the restoration of the sovereign status of a coastal state. All transit facilities and other advantages which depend on the will of outside entities will not be sufficient, because they would be nothing more than palliatives which would obscure the real and fundamental solution of the problem inherent in the fact that Bolivia is a land-locked country.

23. Within the framework of these premises, my country is ready to continue its appeals to the American countries in the OAS to embark upon direct negotiations with the parties concerned within the inter-American system and under the auspices of the President of Colombia, Mr. Belisario Betancur, whose pan-American and noble-minded initiative deserves the sincere gratitude of the Bolivian people.

24. My country believes that, following the long experience of frustration and disappointment, it would be possible in this way to create appropriate conditions to bring about serious and practical negotiations in keeping with the rights, interests and expectations of the countries concerned. It is along that path that we shall find the hoped-for solution for a "stable peace," as called for in the 1979 OAS resolution. It is along that path that we shall find a lasting settlement to the age-old Pacific conflict.

25. As this war and its distressing consequences involve Bolivia, Chile and Peru, it is logical that its solution should include and benefit those nations, within the framework of legal treaties and precedents on the subject, so that we can achieve an agreement that "will take into account the rights and interests of the parties involved", according to a paragraph in the resolution the OAS unanimously adopted in November 1983.

26. There can be no doubt that the road to peace is understanding, based on good faith and the clear political willingness to resolve the difficulties separating our peoples. Bolivia is once again ready to engage in dialogue with a view to having its rights respected, because it has always relied on peaceful methods to solve international disputes.

27. For a long time now, the domino theory in conflicts has been accepted. Perhaps the time has come to restore the domino of peace hypothesis, according to which the solution to one conflict is likely to facilitate ending others. This is the hope of

my country during these crucial years. This may be the contribution that the indomitable will of my people will make to the international community, following up on Panama's earlier admirable example.

28. The control of drug trafficking and the consumption of drugs is today another challenge which jeopardizes the life and health of our peoples and the stability of democratic institutions.

29. Traditionally, the fight against this form of crime has focused on the producing countries. Following that logic, the cheapest and most effective method is to eliminate illegal cultivation and to prevent the processing of drugs by using control programmes and punitive measures in producing countries. Nevertheless, since production in fact responds to demand, the heart of the problem is in the purchasing countries. At least in so far as concerns Bolivia, this conclusion is supported by indisputable cultural and historical evidence. It must be recalled that in the Andean countries the innocent use of the coca leaf is as old as their civilizations themselves, without drugs being a factor of social degradation.

30. Furthermore, it is also clear that most of the earnings generated by this illegal activity remain in the consuming countries and, to a less degree, with the intermediaries, increasing the wealth and scope for action of organized crime. The producers receive a very tiny fraction of those earnings, as is the case with most exports from the developing world.

31. Consequently, the elimination of the real roots of this problem requires some rethinking with regard to concepts and operating methods. It should be said that a genuine solution is the responsibility of the international community, but that the principal contribution must come from the consumer countries, which possess the necessary financial and technical resources to fight this scourge with any hope of success.

32. As is well known, drug trafficking operates through a complex international structure. Production, processing, transport, financing, adulteration, marketing and consumption are all phases of an illegal activity vertically and horizontally integrated. The developing countries that produce drugs and allow them to pass through their territories are once again dependent links in this chain. Other countries determine how they are produced and for what reason.

33. It is clear that isolated national action will not be successful given this intricate network criss-crossing economic regions, various kinds of activity and political and social strata, if there is no co-ordinated, centralized and concerted effort internationally.

34. Another aspect of this matter is that we must take into account that any action against drug trafficking should not be restricted to purely punitive measures. Although that is an indispensable element of any overall strategy, it is of fundamental importance to offer development alternatives to the peasants and sectors of the population subsisting on the production and processing of drugs; their backs are against the wall owing to poverty and marginality. We must also replace *sub rosa* and illegal economies being developed within this international drug trafficking network and resulting in grave and profound distortions in the development of producer countries.

35. It will not be in punitive measures but in economic and social development that we shall find the social and politically valid answer to deal with this problem radically.

36. My country has suffered tragically from the presence of this criminal activity and its social, economic and political consequences. The constitutional Government of President Siles Zuazo has confronted this challenge within the context of a profound economic crisis and the tremendous difficulties caused by the transition from dictatorship to democracy.

37. Indeed, the Bolivian people first overthrew an illegitimate Government born in the very bowels of drug trafficking. A few weeks later, in the exercise of its legitimate attributes, it ordered the armed forces and police to occupy extensive zones of the tropical areas and to destroy the drug-producing centres. Plans for integrated rural development in these areas have been drawn up which will make it possible for the peasants there to rely on an adequate social infrastructure and to consolidate profitable, legitimate and stable economic activities.

38. For Bolivia, the fight against drug trafficking is a moral obligation and a practical imperative. The constitutional Government will be unswerving in its efforts to punish all those involved in those illicit activities. Nevertheless, the Bolivian effort will remain inadequate if the need for concerted international action is not followed up—an appeal which President Siles Zuazo made in November 1982, at the Assembly's thirty-seventh session [*84th meeting*].

39. In this spirit and on the initiative of my country, Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Venezuela, on 1 October this year, approved the New York Declaration against Drug Trafficking and the Illicit Use of Drugs [*A/39/551 and Corr.1 and 2, annex*], in which it is resolved to request the United Nations to convene a specialized conference—which we hope will be held in Bolivia—to examine and find a solution for the various aspects of this criminal activity from a global standpoint, which in the Latin American view is an essential pre-condition for success in the task being undertaken today.

40. The concatenation of various factors has caused two, almost continuous, world recessions: the first in the middle of the 1970s and the second at the beginning of the 1980s. For Latin America, this phenomenon was manifested in a gradual reduction in its gross national product, the acceleration of the inflationary process and the loss of its purchasing power on external markets owing to the constant decline in the terms of trade.

41. Latin America today has a per capita gross national product similar to what existed seven years ago, with an increase in consumer prices that in 1983 reached 130 per cent and with a decrease in the terms of trade of 38 per cent from 1977. Consequently, the region has found itself obliged to reduce its imports to a dangerous level, a fact which is even more serious when we consider that since 1983 Latin America has become a net exporter of capital. In fact, whereas in 1981 it had received a net transfer of real resources from abroad, this process was reversed in 1983, when an amount of $30 billion was transferred abroad.

42. If we add to this the burden of its foreign debt, the servicing of which requires resources that are more limited today than ever, we may conclude that the economic crisis in Latin America needs priority treatment, calling not only for the solutions required

by the existing situation, but also for medium- and long-term measures.

43. The case of Bolivia is characteristic of the crisis affecting the region. Its economy is suffering from an unprecedented contraction, which is seen in a drop in per capita national income of 30 per cent over the past biennium; runaway inflation, which in 1983 rose to an annual figure of about 300 per cent, and a doubling of the level of unemployment over the past few years.

44. The efforts of the Government of Bolivia to cope with this grave situation have met with obstacles caused by the high level of the foreign debt, unfavourable terms of trade, reduction in the volume of exports, and a sharp decline in essential imports needed for the normal functioning of the country's economic system. For example, the terms of trade worsened by 10 per cent in the last quarter, imports fell by 45 per cent in 1983, and the decline in exports, in the period between 1976 and 1983, reached 35 per cent.

45. As regards the social situation, the picture is tragic, showing a drastic deterioration in the living conditions of broad sectors of the population, large elements of which are underfed, while others are virtually starving. Social indicators of malnutrition, infant mortality and life expectancy, among others, are some of the most critical on the continent.

46. In these circumstances, social and political conflicts are becoming ever more acute, and the demands of the population in this regard are becoming intransigent. Consequently, we are witnessing increasing difficulty in carrying out the programme of economic recovery, and the stability of the democratic process itself is at risk.

47. President Siles Zuazo, at the beginning of his term of office, said in his statement to the General Assembly, in November 1982, that the constitutional Government had inherited a country mortgaged to the hilt and suffering from an acute economic crisis, factors that would require tremendous sacrifices from the Bolivian people in order gradually to restructure and improve the country's economy.

48. Through daily sacrifices, the people of Bolivia are contributing to the restructuring of the national economy. Nevertheless, the international community must also contribute its understanding so that together we can overcome this overwhelming crisis. The sacrifices required of most of the population are of such a nature that they cannot go on much longer unless at the same time we witness signs of hope and real economic recovery.

49. Adjustment programmes established by the Government have revealed its sense of responsibility. Nevertheless, the fact that they have not been developed in a consistent way shows that there are disturbing factors of a social and political nature, and indicates also the need for accelerated and prompt support on the part of the international community in order to neutralize these negative factors which make it impossible to carry out the programme without recourse to force or political repression, which would be contrary to the democratic spirit of President Siles Zuazo.

50. We have a long way to go in order to restructure the economy and place it on a sound, dynamic footing, in both the public and the private sector. For this we need new resources, appropriate technology and administration.

51. In this context, the problem of servicing the external debt has assumed particular political and social relevance, since it has only given rise to the need for further sacrifices and placed heavier demands on the weak economies of the region.

52. It would appear that it is still not understood that the burden of all this economic adjustment on the Latin American peoples can only lead to a worsening of the crisis, the impoverishment of regional societies, the paralysis of its productivity, and social violence. Nor would this be likely to improve its capacity to repay the external debt.

53. For this reason, President Siles Zuazo has always pointed out the need for Latin America to combine forces to enter into a political dialogue with the creditor countries, since the consequences of the external indebtedness clearly transcend purely financial and technical aspects and call for global definitions with regard to financing and international trade. In this way, the creditor countries and the international banks would assume part of the costs of adjustment proportionate to their share of the responsibility for the creation of the problem of the indebtedness of Latin America and its consequences. Without doubt, this is the true spirit of the Cartagena Consensus [*see A/39/331*] and the Mar del Plata Communiqué [*A/39/554*].

54. The extraordinarily difficult circumstances of its present economy led to the Government of Bolivia's decision to postpone temporarily servicing part of its external debt. Although this decision seems isolated within the present international context, it will be quite common in the near future to see other countries at a level of development similar to our own also finding it impossible to comply with their obligations. The solution, however, is not to be found in sanctions, which would be counter-productive, as well as unjust, but in helping them to restore their production, which would also have a favourable effect on creditor countries. Such reactivation requires fresh input in order to promote exports of both traditional and new products. Bolivia has the necessary resources to cover its present obligations and to improve the standard of living of its people, but in the absence of domestic savings it urgently requires external financing in order to transform its goods into exportable resources.

55. These are the facts on which we should focus the co-operation of the international community, including, of course, private banks and multilateral financing organizations. On the basis of this philosophy, it will be possible to find a constructive solution to a problem which, approached in the traditional way, could generate only adverse consequences for the development of the Latin American countries and the stability of the international economic order.

56. The wave of democracy passing over the continent from the Río Grande to Tierra del Fuego is more vigorous than ever. One by one, the American peoples have reaffirmed their right to live in freedom. One by one, authoritarian régimes have given way to representative governments born of the will of the people. This process is so widespread and strong that one may fail to recognize its depths and tend to overlook its consequences and risks. Of course, this is not a neatly simultaneous change from military to civilian Governments, as has so often occurred in the past. What we are witnessing is a profound historical change which has its roots in alterations of the

economic and social structure of South America in the last 50 years.

57. In the 1930s, the great depression overthrew the old oligarchic, feudal and backward republic, opening the way to a civilian and military populism which, although there were differences of nuance, modernized Latin American societies through agrarian reform, industrialization, substitution of imports, direct participation of the State in economic activity, and the mobilization of the broad masses of the people in the towns and countryside.

58. In this way, a new productive and social structure was established in Latin America, both urban and sophisticated, but at the same time with tremendous differences in standards of living and wealth: a throbbing and vital society, but a profoundly unjust one; nations with vast internal imbalances, subject to an oppressive international system; countries with significant human, natural and technological resources which, nevertheless, remained isolated, cut off from one another but dependent on others.

59. Throughout much of that period, we were able to perceive the contradiction that arose between an open and participative social and economic structure and an increasingly authoritarian and paternalist political system. Democracy ceased to be just a word and became a banner. In fact, it fully reflected the real needs of society and thus mobilized millions of people, filling the streets and prisons of America with heroes and martyrs.

60. Finally, as occurred half a century ago, a vast international recession exhausted the possibilities of the neo-liberal economic model and caused the collapse of authoritarian régimes, leaving the way open to the fuller, though still disorderly, democratic process which Latin America is now experiencing. It is a process which clearly is substantially different from the formal and oligarchical democracy of old. It poses new and complicated challenges to the thinking and political organization of the continent. In fact, within the framework of classic democratic values, of respect for human rights, individual freedom and subjection to the law, we must integrate within the machinery of participation and political decision-making new, emerging social strata born of the process of modernization, urbanization and agrarian reform.

61. In the case of Bolivia, this is undoubtedly a difficult task, fraught with tension because of the upsurge of new protagonists that have won their right to participate at the price of their blood, and because of unprecedented forms of regional presence that are contrary to the classic modes of social, economic and political organization.

62. It is therefore indispensable to renovate political doctrine and practice in order to include, in the appropriate institutional forms, new social protagonists and structural levels of active representation of the mass of the peoples in the economic, social and political decisions affecting the life of the community and the State.

63. From those considerations stem certain aspects of the concept of democracy: economic democracy, through the strengthening of the system of a mixed economy resting on the relative balance of power between the public and private sectors and the explicit recognition of the guiding role of the State in the planning of the national economy; regional democracy, in the sense that it is absolutely indispensable to open up imaginative and valid forms of administrative decentralization and local government that will reflect the new realities and make it possible to take full advantage of the potential human and natural resources, now wasted within our countries; social and cultural democracy, through the rooting out of all forms of racial and economic discrimination and the establishment of methods that will ensure health, education, housing and equal opportunities for all the people; and political democracy, based on respect for the opinions of others and rejection of the old practice of clients and patrons, opening up, finally, a real opportunity for the vast majority of the peoples in the field of political decision-making.

64. These are the challenges that history has placed before the peoples of Latin America, including those of my own country. President Siles Zuazo's Government and the People's Democratic Unity must build a democratic, pluralistic system that respects individual freedom and human rights, in the midst of profound social upheavals and the gravest economic crisis of the century, of the distorting and perverse effects of the drug traffic, and of the apparent indifference of the great Powers to the plight of the peoples of the third world. When one observes this struggle in all its magnitude, it is difficult to resist a deep, ambivalent feeling of fear and hope; for we see between the shade and the light of the struggle the vague, still imprecise, outlines of the new society that this generation is building at a heroic stage of Latin American history.

65. Mr. VÁRKONYI (Hungary): Let me congratulate you, Sir, on your election as President of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. Aware of your competence and rich experience in international life, I am convinced that you will guide our deliberations with efficiency. I should like to assure you of my delegation's co-operation as you carry out your responsible task.

66. I also extend a welcome to Brunei Darussalam, the newest Member of the United Nations.

67. During the nearly four decades of the existence of the Organization, the world has been faced on several occasions with rising international tensions and with developments contrary to the spirit and letter of the Charter of the United Nations. The sharpening of international tension, the acceleration of the arms race and the increasing attempts from outside to disrupt the internal social and political order of sovereign States have reached dangerous dimensions in our times, and this is a legitimate source of concern for people not only in a particular country or region but throughout the world.

68. The strategic arms limitation agreements already signed are in jeopardy, and no new agreement has been reached. The start of the deployment in Western Europe of United States medium-range nuclear missiles is one of the gravest developments of the recent past. It increases the feeling of a nuclear threat in Europe and serves not only to stir up more tension in international life but also to augment distrust between countries of the European continent.

69. In this situation, a positive reaction by the countries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [*NATO*] to the reasonable proposals of socialist countries, proposals that take into account the rightful security interests of all parties, would be of

particular importance. The member States of the Warsaw Treaty Organization seek no military superiority, but cannot allow the historically established military balance to be upset. Therefore, my Government, while expressing concern at the situation created by the deployment of missiles, considers that the countermeasures taken by the Soviet Union were justified. On the other hand, we think that the goal to be sought should be to maintain military parity at the lowest possible level of armaments and armed forces. Progress towards this goal requires the creation of conditions that will make possible the resumption of arms control talks that were broken off as a result of the deployment of missiles in Western Europe.

70. The Hungarian Government is of the view that the unfavourable processes in international life are not irreversible. In our nuclear age there is no reasonable alternative to the peaceful coexistence of States with different social systems. We hold that in the prevailing situation, fraught as it is with danger, there are objective factors that make it indispensable for the dialogue between the countries of the world to be maintained and even widened. This, however, calls for a tangible manifestation of political will, a serious study of proposals seeking to reduce tension, and a substantive response to such proposals.

71. The paramount significance attached to relations between the two great Powers, the Soviet Union and the United States, has been emphasized by many speakers here in the Assembly. The course of Soviet-American relations is seen by Hungary, too, as a determinant factor of the international situation. I believe that all members of the international community would welcome a genuine turn towards a more realistic and more responsible relationship between the two countries. We are convinced that relations between the Soviet Union and the United States can be normalized only on the basis of respect for the principles of equality and equal security.

72. My Government believes that the international conditions of today make it even more imperative that everything possible be done to stop the deterioration of the situation. It is therefore regrettable that some quarters are questioning the realities that emerged since the Second World War, thus further straining the already tense political situation. The peoples do not want to give up the benefits of détente and the beneficial atmosphere generated by that period for all of us. Governments should rely on this enormous moral asset in order to reverse the unfavourable processes that promise nothing but danger for the whole world and could lead to a waste of material and intellectual resources, postpone solutions for pressing global problems, worsen the conditions of life for peoples and cause our entire civilization to sink into decay.

73. In international forums, including the General Assembly, the socialist countries and other States have been exerting considerable efforts towards disarmament. Unfortunately, it has so far not been possible to achieve concrete results and, moreover, the results already achieved are in danger. It is a cause for worry that the international forums destined to elaborate disarmament and arms control accords are doomed to failure by the unwillingness of NATO to reach substantive agreements.

74. The Hungarian Government holds that efforts should be redoubled despite the failures. The political significance of the disarmament forums is increasing rather than diminishing. The deliberations on disarmament and the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly, even if they do not produce immediate results, point emphatically to the desire for peace of the peoples and numerous countries of the globe and to their pursuit of a peaceful and secure world in which to live and work.

75. The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic considers that removing the danger of war, particularly a nuclear war, and curbing the arms race are the most urgent tasks of international politics.

76. As regards the efforts to avert the danger of a nuclear war, we attach particular importance to the proposal that every nuclear Power should renounce the first use of nuclear weapons. Such a commitment would make a significant contribution to the improvement of the international atmosphere and to the strengthening of trust among States. Inclusion by the nuclear Powers of their unilateral commitments in an instrument of international law would considerably enhance the political weight of that step.

77. Strengthening the security guarantees for non-nuclear-weapon States is an extremely important task. My Government also believes that the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones in Europe and other parts of the world is useful and timely.

78. The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic continues to attach great importance to the efforts to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons. We hope that the forthcoming Third Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons will contribute to the strengthening of the non-proliferation régime. General and complete prohibition of nuclear-weapons tests would equally help to curb the arms race.

79. The extension of the arms race to outer space is a dangerous development that gravely threatens world peace. We support the efforts to have talks on its complete demilitarization started as early as possible, as well as the inclusion in the agenda of the current session of the question of the exclusively peaceful use of outer space.

80. While laying special emphasis on nuclear disarmament, we deem it necessary to speed up the talks on the prohibition of such instruments of mass destruction as chemical, radiological or other weapons and to complete them successfully as soon as possible. Ending the rivalry in conventional weaponry is a similarly important task.

81. Concerned with the maintenance of peace and the promotion of constructive inter-State relations, the Hungarian Government devotes increased attention to strengthening security and co-operation in Europe and to fostering the spirit of Helsinki. With the approach of the tenth anniversary of the signing of the Helsinki Final Act,[2] my Government remains convinced that the most effective way of defending détente and deepening co-operation in Europe is the full and balanced implementation of the provisions of that document by all the participating States.

82. The vitality of the process initiated at Helsinki is evidenced by the fact that the Madrid meeting of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe—even under conditions of tension—concluded its work with the adoption of a substantive and balanced document and thereby opened the way to the convening at Stockholm of the Conference on Confidence- and Security-building Measures and Disarmament in Europe. My Government deems it

READEX FICHE

important that those talks produce results and contribute to the reduction of tension and military confrontation.

83. A constructive response by the NATO countries to the proposal concerning the elaboration of a treaty on the renunciation of the use of armed force and on the maintenance of peaceful relations would have a positive influence on the development of the all-European process. In their appeal published in Budapest last April, the Warsaw Treaty member States proposed that multilateral consultations on this question be started as early as possible. The Hungarian Government has sent the text of the appeal to all parties concerned and is awaiting their substantive replies.

84. The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic has been doing its utmost to help unfold the Helsinki process and to promote the full implementation of the principles and recommendations contained in the Final Act. The fact that, in conformity with the decision of the Madrid meeting, the European Cultural Forum will take place at Budapest in 1985 is seen by us as international recognition of our activity in this direction. We are preparing for that Forum in the hope that it will be a further contribution to the development of co-operation in Europe, to a better acquaintance with one another, and that thereby it may be an important step towards the strengthening of confidence.

85. Hungary has sought to preserve and develop the results of détente through the channels of its bilateral relations as well. It has endeavoured to contribute to the improvement of the international atmosphere and to the practical implementation of the policy of peaceful coexistence by maintaining dialogue as well as by preserving and further developing its relations with States having a social system different from its own. We remain ready to continue a substantive dialogue.

86. The situation in the Middle East and the Israeli aggression against Arab countries continue to pose a grave threat to the entire world. My Government considers that further international efforts are required for the solution of the problems in that region. It believes that the Middle East situation calls for a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement that would ensure for the Palestinian people the exercise of its legitimate rights, including the right to establish a State of its own, and would create all the conditions and guarantees that are necessary for all States of the region to live in peace and security within internationally recognized borders.

87. Developments in the past year, particularly the aggression against Grenada and the actions threatening the sovereignty of Cuba and Nicaragua, have introduced more tension in the Caribbean region. My Government is increasingly concerned at such developments in that part of the world and lends its support to the efforts to find a peaceful, negotiated solution for the crisis in Central America.

88. The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic continues to be in favour of the territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus and of respect for its sovereignty and non-aligned status. It supports the endeavours of the Secretary-General on behalf of a peaceful, negotiated settlement of the question of Cyprus in the spirit of the relevant United Nations resolutions and on the basis of respect for the interests of both ethnic communities.

89. Unfortunately, South-East Asia is still a source of tension in international politics. We are of the view that the controversial issues of the region should be resolved peacefully by the States directly involved, on the basis of respect for their mutual interests and of the existing realities. The constructive proposals of the Indo-Chinese countries provide an appropriate framework for such efforts. Progress would similarly be enhanced by a general international recognition of the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and by a move to ensure its legitimate representation in international organizations, including the United Nations.

90. The intervention of international reactionary forces in the internal affairs of Afghanistan—the undeclared war against that country—should be ended as soon as possible. The Hungarian Government follows with great attention the activity of the Personal Representative of the Secretary-General and it hopes that the interested States will find a way of reaching a negotiated settlement on the basis of respect for the sovereignty of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

91. My Government supports the initiatives by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for a peaceful and democratic reunification of the country without external interference.

92. The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic calls for the elimination of the vestiges of the colonial system wherever they still exist. We believe that concerted international efforts and more resolute action are needed to achieve that goal. The just struggle of the national liberation movements has our support.

93. My Government attaches great importance to achieving a fuller measure of social justice and a more complete exercise of human rights in the world. Proceeding on the basis of its socialist system of society, Hungary is working to comply fully with the international obligations it has undertaken in this field. We regard the policy of the racist Republic of South Africa as the most striking example of gross and mass violations of human rights. We consider the adoption of the new South African constitution as a manoeuvre designed to perpetuate the system of *apartheid*. Responsibility for the delay in the settlement of the question of Namibia rests with the South African régime and its supporters.

94. The Hungarian People's Republic supports the anti-imperialist endeavours of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and is ready to co-operate with it in the realization of its just demands for the establishment of a more peaceful and more democratic world order and for equitable solutions to the problems besetting the developing countries.

95. The unfavourable trends in the international situation have had their impact on the world economy as well. International economic and technological relations are seriously damaged by the growing tendencies to embargo, increasing protectionism, the difficulties in the international currency and monetary systems and the artificially high interest rates, which affect almost all countries and groups of countries but hit the developing nations hardest.

96. In the prevailing situation, further delay is being experienced in dealing with the numerous global problems of the world, the settlement of which is possible only if international co-operation improves. The accomplishment of pressing tasks such as

food supply for the world's population, protection of mothers and children, reasonable use of raw materials and energy, exploration of new sources of energy, and environmental protection is put off even further. All this may have unpredictable consequences for the future of our globe. The specialized agencies and the other organizations within the United Nations system should have a major role to play in the alleviation of these problems.

97. At their conference held at the highest level in Moscow last June, the member States of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance advocated more intense work for the restructuring of international economic relations on a just and democratic basis. They proposed that global negotiations on the most important economic issues be started at an early date within the framework of the United Nations, with the participation of all States.

98. Hungary, which earns nearly one half of its national income in foreign trade, is also severely tried by the unfavourable trends in international economic and trading conditions. We seek to develop and expand our external economic relations and we are against discrimination and protectionism. My Government maintains that world trade should be conducted on the basis of most-favoured-nation treatment, non-discrimination and fulfilment in good faith of contractual obligations. We are convinced that in the present tense international situation the establishment of such economic relations can have an important stabilizing role to play, thereby exerting a favourable political effect as well.

99. Last spring we had the opportunity to welcome the Secretary-General in our country and to hold useful talks with him. My Government continues to attach paramount importance to the activities of the United Nations and remains ready to take an active part in the work of the world Organization for the solution of the ever more complex problems facing the globe. It is our conviction that the United Nations must play an effective role in the settlement of international disputes, in the solution of global problems and in the efforts to raise peaceful inter-State relations and manifold international co-operation to a higher level. Compliance by all Member States with the obligations they have undertaken under the Charter of the United Nations and other international documents and joint efforts by them to tackle the existing problems would be of decisive importance. If such were to occur, the Secretary-General would be able a year from now—on the fortieth anniversary of the establishment of the United Nations—to prepare a report on a world that is considerably more peaceful and more secure than it is now.

100. Mr. SHAMIR (Israel): It gives me pleasure, Mr. President, to associate myself with the warm congratulations offered to you from this rostrum. They are a tribute to your country and to yourself, as well as to a continent which is playing such a prominent role in the United Nations. I hope and trust that, under your leadership and guidance, the deliberations of this session of the General Assembly will be constructive, positive and responsive to the grave problems that face us.

101. It is gratifying to observe the family of nations grow from year to year, reinforced with new partners in our common endeavours. The United Nations will either stand or fall on the principle of universality. The only attitude we should disavow is the promotion of narrow, selfish interests which run counter to our common international efforts.

102. Every session of the General Assembly must set out in a spirit of hope that, despite the disappointments of the past, we can and should renew our efforts and work for a better world. Forty years ago, the founders of the United Nations looked back on a tragic past and undertook to forge instruments that would ensure a better future for humanity. So do we, in accordance with ancient Jewish tradition, look back year after year upon the disappointments of the past with firm belief in a better future, buoyed by an unflagging hope in the triumph of that human spirit which never deserts us.

103. The fortieth anniversary of the end of the Second World War will occur in 1985, as has already been noted from this rostrum. This was a landmark in history and even more so in the annals of my people. Israel and the Jewish people, who still carry so many scars of that terrible war, will commemorate the occasion appropriately. The event will undoubtedly be marked by all nations, as was indeed recommended by the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly, which invited States Members "to adopt . . . measures declaring punishable by law any dissemination of ideas based on racial superiority or hatred . . . including Nazi, Fascist and neo-Fascist ideologies" [*resolution 38/99*]. The Assembly also appealed to all States to accede to the Convention on the Non-Applicability of Statutory Limitations to War Crimes and Crimes against Humanity [*resolution 2391 (XXIII), annex*]. There are still a few pockets of neo-nazism that continue to linger, and they should be dealt with firmly, but the true heirs to this inhuman creed are those organizations and Governments that continue to this day to deny the right of existence of another State and strive for its outright destruction. There should be no room in civilized society for such doctrines or for those who promote them.

104. The United Nations concept embraces the whole of mankind. Its raison d'être is the welfare, present and future, of humanity, with special attention accorded to the underprivileged, the disabled and the oppressed. Our special attention should be focused on the problems of children and of youth and on their appropriate education and training. This should be our central task in building up our nations and societies.

105. The coming year will be marked by the conclusion of the United Nations Decade for Women, with the World Conference to Review and Appraise the Achievements of the Decade to be held at Nairobi. Our hope is that that Conference will become a high point in women's struggle for equality and will not be exploited for narrow and barren political interests.

106. Technological progress holds the promise of providing solutions to some of the most pressing problems of developing nations, but nowhere is it more sorely needed than in the field of agriculture and food production. It is now widely recognized that the international development effort has failed to meet its most important challenge, the production of food for the fast-growing population of our world. Agriculture is the key to the present challenge, but its development and that of the rural society that sustains it have been sadly neglected.

107. Great strides have been made world-wide in industry, in the development of infrastructure, transportation, education and health, but food production has remained deficient. It is a terribly sad comment on our society that in this modern age millions go hungry and die of famine; hundreds of millions, mainly children, suffer malnutrition, their future as productive members of their society endangered. Per capita food production in Africa, for instance, has in fact dropped 15 per cent in the last decade. Countries in other continents have required emergency food supplies. Nations that were once self-sufficient have become importers of food and, as a result of their economic difficulties stemming from the increase in the cost of energy, their true independence has become endangered.

108. Catastrophe awaits many nations if we do not find the way to assure adequate food for our world's growing population. World security and stability begin with the assurance of basic human needs. A change of direction is thus urgently needed in the goals of international development. That is the challenge of this decade. This goal can be reached despite the scarcity of arable land and water and despite the meagre resources that are available in various countries. In fact, Israel has emerged in only one generation from severe austerity and food rationing to self-reliance; we have increased our food production twelvefold and have become a net exporter of food.

109. Israel recently marked the twenty-fifth anniversary of its programme for international development co-operation. This programme had its beginning in the late 1950s and early 1960s with the emergence of newly independent nations that sought rapid development. Imbued with a pioneering spirit that thrived on successful adaptation and innovation in the development of their own country, the people of Israel considered it a duty to share the knowledge acquired through their own rapid development experience with the peoples of other emerging nations.

110. Israel calls upon all Governments to set aside political differences and narrow economic interests to join forces in the campaign against hunger. Israel will continue to co-operate with other nations in technology and development and stands ready to join other Governments, international agencies and non-governmental organizations in working to meet this great challenge to humanity.

111. Israel is the fulfilment of an age-old dream and prayer for the re-establishment of the Jewish State in the Land of Israel. It is the home of all Jews who wish to make it their home, and it is the defender and protector of all Jews who are oppressed or persecuted because they belong to the Jewish people. These principles are enshrined in Israel's Declaration of Independence, in its laws and in the conscience of its people.

112. We are aghast at the fact that, 40 years after the eradication of nazism, rampant anti-Semitism and racial discrimination still exist in a number of countries. The situation of Soviet Jewry has recently taken a definite turn for the worse. From this rostrum I call upon the Government of the Soviet Union to remove the harsh limitations and restrictions imposed upon Jews who seek repatriation and reunion with their brethren in Israel. The continued harassment of Soviet Jews has become one of the most pressing humanitarian problems of the day, a violation of the most basic human rights as expressed in the Helsinki accords. Hundreds of thousands of Jews are being systematically denied their rights and many are forced to live as outcasts, deprived of their livelihood, harassed or imprisoned in gaols and labour camps under inhuman conditions.

113. Soviet Jews are deprived of access to Jewish culture. A systematic campaign is waged against those Soviet Jews teaching and studying the Hebrew language. Ill-concealed under the cloak of anti-zionism, officially inspired anti-Semitism is being increasingly manifested in the Soviet media.

114. We call upon the Soviet Government to change its policy, which is unjustifiable. The Soviet Jews are not involved in any anti-Soviet activity, nor are they violating Soviet laws or working against Soviet interests. Their only wish is to study their ancient culture and their national language and to live as Jews in their historic homeland. It should be recalled that in front of this very Assembly official representatives of the Soviet Union have declared that the Jewish people have a right to a State of their own. Soviet Jewry demands nothing more than to exercise this right.

115. In our own part of the world, the Middle East, the Jews of Syria continue to suffer under a harsh régime that holds them hostage and refuses to grant them basic human rights, the most important of which is the right to emigrate and join their brethren. Periodic killings of Jews, either sanctioned or tolerated by the authorities, maintain a climate of terror among the Jews of Syria.

116. In Ethiopia, an ancient Jewish community struggles to maintain its heritage, culture and integrity under dire hardship. We acknowledge the gesture of the Ethiopian Government, which has recently enabled Jews and non-Jews from all over the world to visit that community, and we express our sincere hope that it will take all necessary steps to protect and respect their religious and cultural rights and enable those who so desire to be reunited with their families in their ancient homeland.

117. On 13 September 1984, a Government of national unity, encompassing the overwhelming majority of political parties in Israel, was established. Its creation is a reflection of the wide consensus that unites the people of Israel on the main issues on the Government's agenda in the economic, defence and political domains.

118. In its foreign relations, Israel is dedicated, as always, to the goal of peace and accommodation with all its neighbours. In the north, we stand ready to reach an understanding with Lebanon which will guarantee the security of our common border and thus make possible the withdrawal of all forces from southern Lebanon. Syria remains dogmatically opposed to the idea of peace with Israel. Nevertheless, we are adamant in our conviction that there can be no solution other than peace. In the east, we have repeatedly called on the Government of Jordan to join us in negotiations for peace. In the south, of course, we have peace with Egypt, but we are convinced that peaceful relations should be deepened and strengthened in the face of so much rejectionist pressure against peace.

119. The chances of progress towards further peace and stability between Israel and its neighbours must be appraised, however, in the context of the realities of the region.

120. The Middle East continues to be beset by violence, bitter conflicts and wars. In a few weeks of bloodshed along the Iran-Iraq border, more men and children die than in all the Arab-Israel wars. Thousands die every year in domestic strife and hostilities entirely unconnected with the Arab-Israel conflict. Yet, as everyone in this Hall knows full well, a disproportionate amount of the time of the General Assembly is devoted year after year to a contrived and counter-productive review of the Arab-Israel conflict, the main purpose of which seems to be only to slander Israel.

121. In the last two decades, the violence and oppression that characterize so many régimes in the Middle East have erupted on the international scene in waves of terrorism, hijacking and assassination. When in 1972 the Secretary-General proposed that the United Nations promote measures to counter international terrorism, we were among the first to welcome that initiative. Regrettably, it has been thwarted by States that sponsor and support terrorism. Middle Eastern terrorism, sanctioned by these Governments, has been thus allowed, through neglect and indifference, to expand to more and more countries. Today the cancer of terrorism has spread to all continents. The latest form of terrorism and international piracy is the mines that threaten shipping and the freedom of navigation in the Red Sea. Recently, we were again horrified by the murderous bombing of the United States Embassy at Beirut, a calculated and deliberate act of terrorism.

122. Terror is a malignant disease that will spread everywhere if not contained. But at least in one instance concerted international effort has produced results. When terrorism first raised its ugly head in the mid-1960s, its prime target was international civil aviation. Planes were hijacked almost daily, aircraft bombed, passengers terrorized and murdered. The proper functioning of civil aviation today is a result of powerful measures taken jointly by many nations to ensure the safety of passengers and aircraft and to combat the threat of hijackings. But such successful international co-operation remains an exception. Terrorism is still an item on the Assembly's agenda, but it is debated ineffectively, shunted aside by vested interests which offer its representatives support, sustenance and even quasi-recognition. As long as the family of nations continues to evade its responsibilities, to appease rather than punish, to pardon terrorists rather than prosecute or extradite them, to afford terrorists diplomatic immunity, the disease will spread and claim yet more victims in our homes and communities.

123. Whenever a particularly outrageous terrorist attack takes place, as for example the recent bombing of the United States Embassy at Beirut, a wave of outrage sweeps public opinion in all parts of the civilized world. People naturally demand instant retaliation against such despicable acts and a fitting punishment for the criminal perpetrators.

124. While punishment has its necessary place in any system of justice, the overriding problem here is not whom to punish and how punishment should be delivered. Rather, it is how to prevent terrorism and root it out from the international arena. There is only one way to deal with this problem. Those countries which agree that terrorism must be eradicated should join forces and wage a permanent war on the terrorist organizations. This is the only way to expose, pre-empt, weaken and finally destroy them. This is a war of self-defence in its true sense, a campaign that the free world should undertake on behalf of its peoples and of the entire human race.

125. For its part, Israel has been waging an unrelenting war on Arab terrorism and has dealt it a number of crippling blows. The so-called PLO, which had established its own mini-terrorist State in Lebanon, from which it carried out and assisted terrorist acts in five continents, was expelled from that country. But Israel cannot be expected to shoulder alone the burden of fighting international terrorism. Since we are all potential victims of terror, we must fight it together. If we do not, terrorism will endanger our basic freedoms and all the standards of civilized behaviour for which the United Nations stands.

126. The attitude underpinning Arab terrorist attacks against Israel is the continued denial by Arab States of Israel's right to exist. Translated into wanton attacks on civilians, the ideology is cruel and inhuman. But it has produced the very opposite result to that intended. Israel has taken the necessary measures to protect its people and enable them to live and prosper alongside their Arab neighbours throughout the Land of Israel. We have to state with regret that any sign of ostensible moderation in the attitude of Arab Governments towards Israel is negated by their sustenance and support of terrorist organizations committed to Israel's destruction and by their continued attempts to expel Israel from United Nations bodies and other international organizations. We will welcome a change in the Arab stance if it is given concrete expression, such as a clear-cut disengagement from the so-called PLO and other terrorist organizations and a straightforward statement of readiness to make peace with Israel.

127. Sadly, such a breakthrough for peace was set back by the General Assembly's rejection of the Camp David accords and the Israel-Egypt peace treaty, for no other reason than that certain Arab States reject the idea of peace with Israel. Camp David has been the only ray of light in an otherwise dismal and dark picture of hostility. It will continue to serve as a beacon of hope until its message is finally accepted by the peoples and Governments of our region.

128. The United Nations can contribute to peace in the Middle East by a change of direction. It should embrace the idea of peace between Israel and its neighbours, condemn the blatant attacks on Israel and reject outright the attempts to expel it from international forums. Recently, an attempt to expel Israel from the UPU was properly rejected by an overwhelming majority. It is now time for the United Nations as a whole to muster the courage to condemn such behaviour. It will mark an important milestone in rehabilitating the image of the United Nations and its standing in the world community.

129. Recently, the idea of convening an international conference on the Middle East was resurrected. It was advanced by a State that has no diplomatic relations with Israel and that recommends the participation of representatives of terrorist groups. The Arab-Israel dispute is not in need of another international forum. There have been more than enough such gatherings and proposals, and they have all proved futile. They served as a stage for propaganda and for competition between Arab States in the politics of public confrontation with Israel. A conference such as the one being proposed would strike a

blow at the principle of direct negotiations, which has proved to be the only means of producing agreements between Israel and its neighbours, from the time of the General Armistice Agreements in 1949 through the Camp David accords in 1978.

130. We therefore call on Member States that have the interest of peace at heart to bring their influence to bear on our Arab neighbours to the east and north to adopt the only successful and tested path to peace—direct negotiations with Israel.

131. Such negotiations produced the agreement with Lebanon which was signed on 17 May 1983. That agreement provided for security arrangements against terrorism and an agreed basis for normal relations between our two countries across the recognized international boundaries. It was approved by the legislatures of Israel and Lebanon, but Syria and those that cannot tolerate the idea of peace with Israel destroyed it by the application of sheer, brutal force. The agreement was designed to lead to the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Lebanon, the restoration of Lebanese independence and the establishment of security measures along the Lebanon-Israel border.

132. Today, some 40,000 Syrian troops occupy 65 per cent of Lebanon and show no sign of any intention to leave. The Lebanese Government is dominated by Syria and is not capable of conducting free negotiations that would resolve its problems with Israel. Obviously, Israel will ensure its legitimate security needs and make the necessary arrangements in southern Lebanon to protect the people of northern Israel against any repetition of the terrorist attacks of recent years. I reiterate our readiness to withdraw all our forces from Lebanon, subject to the above-mentioned arrangements.

133. By now it should be clear to everyone, including the Arab States in our area, that Israel has no interest in maintaining any military presence in Lebanon. But we have to make certain that after the last Israeli soldier leaves Lebanon, the terrorists will not return to attack us.

134. Let me repeat: anyone, any people or State that is interested in the evacuation of the Israel army from Lebanon must see to it that the terrorist organizations expelled from Lebanon by Israel do not return to our borders to renew their attacks. This is an essential condition for peace. Israel is ready to cooperate in any serious effort towards a fair solution to this problem.

135. Since the conclusion of the Camp David accords, Israel has repeatedly called on Jordan, Egypt and the Palestinian Arabs to join in negotiations for an agreement on autonomy. Unfortunately, Egypt has discontinued its participation in the talks, while Jordan and the Palestinian Arabs have refused to join them. Arab rejectionism and extremism continue to have a stranglehold on those who may have been willing to embark on the path of moderation and peace.

136. From this rostrum, I turn yet again to our neighbours with the same call. Let us move forward together on a new path. Let us talk to one another. Let us engage in a common effort to resolve our conflicts, rather than perpetuate the negative attitudes which find frequent expression in this building.

137. Until this call is heeded, Israel will continue to strive for an end to Arab rejectionist attitudes and aspire to mutual acceptance, tolerance, understanding and dialogue, which are consonant with the most basic goals of the United Nations.

138. Israel is aware of the substantial contribution which the peaceful uses of nuclear energy can make to the well-being of the world and of the right of all countries to benefit from such uses. We support those international arrangements that would ensure the status and inviolability of nuclear facilities dedicated to peaceful purposes.

139. Israel has long been concerned by the dangers posed by nuclear armaments and has therefore consistently supported the objective of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

140. We believe that the most credible barrier to proliferation in such a sensitive area as the Middle East is a freely negotiated nuclear-weapon-free zone. In this belief, we are encouraged by the Latin American experience and the recent progress towards establishing the South Pacific as a nuclear-weapon-free zone.

141. In the vital field of disarmament, we are impelled by a permanent moral imperative. Progress in this field is indispensable if we are to remove the nuclear threat. It may be a commonplace to say that time is running out, but it is nevertheless true. A very recent experience demonstrates that weapons, once they exist, are used. During the current terrible Iran-Iraq war, new non-conventional weapons, such as gas, have been used. This latest addition to the arsenal of fighting armies, against established international conventions and basic decency, cannot but arouse the deepest anxiety. It should be opposed vigorously by anyone concerned for the future of our civilization. All of us are aware that a moderation of the armament spiral, both conventional and non-conventional, will free huge resources needed for the welfare of mankind, in particular that of the developing countries.

142. In conclusion, our mission is twofold. Our first task is the improvement of the quality of life in this world, especially for those who are suffering or who lack the means of sustenance; the hungry millions are waiting for us to do our duty. Our second task is to concert our efforts to eradicate from our midst terrorism and all other violations of civilized norms. We must dedicate equal effort to achieving both goals. We cannot accomplish our humanitarian task unless we overcome the dangers that threaten our society. Both objectives can be achieved provided we muster the courage and the will to do so. Our reward will be true peace. There can be no greater goal for the United Nations.

143. The vision of our ancient prophets of universal peace was intended for a distant, Utopian future. But, if we succeed in removing these two formidable obstacles—hunger and terrorism—from our path, the march of humanity towards the fulfilment of that vision will be immeasurably advanced, our stride quickened and our hearts uplifted with the promise of better days.

144. Mr. MALMIERCA PEOLI (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The world situation could not be more alarming and dangerous than it is today, precisely one year after the start of the thirty-eighth session, when so many voices were raised in favour of détente in international relations. The imperialists, far from forsaking the path of the arms race and shows of force, have increased their aggressiveness and today threaten peace and security in the world.

The policy of the Reagan Administration, aimed at achieving political, economic and military supremacy, has created new hotbeds of tension and exacerbated those already existing in various regions, turning the use and the threat of force into a State policy and relegating the principle of the peaceful solution of disputes to the status of a subject of verbal gymnastics.

145. Cuba attaches particular importance to the situation in Central America, where the danger of a generalization of the conflict is increasing. Notwithstanding the sincere and reiterated readiness of the Salvadorian revolutionaries to enter into a dialogue without pre-conditions in the search for a negotiated political settlement to the problem of El Salvador and notwithstanding the readiness of the Sandinist Front of Nicaragua to discuss and work for a negotiated solution to the conflict, the situation deteriorates daily.

146. Nicaragua's decision to accept immediately and without amendment the revised Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America [*see A/39/562*], presented on 7 September last by the Contadora Group, is irrefutable evidence of its readiness to seek through negotiation a solution to the conflict besetting the Central American peoples.

147. The Contadora Act contains various recommendations designed to open the way to peace. Outstanding among these are those aimed at halting or reducing the dangerous increase in military action in States of the region, such as: prior notification of national or joint military manoeuvres; prohibition of international military manoeuvres on their respective territories; ending the arms race in all its forms; cessation of the acquisition of arms; refusal to authorize the installation on their respective territories of foreign military bases or training establishments; elimination of existing foreign military bases or training establishments; establishment of a timetable for the gradual withdrawal and eventual removal of foreign military advisers; elimination within and outside the region of traffic in arms with persons, organizations and irregular forces or armed bands trying to destabilize the Governments of the States parties; refraining from granting political, military, financial or any other kind of support to individuals, groupings, irregular forces or armed bands attempting to overthrow or destabilize other Governments and the use of their territory for such purposes; refraining from organizing, ordering, or participating in acts of terrorism, subversion or sabotage in another State.

148. Nicaragua has asserted that an agreement between the five Central American States to guarantee peace and security in the region can be meaningful only if the Government of the United States formally commits itself to abide fully by such an agreement. Nicaragua deems it indispensable for the United States to subscribe to and ratify the Additional Protocol to the Contadora Act [*ibid.*] and consequently end forthwith its military aggression and all aggressive acts against Nicaragua.

149. Cuba, as President Fidel Castro pointed out over a year ago, desires an honourable solution, one based on mutual commitments, to the Central American conflict. That is the only real solution. Cuba reaffirms that it will support the negotiations entered into and the agreements reached by Nicaragua.

150. Cuba also reaffirms its support for the position of the Salvadorian revolutionaries, who have reaffirmed their readiness to negotiate a political settlement of the situation in El Salvador. It is quite clear that the United States must participate in such negotiations, since the real problem both in Nicaragua and in El Salvador results from United States interference and since no real, lasting solution of the situation in Central America will be possible without the establishment of mutual commitments, with the participation of the United States.

151. The history of the imperialist blockade and the constant acts of aggression against Nicaragua is well known. The country's harbours have been mined and its territory has been surrounded by military bases from which air, land and sea operations are launched.

152. Swept up in the feelings of triumph triggered by the shameful invasion of the little island of Grenada, which was condemned by the overwhelming majority of Member States at the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly, the United States Government is now planning new blows against the free peoples of America and the national liberation movement. The Honduran Army has received aeroplanes, helicopters and sophisticated weaponry from the United States Administration in order to harrass Nicaragua. Thousands of United States officers and soldiers are stationed in Honduran territory, where they have built military airports and roads, modernized harbours, set up arsenals and barracks and developed a powerful infrastructure for war. Meanwhile, the Government of El Salvador is maintained through the substantial aid which the United States is providing to cover the military expenses of that régime, with which it is attempting to overcome the armed insurrection of the people. A steady succession of joint military manoeuvres by the United States and the armies of the region is being conducted, thus creating a permanent state of war against Nicaragua and the Salvadorian revolutionaries.

153. The scene seems to have been set for a new interventionist adventure. From a military point of view, all the conditions have been prepared, including the necessary infrastructure and logistical support, and the military command simply awaits the political decision to launch the intervention.

154. But history, like reality, follows an inexorable course and laws, and no force is capable of changing that course or those laws. Set-backs may and do occur in the spiralling development of society. Peoples which had made long strides in the process towards final emancipation have been subjected again to the yoke of oppression and neo-colonial exploitation because of exceptional circumstances and the "opportune" action of imperialism. But such exceptional conditions as were present in, for example, Grenada are not to be found in connection with the Salvadorian revolutionary movement, in Nicaragua or in Cuba.

155. Anyone who decides to send United States troops to invade Central America must be ready to face being militarily bogged down in the region, progressively weakened in an unbridled and massive war, until final victory is won by the peoples of the region. Equally, anyone who would send troops against Cuba must be ready to face an all-out war—everywhere, all the time; a multifaceted war of the people which would turn every inch of land under the

invader's foot into a veritable inferno, a war in which there would be no surrender or truce but a fight until final victory, regardless of the time and the sacrifices required.

156. But Cuba longs for peace in the region and in the world at large, a peace with equal dignity for all, everywhere, guaranteeing that climate of security, stability, respect and co-operation so urgently needed by our peoples to build their future. Thus, we reiterate today our deep appreciation and recognition of and respect for the endeavours of the Contadora Group, which deserves the continued support of the international community.

157. In southern Africa, the use of force and the threats and pressures exerted by United States imperialism maintain a climate of tension in that region, where the racist Pretoria régime, its strategic ally, continues to carry out a policy of aggression against the People's Republic of Angola and other independent States and persists in its illegal occupation of Namibia. It is precisely the overt support of the United States for the *apartheid* régime which has thwarted a peaceful, negotiated settlement of the question of Namibia and which is the main reason for the climate of tension and aggression prevailing in the southern part of the African continent.

158. In his statement of 26 July this year, at Cienfuegos, President Fidel Castro asserted that

> "any effort which may alleviate tension in our area, as well as international tensions, deserves our most serious consideration; any effort which tends to diminish the dangers of the folly of war. We are ready even to co-operate in the search for a political solution to the problem of the independence of Namibia—a problem which is important for southern Africa—on the basis of resolution 435 (1978) of the United Nations Security Council. We are conscious of our responsibility to our people and to all mankind; that is our duty as socialists and as revolutionaries."

159. As far as Cuba and its expressed readiness to co-operate in the political solution of these problems are concerned, there are three essential aspects to that solution: the application of Security Council resolution 435 (1978); the cessation of all outside assistance to the armed organizations fighting against the recognized Government of Angola; and the cessation of all acts of aggression or threats of aggression against the People's Republic of Angola, including the withdrawal of the South African troops that even today remain in that country's territory. Those three basic requirements were affirmed in the joint declaration of the Governments of Angola and Cuba on 19 March 1984.

160. As is well known, the presence of Cuban troops in Angola came about and is determined by the request of the Angolan Government and the decision, based on solidarity, of the people and Government of Cuba to defend the sovereignty and security of Angola from the foreign aggression of which they were, and still are, the victims. There is no other reason, and there never has been any other reason, for the presence of our troops in Angola.

161. The strict implementation of resolution 435 (1978), which involves the withdrawal of South African troops from Namibia and the exercise by the Namibian people of its full sovereignty over all its territory, the cessation of foreign assistance to the counter-revolutionary organizations operating in Angola and the establishment of international guarantees for the respect of its sovereignty, territorial integrity and security will make possible the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

162. In their attempts to delay, boycott and impede the independence of Namibia, the imperialists and their ally, the racist Pretoria régime, resort to lies, diversionary tactics, coercion, pressure and blackmail. Whom do they expect to deceive? All of us know who is who and who does what for peace, social justice and the independence of peoples. We all know, furthermore, who does what for the true independence of Namibia, and we shall not be fooled by false expressions of concern.

163. For example, in September 1978, precisely six years ago, the Security Council unanimously adopted resolution 435 (1978), which should have opened the way for the independence of Namibia. Among its sponsors were the United States and other Western Powers. Nevertheless, it is significant that the United States has never voted in favour of any of the resolutions on Namibia adopted by the General Assembly since that time.

164. During the current session, several other resolutions on Namibia will be considered by the Assembly. We invite the representatives of the countries represented here to note the results of the voting. I can assure them that there will be no surprises: the enemies of Namibian independence have names known to all of us.

165. Furthermore, the exploitation, the scorn and the discrimination to which the black people of South Africa are subjected have no parallel in history and cannot but arouse the world's solidarity with their struggle and their longing for equality and for their rights and their aspiration to create a just society based on majority rule to be respected, as well as active and militant solidarity with the African National Congress of South Africa [*ANC*], the legitimate representative and symbol of the South African people's struggle against the opprobrious *apartheid* régime.

166. The racists' response to the demands and aspirations of South African blacks has been to repress, terrorize, incarcerate, torture and execute their best children and patriots.

167. But it is not only in Central America and southern Africa that we see the imperialists arrogantly trying to maintain their interests under neo-colonial domination. Other focal points of tension exist in various parts of the world which must also be diffused in time if we are to avoid the progressive deterioration of the international situation and the risk of war. Effective action must be undertaken towards this end. The duty of the United Nations to preserve peace cannot be delegated; nor can the duty to demand that all States respect the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations be ignored, especially when the State in violation is a permanent member of the Security Council.

168. Never before has the policy of blackmail and of exerting pressure in international relations been so blatant, brutal or wide-ranging. It is now also used to place conditions on the financing of international organizations, especially those in which the United States has an overwhelming say. Pressures are exerted on the drafting of the budgets of international organizations in an attempt to stem the progress of multilateralism and international co-operation, to

block the flow of resources for the development of economic and technical co-operation among developing countries, and to encourage a marked preference for bilateralism, which enables all sorts of political strings to be attached to the granting of assistance resources.

169. There can be no doubt that such policies are aimed at reversing the democratization process which has been taking place in international organizations since the end of the Second World War and which is rooted in the changes that have occurred in the world following the accession to independence of many peoples previously under colonial domination.

170. The results of the imperialist policy of aggression, blackmail and pressure are evident in the way in which the United States is isolated in international organizations—a situation which in turn feeds its irrational hatred of the United Nations system and its arrogant stand against the practice of multilateralism.

171. During the last session of the General Assembly, the United States Government voted against 90 of the 150 resolutions adopted by the Assembly—a fact which reveals the anti-people, reactionary and hegemonistic character of the current Administration and its break with the prevailing world trends shared even by some of its principal allies.

172. Hence the Assembly's thirty-ninth session is beginning in an atmosphere rife with tension and grim expectations. The long list of important and sensitive issues before us requires an objective and sincere approach. Long hours of work await us if we are to improve the rarefied atmosphere prevailing in international relations and if we are to struggle once again to attain peace, development and a more just world order.

173. We are pleased that, in the present delicate circumstances, Mr. Paul Lusaka, of Zambia, is presiding over this important session of the Assembly. His contribution to the defence of the interests of underdeveloped countries, his indefatigable efforts as President of the United Nations Council for Namibia, his well-known organizational skills and personal capability assure him the respect, admiration and trust of the international community in the discharge of his serious responsibilities. Cuba pays tribute to Mr. Lusaka's unanimous election as President of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly and offers him the full support of its delegation as a modest contribution to his noble efforts for the success of this session.

174. We could not fail to express as well our sincere appreciation to Mr. Jorge Illueca, President of the Assembly's thirty-eighth session, who, with characteristic intelligence and tenacity, led the Assembly brilliantly through a period equally fraught with dangers and tension.

175. In its irrational quest for world strategic supremacy, the United States did not hesitate, only a year ago, to impose the deployment of 572 medium-range nuclear missiles, weapons with first-strike capability, in Western Europe in order to create an imbalance of forces in that region which could not but elicit the adoption of countermeasures by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, thus increasing the danger of nuclear confrontation and turning several European States into virtual hostages or targets of a nuclear counter-attack.

176. The United States is frantically attempting to develop new weapons systems to be used in outer space and to militarize that environment, while dreaming of possible "star wars". The earth has become too small for the imperialists, who now wish to take the arms race into outer space.

177. In contrast to such an adventuristic and warlike policy is the serious, responsible and constructive attitude of the Soviet Union, whose initiatives in the field of disarmament, including the freezing of production and deployment of nuclear weapons and the prevention of the militarization of outer space, constitute a most valuable contribution to international peace and security, which Cuba hails and supports fully.

178. Cuba also supports the proposal submitted by the Soviet Union [*A/39/244*] to include in the agenda of the current session as an important and urgent matter an item aimed at preventing certain States committed to military superiority from pursuing their policy of State terrorism in international affairs and, more frequently, attempting to undermine the socio-political régime of other States by force of arms.

179. Notwithstanding the opposition of the international community, including many of its allies, the United States Government is maneouvring to prevent the beginning of real negotiations on an agreement prohibiting the militarization of outer space, and it continues the insane arms race. While bringing the world ever closer to a nuclear holocaust, the United States thus wastes enormous human and material resources which could be put to better use for the development and well-being of the world population.

180. Such senseless waste takes place in the midst of the most serious world economic crisis of the past 50 years. Originating in the developed capitalist countries, the crisis affects all countries, but the so-called developing countries are the hardest hit, subjected as they are to unfair international economic relations based on inequitable terms of trade and economic dependence.

181. At its thirty-fourth session, the General Assembly adopted a resolution [*resolution 34/138*] expressing the desire of the overwhelming majority of its members for global negotiations aimed at restructuring international economic relations and establishing a more just and equitable international order. Unfortunately, we have not been able to advance a single step in that direction. It must be said that the process has stagnated mainly because of the intransigent and inflexible attitude of the United States Government.

182. Thus, the initiatives of the developing countries have met with no response. This is true of the well-known immediate economic measures endorsed by the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi from 7 to 12 March 1983, and further elaborated and presented in the form of a proposal by the Fifth Ministerial Meeting of the Group of 77, held at Buenos Aires from 28 March to 9 April 1983.

183. The so-called Buenos Aires Platform[3] gave some hope for the success of the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held at Belgrade from 6 June to 2 July 1983. Perhaps never before has such a large group of countries worked so hard and so seriously on a

package of important economic proposals. The failure of that session, the lack of practical results caused by the refusal of the United States representatives to undertake serious negotiations—a position which they also imposed on the group of developed capitalist countries—left a bitter feeling of frustration among all those who had placed some hope in the sixth session.

184. Furthermore, high interest rates, in addition to contributing to the increase of the foreign debt of the developing countries to unbearable levels—these now amount to over $700 billion, and it is virtually impossible for many countries to service and repay them—have caused a flow of capital to the United States and a depletion of the capital of the rest of the world in favour of that country, thus helping to finance the huge deficit generated by the arms race. Hence, paradoxically, some developing countries which are also affected by the economic crisis and which demand that the resources wasted on the arms race be diverted to development, contribute to the promotion of that race.

185. Obsessed with their quest for strategic military supremacy and their desire to strengthen the predominance of their transnational corporations, the imperialists are indifferent to the misery and pain inflicted upon the vast majority of the world's population.

186. The United States Government refuses to agree not to be the first to use nuclear weapons and is deluded by the dream of a limited nuclear war by means of a deadly "first strike", based on the fallacious belief that peace can be attained through the use of force.

187. It should therefore be the immediate, priority objectives of the General Assembly gradually to lessen the economic burden borne by mankind and ensure peace. It must find ways and means of turning words into deeds. To that end, Cuba, as a founding member of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, will make every effort to ensure that the high ideals of the Movement—the eradication of war and exploitation, of the inequities in international relations and of all forms of colonial and imperialist oppression—may prevail.

188. We reaffirm today our unswerving support and encouragement for the peoples that, having attained political power, now wage a tireless struggle for peace and development and close their ranks in the face of imperialist threats. We reaffirm our militant solidarity with those peoples that by sacrifice and determination are opening the way to freedom and independence. We reaffirm our solidarity with the workers and peasants, students and professionals, artists, intellectuals and scientists who, in the midst of hostile societies, daily plant the seeds of brotherhood with their own hands, their toil, their ideas, their art or their science.

189. We pay a tribute to the Sandinist combatants struggling heroically to build a new Nicaragua on the moral ruins of Somoza's régime and of colonial and neo-colonial domination. We express our firm conviction that, in spite of the present acts of aggression and threats, Nicaragua will for ever be free through the noble sacrifice of its finest children.

190. We extend our greetings and assurances of solidarity to the Farabundo Martí Front for National Liberation, the Revolutionary Democratic Front and to all the Salvadorian people, whose combative stature has grown in the struggle against the combined forces of imperialism and El Salvador's puppet army.

191. We reiterate our demand that the invading troops in Grenada, led by the United States, cease their occupation of that country. The people of Grenada has the legitimate right to decide its own destiny in an independent and sovereign manner.

192. The Cuban delegation reaffirms its support for the struggle of the people of Puerto Rico, that unredeemed portion of our America, in their unswerving aspiration to exercise their right to self-determination and independence, free from colonial ties.

193. We wish to express once again our support for the desire of the Panamanian people and Government that the provisions of the Panama Canal treaties[1] be strictly observed and respected; for Bolivia's just demand to recover its access to the sea; for Belize's non-aligned status, territorial integrity, independence and sovereignty.

194. We stand for a peaceful settlement of the differences between Guyana and Venezuela over the Esequibo region. We stand also for the recovery of the Malvinas, South Georgia and South Sandwich Islands by the Argentine Republic through negotiations between Argentina and the United Kingdom, in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly. We urge the United Kingdom Government to undertake such negotiations immediately.

195. We pay homage to the Chilean people, who, defying the arrogance, terror and repression of the Fascist Junta, have raised with dignity and in open struggle the banner of their ideals of social justice and independence, free from corrupt national oligarchy and imperialism. Sooner or later, the people of Chile will win. We salute the struggle of other South American peoples who suffer the repression of the vassals of imperialism, in particular the Uruguayan people, who, having taken to the streets in protest, have secured the freedom of patriots who truly represent their ideals and aspirations and are still struggling to secure it for all other political prisoners and to achieve a truly democratic system. We salute them for having forced the Government to recognize the existence of previously banned political parties. They, too, will regain their freedom and will hold the reins of their destiny in their own hands.

196. We hail the efforts to create a climate of peace and stability in South-East Asia; we urge all concerned to continue such actions, steps and measures as may enable them to attain that important goal, and we reaffirm our solidarity with the countries of Indo-China, which still endure hostility and foreign aggression.

197. We believe that in South-West Asia efforts to promote a stable climate of peace and security based on mutual respect among the parties to the conflict must prevail.

198. We support the just aspirations and efforts of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to achieve the peaceful reunification of their country, and we call for the cessation of interference in the internal affairs of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and for the withdrawal of United States interventionist forces from the southern part of the Korean peninsula.

199. We support the aspiration of the Comoros to recover sovereignty over Mayotte and of Madagascar

to regain its rights over the Malagasy islands, the Glorieuses, Juan de Nova, Europa and Bassas da India; and we support the just demand of Mauritius to recover the island of Diego García.

200. We support the people of Cyprus in its just and respected efforts to preserve the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of its country within the framework of a united, non-aligned Republic, and we reject the proclamation of the "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus", as well as any attempt to partition the island.

201. Once more, we urge the Governments of Iran and Iraq to put an end to the war, waged for over four years now, with uninterrupted bloodshed and a drainage of resources which deeply affects the living standards and development expectations of both peoples, and threatens international peace and security.

202. We extend our solidarity also to the brave Saharan combatants and to the long-suffering, heroic and fraternal Palestinian people and its sole and legitimate representative, the PLO, in its tenacious struggle to exercise its inalienable rights, including the establishment of its own State in Palestine; we support, too, the convening of an international peace conference on the Middle East, under the auspices of the United Nations and with the participation of all the interested parties.

203. We offer encouragement to the Namibian patriots in their valiant struggle against the repression of the Pretoria régime, a struggle waged under the guidance of the South West Africa People's Organization, the sole and legitimate representative of the people of Namibia, as well as to the brave South African patriots in the ANC, who maintain an active struggle in the very heart of the disgraceful *apartheid* régime. We pay a tribute to the front-line States for resisting the attacks of South Africa and its allies; to the Arab countries, which face the joint actions of zionism and imperialism; to all those who, no matter where, defend, with their lives, their right to freedom and dignity as human beings.

204. Mr. KANU (Sierre Leone): On behalf of the Government and people of Sierra Leone, I congratulate you most warmly, Sir, on your election to the high office of President of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. Your country's philosophy of humanism and your considerable personal skills as a diplomat assure us that under your leadership the General Assembly will further the cause of peace and justice in the world.

205. Allow me also to pay a tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Jorge Illueca, now President of the Republic of Panama, who served as President of the thirty-eighth session with distinction and exemplary skill.

206. Let me also congratulate and welcome into our midst Brunei Darussalam, whose accession brings us closer to the ideal of universal membership.

207. Ten years ago, the General Assembly convened in a special session to examine the economic relations between developed and developing countries. After weeks of long and exhaustive debate, the Assembly adopted a resolution recommending the establishment of a new international economic order [*resolution 3201 (S-VI)*]. That historic recommendation reverberated around the world and ignited the hopes of many poor, developing countries. A new optimism was born, as many countries were led to believe that the United Nations was on the march towards the indispensable goals of economic justice and fair play.

208. The flurry of activities which followed on the heels of this new optimism led many commentators to call the 1970s "the decade of negotiations". Although those negotiations must now seem like the beginning of a false dawn, the Assembly's sixth special session itself did provide a set of bold recommendations in its Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [*resolution 3202 (S-VI)*], which, fully implemented, might have saved the world from the present disastrous recession. To the dismay and bitter disappointment of the developing world, the Programme of Action has been rendered ineffectual by the refusal of certain Members of the Organization to allow any worthwhile action to be taken towards its implementation. The failure of the international community to rise to the challenges and the opportunities of the time seem to us to have led to the present dire economic consequences that undermine social order in rich countries and threaten the very survival of much of the third world.

209. Today, the stark economic reality of the African condition is that millions of people are afflicted by hunger, malnutrition, illiteracy and abject poverty. Over the last few years, the economies of African countries have suffered severe declines in growth and output of goods and services. This trend, already apparent in the 1970s, has worsened over the last three years, leading to depressing growth rates or total stagnation. The result is a dangerous fall in already precarious living standards, mass starvation and widespread decay of the small, but vital, infrastructure and even the environment.

210. The reasons for this decline are many and varied. Foremost among them are the recent severe world recession, which has had such a damaging effect on the economies and productive capacity of many African countries, and the stubborn refusal of our trading partners to pay fair and remunerative prices for our commodities and raw materials.

211. Moreover, in an international trading system that requires developing countries to negotiate the prices they receive for their major raw materials and commodities, while they must pay the ever-increasing prices that are set by the manufacturers of those same raw materials and commodities, it is inevitable that the weakest members of the system should be driven into bankruptcy.

212. For Africa, these various factors have been further aggravated by the most severe drought the continent has suffered in this century, resulting in a catastrophic fall in food production and the consequent loss of human lives through famine and starvation.

213. The acute debt burden of third-world countries, particularly those in Latin America, has preoccupied the international community over the last two years. The harsh conditions attaching to those debts are today hampering economic recovery and development in many of the afflicted countries.

214. Given the magnitude and severity of the problems that I have just been describing, it is clear that the African people cannot on their own prevent the imminent economic collapse that threatens many of their impoverished nations. While we recognize that African Governments must continue to bear

responsibility for the well-being of their people, we expect the international community, in a spirit of solidarity and a reaffirmation of our mutual interdependence, to help to avert the catastrophe that now threatens Africa.

215. What is required, therefore, is a bold, imaginative and generous response to this crisis so that together we can find lasting solutions to the continent's perennial problems.

216. Specifically, the international community would have to come to grips with the continuing adverse terms of trade which now plague the economies of much of the third world in general. In this connection, reform of existing financial institutions, a reduction in the present crippling rates of interest and liberalization of world trade must be considered imperative.

217. Furthermore, it is the view of the Sierra Leone delegation that, in seeking solutions to the manifold problems now facing the African continent, intensification of economic co-operation within the multilateral and specialized institutions, especially the World Bank, FAO and UNDP, cannot be overemphasized. These institutions must be given increased financial support and provided with the necessary resources to enable them to perform their tasks more effectively.

218. It was, therefore, a matter of deep regret to my Government that, given the gravity of the African economic situation, the Economic and Social Council was not able to take decisive action when this matter was considered at its second regular session, last July. We hope that when the General Assembly considers this matter it will see the necessity of recommending appropriate remedial measures.

219. The critical shortage of foreign exchange has halted industrial development, and existing capacity is either idle or only partially engaged. All these factors have combined to create instability in some of our countries. It is imperative, therefore, that the international community and the African Governments make joint efforts to reverse this dangerous trend.

220. While on the theme of international co-operation, I would like to make some brief remarks on two international conferences which have recently been concluded. I refer to the second International Conference on Population, held at Mexico City last August, and the Fourth General Conference of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization, held at Vienna, also in August. In doing so, may I once again express the gratitude of the Sierra Leone Government to Mexico and Austria for hosting these two important meetings.

221. Population issues are, today, assuming ever-greater importance. Almost every Government has become increasingly aware that its greatest resource is human.

222. For us in Africa, developmental problems have been identified as those of disturbingly low levels of literacy, low levels of technical skills, poor performance of middle-level manpower, little or no attention to research and development, weak infrastructure and a chronic shortage of capital.

223. It is evident, therefore, that if we are going to solve these problems urgent measures will have to be taken to improve and develop our human resources.

224. For its part, the Government of Sierra Leone continues to hold the view that the issue of population development cannot be divorced from that of general socio-economic development. My Government firmly believes that all economic activities should be geared towards the improvement of the individual so as to enable him to contribute meaningfully to national development. We therefore trust that the results of the Mexico City Conference will generate the necessary impetus and political will for accelerated and fruitful international co-operation in this all-important domain.

225. For this reason, I would like to say how highly my Government appreciates the role which UNDP and UNFPA are playing in assisting developing countries in implementing their policies and programmes. My delegation renews its appeal for greater resources to be made available to these agencies to enable them to achieve their objectives.

226. Industrialization, like population, is central to the economic and social development of every country. My delegation has taken note of the report of the Executive Director of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization but regrets that the question of promoting industrialization in developing countries has continued to be clouded by political judgement on the part of the advanced countries. Thus, in spite of its modesty, the target of $50 million for the United Nations Industrial Development Fund has remained unattainable.

227. Furthermore, the Fourth General Conference of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization was unable to agree on a common declaration because of resistance on the part of certain delegations. We trust, however, that what little progress was achieved at Vienna will be built upon through our common endeavours in order to achieve the targets set in the Lima Declaration and Plan of Action on Industrial Development and Co-operation.[4]

228. My delegation notes with satisfaction the stress laid by a cross-section of delegations at the Vienna Conference on the subject of the Industrial Development Decade for Africa. It is clear that, since Africa has the greatest number of least developed countries, the international community must make special efforts towards the industrial development of Africa in order to lift that continent from the state of poverty in which it is currently trapped.

229. I now wish to reflect on the political state of our world.

230. Over the past few years, the United Nations has been confronted by a number of complex and menacing challenges, many of which threaten the very survival of mankind. The most dangerous of these challenges is the accumulation and accretion of nuclear weapons with the attendant danger of nuclear annihilation. Today we watch with growing concern as the arms race enters the sphere of outer space.

231. It is the considered view of the Sierra Leone delegation, guided by historical evidence, that an unbridled and perennial arms buildup, the perfecting of weapons of mass destruction and the acquisition of nuclear capability by many nations inexorably lead to war, either by design or through accident or miscalculation.

232. Like other members of the General Assembly, my country has a vested interest in the prevention of a nuclear catastrophe. This, more than anything else,

14

explains our demand for a cessation of the present unprecedented and menacing arms buildup. We also renew our appeal, particularly to the Soviet Union and the United States, and to all those other nations which have accumulated nuclear weapons, to resume negotiations in an endeavour to contain and reduce the escalating tensions resulting from the arms buildup. We also urge them to resume negotiations to remove the threat of annihilation which the militarization of outer space entails. Therefore, we welcome the resumption of contacts between the Governments of the Soviet Union and the United States and we hope those contacts will produce positive results.

233. The persistence of many regional but potentially dangerous conflicts in some parts of the world also threatens international peace and stability. This situation is continually aggravated by the use of armed force to solve international disputes, contrary to the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations.

234. One such conflict which has continued to cause great concern to the Government of Sierra Leone is the ongoing fratricidal war between Iran and Iraq. This war, which has now gone on for too long, has taken a severe toll in human lives and constitutes a serious drain on the economic and human resources of those countries. Its continuation is a threat to international peace and stability. The Sierra Leone Government, therefore, renews its appeal to both Iran and Iraq to heed the call of the international community to bring that conflict to a speedy end and resume constructive dialogue, so that mutual trust and confidence can be revived.

235. The occasional but persistent sound of fire in the Middle East is a brutal reminder that the whole area is liable to erupt into widespread violence. Our collective responsibility is to ensure that another eruption does not occur in that area. Our joint endeavours must seek to reconcile the understandable rage of the Palestinians who continue to be denied their just demand for a homeland and the need by Israel to live within secure and internationally recognized borders. The Sierra Leone delegation, therefore, supports the call for an international conference on the Middle East with the full and equal participation of all the parties to the dispute.

236. The problem of Cyprus, a nation divided against the will of its people, has continued to engage the attention of my Government. The United Nations, as the custodian of the security and integrity of all nations, particularly small nations, cannot remain silent and allow the present division of Cyprus to become permanent.

237. My country, therefore, renews its call for the withdrawal of foreign forces from Cyprus and for the two communities to get together and find suitable solutions to their problems without violating the sovereignty and territorial integrity of an independent and non-aligned Cyprus. We note and welcome the initiative of the Secretary-General in using his good offices to bring together all the parties involved in the dispute.

Mr. M. A. Sallam (Yemen), Vice-President, took the Chair.

238. While on the question of divided nations, it is a matter of regret and concern that the continuing division of the Korean peninsula has prevented its dynamic people from assuming their proper role in the international community. We are aware of the proposals which have been made for negotiations by both parties but regret the introduction of pre-conditions which serve only to pre-empt a solution to the problem. The Sierra Leone Government has the firm belief that the Korean problem, like those of other divided nations, should be peacefully resolved by the Korean peoples themselves through dialogue and negotiations.

239. While we seek a peaceful solution to the numerous challenges facing the United Nations today, it is a matter of grave concern and deep anxiety to my Government that the racist Pretoria régime, in total disregard of its obligations under the Charter of the United Nations and of world opinion, has continued to kill, maim and brutalize its own people and menace the peace and security of the whole of southern Africa. That is state terrorism, which the United Nations, particularly the Security Council, is committed to opposing and uprooting wherever it may occur.

240. Some six years ago, the Security Council adopted resolution 435 (1978) as a basis for Namibia's attainment of independence and statehood. Regrettably, the injection of extraneous issues and preconditions has held up the independence of Namibia. As a result, the negotiating process over the past six years has been protracted and inconclusive.

241. Let me say that those who champion the cause of freedom at home but deny its extension to the Namibian people will not succeed, for freedom is indivisible. Therefore, the world is not wholly free if any of its parts is subjugated through the connivance or the indifference of some Member States. Nor is the defence of freedom a national task only. It is a global enterprise to which the United Nations is irrevocably and solemnly committed.

242. My delegation, therefore, calls upon all Governments and all men of goodwill vigorously to condemn the Government of South Africa for its oppressive policy and urges the Security Council to take all measures within the Charter of the United Nations to bring about the abandonment of the policies of *apartheid* in South Africa, for it is only in this way that we can reduce the endemic and pervasive tensions that so seriously endanger international peace and security in southern Africa.

243. A small country like Sierra Leone is particularly aware of the value of international co-operation. During the current economic crisis, my country has enjoyed the benefits of co-operation with the European Economic Community, the World Bank and UNDP, among others. Among the many friendly countries that have reacted to our current economic difficulties, the Federal Republic of Germany and the People's Republic of China have responded to our needs with more than accustomed generosity. We thank these friendly nations most sincerely.

244. Let me, in conclusion, express my Government's profound gratitude to the Secretary-General for exhorting the entire membership of the United Nations to rededicate itself to the principles of the Charter and for alerting the international community to the social and economic catastrophe which now threatens the African continent. We have also noted with a great deal of satisfaction the eloquent pleas of other Members of the Organization from this rostrum. We hope that those pleas will be translated into concrete measures.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.

NOTES

[1] Panama Canal Treaty and Treaty concerning the Permanent Neutrality and Operation of the Panama Canal, signed in Washington on 7 September 1977. (*The Department of State Bulletin,* vol. LXXVII, No. 1999, Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1977).

[2] Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, signed at Helsinki on 1 August 1975.

[3] See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Sixth Session,* vol. I, *Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.83.II.D.6), annex VI.

[4] See A/10112, chap. IV.

United Nations

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

THIRTY-NINTH SESSION

Official Records

19th PLENARY MEETING

Wednesday, 3 October 1984, at 3.20 p.m.

NEW YORK

President: Mr. Paul J. F. LUSAKA (Zambia).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. HLAING (Burma): Mr. President, allow me at the outset to extend to you the very warm congratulations of the delegation of Burma on your unanimous election to the high office which you hold. Your vast experience in the activities of the United Nations and your diplomatic skill and perception are certainly well known to all of us, and it is most fitting that you should preside over the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. We are confident that under your able guidance the deliberations of this session will help further to develop and consolidate moves towards a more peaceful world.

2. The delegation of Burma also takes this opportunity to pay a tribute to the outgoing President, Mr. Jorge Illueca, whose distinguished services have contributed in no small measure to the successful conclusion of the session of the Assembly that has recently ended.

3. We should also like to say how glad we are to welcome Brunei Darussalam to the family of the United Nations. We offer our warm felicitations and friendly greetings to its delegation, whose presence in our midst will surely give added strength and be a positive contribution to the Organization.

4. We meet in the Assembly once again to examine collectively the problems of our time and, it is to be hoped, exercise our influence for the betterment of world conditions. We are gathered here together in the belief that all Member States, be they big or small, powerful or weak, rich or poor, have a shared responsibility to make their contribution to the achievement of the objectives of the Charter of the United Nations. The fact that 159 Member States, irrespective of differences in their political, economic and social systems, gather here each year is proof enough of the interest of Governments in seeing the continuance of the United Nations system as a pervasive force in maintaining world peace. Hope is therefore kindled anew that with the development of mutual understanding and co-operation and the fostering of a spirit of compromise, which are essential for the success of the Charter, the welter of conflicting interests of many nations and peoples may find a degree of order and harmony.

5. Many are aware of these requirements, but the irony is that we have so far failed to translate this awareness into practice. The effectiveness of the United Nations in fulfilling its role is also largely determined by the political and power realities of the world environment in which we live. Unhappily, factors in the international climate have not helped the Organization to measure up to the magnitude and nobility of its tasks.

6. The delegation of Burma would therefore venture to think aloud and suggest that, when the Assembly considers many of the items on its agenda, it is of vital importance to take note of the global perspective and search deeply for the root causes, instead of the mere surface symptoms. Nor is it enough to reiterate the lofty principles and ideals of the Charter, which embody the hopes and dreams of mankind and especially of the small nations, for which they represent a safe haven in the stormy seas of fast and far-reaching changes. The Charter, often quoted, is all too readily ignored, misinterpreted or even brushed aside when it seems to stand in the way of some nations all too obsessed with self-interest or emboldened by their strength and power.

7. If we are to see the United Nations develop into a really effective instrument for the performance of the functions outlined in the Charter, it is our duty as Member States to endeavour to be more worthy of the principles and more loyal to the purposes of the Charter. No organization with aims so sublime can hope to fulfil its promise without the whole-hearted support and commitment of its membership.

8. The General Assembly embarks on its thirty-ninth session at grips with a whole range of problems and issues that transcend geographical and ideological borders and call for a new dimension in international co-operation.

9. The increasing crisis in international, political and economic relations reflects the slow and painful progress of nations and mankind. Of particular concern is the political tension and growing incidence of aggression in many areas of the world. Equally upsetting are the unremedied economic disparities between the rich and the poor nations and the growing inequality of international economic relations.

10. As at past sessions, once again the General Assembly is exposed to the same unresolved issues which have been on the agenda for several years. The pattern of difficulties faced by the United Nations in resolving them stems largely from the seriously deteriorating state of relations between the super-Powers, which are the leading Members of the world Organization. The essential co-operation between them has given way to confrontation, which has retarded the work of the General Assembly. The inter-bloc politics which they personify have also hampered the normal functioning of international relations. The prospects of an early solution to the many questions on the Assembly's agenda will not be

bright so long as this climate prevails. Surely, it is in the genuine interest not only of the super-Powers but of the entire world community that they should re-establish a working relationship.

11. It is in this spirit that the delegation of Burma welcomes the recent resumption of the high-level talks in Washington between the Soviet Union and the United States. These talks may or may not have any immediate palpable or dramatic impact on the scope and direction of the deliberations which the Assembly is about to embark upon. It must also be recognized that the assessments of such possible impact could well be quite varied and naturally far from identical. Notwithstanding these facts, the fact that these regular talks should once again have become feasible after a lapse of a considerable number of years should in itself be a source of gratification for us all. It is to be hoped that they will prove to be a harbinger of a new era marked by more intensified co-operation, better understanding and a spirit of mutual accommodation not only between the two super-Powers but between all nations of the world. The delegation of Burma therefore considers the holding of the high-level talks as a step in the right direction which will surely help to place the present state of affairs in the world on a more even keel.

12. It is not enough to content ourselves with merely passing resolutions. The time has come, we believe, for a more conceptually clear and operatively more effective response to the numerous challenges and dilemmas of contemporary world problems. The time has also come for the two super-Powers to ponder the possibility of placing their relations upon a new basis so that they might be put on a more stable and constructive footing.

13. Seen in this perspective, the Secretary-General's call for holding a meeting of the Security Council at the highest level is both timely and important for the development of an effective common approach to contemporary world problems. It would be a tremendous boost to the United Nations processes if the permanent members of the Security Council were forthcoming in support of the Secretary-General.

14. Need we recall that the United Nations was founded on the assumption that the permanent members would remain united, beyond their wartime coalition and, with the United Nations as the instrument, strive in mutual efforts to ensure world peace and contribute to a system of universal collective security. So far, this assumption has proved illusory.

15. We live in a dangerous era. The most important and pressing problem of our times—the achievement of nuclear disarmament—does not appear to be receiving the attention it deserves. The world community is unhappy about this situation. The negotiating processes between the two super-Powers have been at a standstill ever since the breakdown of their nuclear disarmament talks in November last year. Not only is the essential element of mutual trust completely absent; it has been replaced by complete mistrust. It is a distressing paradox of the world today that all these years, in spite of the endless flow of talks, of conferences and well-meaning sentiment in the pursuit of nuclear disarmament, we are no further removed from the threat of nuclear war and no nearer towards promise of its solution. We are now well through the fourth nuclear decade and the world community has yet to arrange its affairs in such a way as to shackle the nuclear threat forever.

16. From day to day, we witness the growing intensity of the arms race, which increasingly reduces world stability and endangers the survival of mankind. The world bristles with a whole range of armaments as each side seeks to match the other in keeping up the military balance of power. The awful danger of the present approach to military balance is that it goes on prodding each side to arm themselves. Each party is bent on outdoing the other in the invention of ever newer types of virulent weapons and systems. As we see it, this posture cannot lead us anywhere except into a hopeless maze of arming and counter-arming out of which it will be very difficult to emerge. It may well condemn both sides to an arms race in perpetuity.

17. The lesson of balance, as commonly perceived, carries with it a demand for co-ordination, for interrelationships and intercommunication between various domains, if meaningful equilibrium and stabilization are to be achieved. We see no alternative to negotiations between the super-Powers, and their alliances, so as to arrive at just such a mutual achievement if world peace and security are to be assured.

18. An increasingly acute problem is the prevention of an arms race in outer space. The delegation of Burma joins others in expressing deep concern over the dangers connected with the militarization of outer space. Space-borne systems have a two-sided function, for either benign or offensive operations. It is extremely difficult to make a clear distinction between their military and civilian uses. As such, the extent to which the world community stands to benefit or be endangered by rapidly developing space technology depends very much on whether the foremost space Powers are co-operative or antagonistic in their use of space. Concern for the welfare of mankind dictates that they co-operate.

19. Let me now turn very briefly to some of the problems which preoccupy the Assembly at successive sessions. These include the Middle East and Palestinian problems, the conflict between Iran and Iraq, the questions of Afghanistan and Kampuchea, and the unresolved question of independence for Namibia.

20. It is difficult to foresee just how these many specific problems can be resolved effectively without the co-ordination of joint political action on the part of the principal opponents. Each situation tends to become entrenched in their positions with the passage of time and compounded by ever-new developments adding to their complexity. The more they become protracted the more they become vulnerable to the diplomatic gambits and stratagems in the interplay of world politics. While the contestants involved contend, and we, here in the Assembly, hopefully debate and draft our texts carefully, the victims of the situations continue to suffer. To them, the desperate need is to survive and live in peace.

21. The present difficulties between various States are to a large extent due to the failure to uphold the principles of mutual respect for each other's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and of non-interference in each other's internal affairs. Both are cardinal norms of international conduct. We must recognize that if States fail to tolerate and respect the rights of other States to ways of life they

cannot and do not share, then we shall be no nearer to realizing the high hopes and ideals of mutual co-operation and mutual endeavour envisaged in the Charter of the United Nations.

22. The search for a Middle East peace settlement remains a vital concern of the world community. However, the Assembly must face up to the fact that there is as yet no solution in sight. The prospects for a settlement continue to be elusive, owing to the complexities of the Arab-Israeli conflict and the uncertain path of developments in Lebanon.

23. The most important aspects of any settlement in the Arab-Israeli conflict are the right of every State in the Middle East, including Israel, to exist in peace within secure and recognized borders and the right of the Palestinians to self-determination. No progress can be made without an agreement which guarantees to both the Israelis and the Palestinians the right to security and the right to exist in their own State.

24. A related question is the control of territories. While Israel's central concern is for the attainment of security, the primary concern of the Arabs is the return of the lost territories. As it stands, essential steps for progress require that Israel withdraw its forces from territories occupied in 1967, change its policies of incorporating Palestinian lands into its State and halt the establishment of new settlements in these territories. Equally, it would be up to the Palestinians to state explicitly and clearly their willingness to recognize the right of Israel to a secure existence. The reality of the situation calls for the possibility of such an accommodation. Unhappily, the present attitude of both sides does not hold any promise of development along these lines.

25. As regards the situation in Lebanon, the overriding concern is to restore to the country its full sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence. The factor of internal sectarian strife must somehow be overcome by a process of national reconciliation so as to help to extend the authority of the legitimate Government and ensure the withdrawal of foreign forces from the country.

26. At present we face stagnation in the entire Middle East situation. The recent visits of the Secretary-General to the region in pursuit of a framework for a renewed Middle East peace conference are a welcome initiative in the right direction. The problems of the Middle East have been with the Assembly for the past 36 years. To our mind, the question of convening an international conference for peace in the Middle East cannot be excluded for all time if we are to work for the goal of a comprehensive and lasting settlement.

27. The delegation of Burma shares the concern of the world community over the escalation of the Iran-Iraq conflict, which has dragged on for the past four years. The recent attacks by both sides on neutral ships in an international waterway show how potentially dangerous the situation has become. It threatens to bring an international dimension to the conflict and clearly points to the urgency of halting the hostilities by peaceful means before the pressure of events leads to a wider confrontation.

28. For six years the General Assembly has been concerned with the questions of Afghanistan and Kampuchea. Both situations continue to cause tensions and threaten regional peace and stability. Like the rest of the members of the Assembly, we are anxious to see improvements in the prospects for peace and a negotiated political solution of the two problems. Despite diplomatic initiatives from time to time to secure movement by all parties concerned, no formula has emerged to bring about a process of negotiation.

29. The position of the delegation of Burma is simple. Our wish is to see a political settlement in Afghanistan and Kampuchea on the basis of the withdrawal of all foreign forces and full respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of both States. Our wish is to see a process of reconciliation and the restoration of unity to the peoples of Afghanistan and Kampuchea and the return of conditions in which they can work out their own destiny free from all external interference and pressures. It is a sad state of affairs when the people of both States are being uprooted and continue to suffer from deprivation and hardship. We are therefore very much distressed at the protracted conflict and unresolved nature of the situations in Afghanistan and Kampuchea.

30. Again this year, there is no immediate prospect of Namibia achieving independent statehood. Over the past several years, the Assembly has repeatedly given expression to the Namibian people's inalienable right to freedom, independence and territorial integrity, including Walvis Bay, and under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization [*SWAPO*]. Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which provides a United Nations framework for Namibia's independence, has been accepted in principle by all the relevant parties as a basis for settlement. However, South Africa has not shown the least inclination to change course, but insists on broadening the question by injecting extraneous issues as a prerequisite for Namibia's independence. This linkage is incompatible with the letter and spirit of resolution 435 (1978) and constitutes an impediment to the implementation of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia. Furthermore, no breakthrough has been achieved in the direct talks which took place this year between South Africa and the parties seeking independence for Namibia. We see no progress likely until South Africa reverses its position and forgoes its repeated assertion that Cuban troops must be removed from Angola before it withdraws from Namibia.

31. In South Africa today, the Government's *apartheid* policy continues to exclude the majority black population from constitutional reform with a view to creating the so-called independent homelands. As such, there is as yet no sign of South Africa turning away from its basic policy of *apartheid,* which is institutionalized racial discrimination and universally condemned. South Africa's contemptuous defiance of the world's moral indignation is a matter of increasing concern to all nations of good will which believe in the essential worth and dignity of the human person. The world would be happy if South Africa conformed with reality, abandoned its policy of *apartheid* and worked for a more constructive relationship with its neighbours.

32. Permit me to make a few brief remarks on the world economic situation. There is no doubt that, to the greater majority of the world's people, the main issue that interests them is the economic situation, and not so much the political. The ends for which people strive are food, work, security and housing, which taken together mean freedom from want and the right to survive. To a certain extent, the present

processes in the economic sphere are somewhat a paradox. After 30 years of development-related international conferences, of summits, strategies and economic expansion, the results so far achieved have been minimal for the majority of the world's people, principally those living in the developing countries. There is today no unity, but disorder, in the world economic situation. Nations compete against nations and man competes against man, in a desperate effort to establish economic stability and security.

33. Since the start of the 1970s, the world economy has struggled from crisis to crisis and has spared no nation or region from the consequences of economic turbulence. The energy crisis, the collapse of the world monetary-financial system, and the serious structural disturbances arising therefrom, have led to the emergence of recessions, which have culminated in the present world economic crisis.

34. Having experienced two major recessions in the past 10 years, the world economy is now considered to have registered a measure of recovery. This may be visible in the economies of the major developed countries but does not sufficiently hold true for the rest of the world, the developing world. We understand that even in the economically more advanced countries there is widespread doubt about the stability of the current trend. The prospects for a sustained recovery remain precarious because of the high interest rates pursued in the domestic policies of the world's strongest economic power. This has reduced the scope for and increased the cost of investments in the economies of both developed and developing countries. Without an increase in productive investments it would be difficult to overcome the present economic crisis.

35. The world-wide recessions have had a damaging impact on almost all developing countries. The issue before the Assembly is how to reduce the developing world's predicament. To our mind, the current image of the world economy is not encouraging at all for them. Their economies are still marked by low growth, adverse external factors and problems in attaining a satisfactory balance-of-payments situation. Falling prices of primary commodities, together with declining export volumes and adverse terms of trade, have all compounded their external imbalance. Having to curb their essential imports for the familiar reason of balance of payments, their development efforts have undergone serious set-backs. They face difficulties in obtaining investment for development and in providing employment for their growing labour force.

36. The central problem in the world economy today is the international debt situation of the developing countries. Many countries are just unable to repay their debts in the face of high interest rates and reduced export earnings, the only source from which debts can be serviced internationally. Massive debt rescheduling is also increasing accumulated debts. International lending, once perceived as a principal instrument for the stimulation of economic growth, has become today the factor causing a reverse flow of capital and retarding the growth prospects of developing countries.

37. As we see it, there can be no lasting world economic recovery without a solution to the international debt problem. And the problem of debt cannot be resolved without structural adjustments for a more balanced financial and monetary system and the revival of world trade.

38. We believe that the world economy is at an acute phase of a changing process in international economic relations. The economic upheavals faced by the world community in the last several years have enabled us to understand the interdependence which inextricably links all nations, both developed and developing. The dimension of mutual dependence has been discovered and come to be accepted as a reality. We live in an interdependent world of problems which require mutual accommodation. We would hope that this mutual interdependence can be transformed into active solidarity and collective response to a world which is badly in need of restructuring of the pattern of international economic co-operation.

39. In concluding, the delegation of Burma wishes to place on record its appreciation, surely shared by others, of the tireless efforts of the Secretary-General aimed at the achievement of a constructive course in world affairs. His recent visit, on a personal mission, to the Middle East, his talks with the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States, his successful initiative concerning the halting of attacks on civilian targets in the Iran-Iraq war, and his ongoing efforts to solve the Cyprus problem are praiseworthy moves which have not gone unnoticed. He has brought new confidence to the office he occupies. We venture to express the hope that the Secretary-General's earnest endeavours will be rewarded with concrete results.

40. Mr. NIASSE (Senegal) (*interpretation from French*): The General Assembly has by the unanimous decision of its members, Sir, elected you President of its thirty-ninth session. That outstanding election had been expected, since Africa's continental organization, the Organization of African Unity [*OAU*], adopted two resolutions recommending your candidacy for that office, at Nairobi in June 1981 and at Addis Ababa in June 1983. Your country's many friends throughout the world supported that recommendation, thus reaffirming their confidence in and friendship for Africa, Zambia and you, personally—confidence and friendship of which we are justly proud. We ask you, therefore, to accept our warm fraternal congratulations. As President of the United Nations Council for Namibia, you have shown discreetly and effectively your eminent qualities as diplomat, statesman and champion of the right of peoples to independence. I had the honour of presiding at your side over the International Conference in Support of the Struggle of the Namibian People for Independence, held in Paris in April 1983, and I am therefore in a position to say how great was your positive contribution to the success of that gathering. There is no doubt that, with such qualifications, you will be able to guide the work of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly to a most successful conclusion.

41. I wish also to thank your predecessor, Mr. Jorge Illueca, of Panama, who, as President of the General Assembly at its thirty-eighth session and at a particularly difficult time in world affairs, worked with courage and clear-mindedness to reaffirm the mission of the United Nations: to promote peace and harmony among nations.

42. In this connection, I cannot fail to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General, whose broadmindedness, analytical abilities, independence of judgement and

fidelity to the ideals of the United Nations we were able to appreciate yet again when he visited Senegal in January 1984. His journey to the furthest corners of our continent was an act of faith which provided further proof that, with goodwill and using the right means, the plight and the hopes of a great part of mankind can be calmly identified, and that solutions can be sought and found if we are imbued with a spirit of international solidarity and praiseworthy generosity and brotherhood.

43. I wish finally to welcome the sister country of Brunei Darussalam—like Senegal, a member of the Organization of the Islamic Conference—to membership of the United Nations. Its devotion to the ideals of peace, justice and harmony as set forth in the Charter of the United Nations are the best guarantee that Brunei Darussalam will be able to contribute with determination and effectiveness to the promotion of the United Nations and to the achievement of its purposes.

44. Once again we, the representatives of the world's peoples, States and Governments, have come together to consider the situation and future of mankind, and to do so despite the differences in our ideological choices, political systems, spheres of culture, traditions and customs, aware that the civilizations of which we are the products and the authors are complementary, aware also that 159 nations cannot in a meeting lasting only a few weeks together work out exactly what action must be taken to improve the lot of mankind without first being convinced that common interest must prevail over the obstacles to dialogue and solidarity.

45. Rich countries and poor, wealthy peoples and those stricken with the despair and pessimism which result from the world crisis, are we not all assailed by the same anxieties and obliged, if we are not to be destroyed, to stand shoulder to shoulder in the face of the many dangers threatening man and his environment?

46. It was in the spirit of the need for such reflection by the international community that the head of State of Senegal, President Abdou Diouf, called on me to come here to address the Assembly.

47. I shall begin by referring to the political problems with which the United Nations is once again confronted, together with the economic issues with which the third world in general and Africa in particular are constantly concerned, in the ever-diminishing hope that peoples and individuals will unite to prevent an apocalypse which, if it were to occur, would certainly spare no people and no country.

48. Given that risk, are we capable of taking the leap forward which the nations of the world expect of us and which we must take if we are to put to good use the immense potential of the human mind and the wealth of imagination granted to us by nature?

49. For nearly 40 years, a *modus vivendi* seems to have been established among the industrial nations, in particular those of the northern hemisphere. Those nations have thus achieved technological progress and economic stability, guaranteed and protected by a system of relations which safeguard the essential element: the continuance of that technological progress and the maintenance of the economic stability which, despite the ups and downs of our times, we see today.

50. At the same time, we note in various parts of Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Middle East numerous hotbeds of tension and conflict which rend the peoples asunder and set against each other neighbour countries which reason dictates should co-operate in trust and friendship. Sometimes, even within a single population, civil war breaks out, costing the lives of children, the elderly and people in the prime of life, sowing death and destruction in the name of opposing ideologies, and heightened and exacerbated by a conflict of interests often alien to that country.

51. In this tense situation, is it not time for the nations of the world, both rich and poor, industrialized and developing, to agree to overcome their rivalries and tensions, through joint efforts and constructive dialogue, in order to guarantee to all the free command of their common destiny?

52. Today, South Africa continues to occupy Namibia illegally, despite the relevant United Nations resolutions designed to enable the brother people of Namibia to recover, without any hindrance, its full right to freedom, independence and dignity. In this regard, my country, Senegal, solemnly reaffirms its complete solidarity with SWAPO, the sole and legitimate representative of the glorious people of Namibia, and we support Security Council resolution 435 (1978). The Namibian question is a decolonization problem, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), containing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, which recognizes that those countries and peoples have the inalienable right to self-determination and national sovereignty.

53. The countries members of the contact group should, to that end, bring direct pressure to bear on the Pretoria Government, in pursuance of the efforts that they are now undertaking and that, in all honesty and objectivity, we must emphasize. Since contact has been established, we feel it is appropriate to continue and even increase it so that South Africa will be brought to accept the United Nations settlement plan.

54. I cannot conclude this section of my address without welcoming, on behalf of my Government, the praiseworthy initiatives repeatedly undertaken by the Secretary-General. Thanks to him, the technical aspects of this matter, involving the composition, status and deployment of the military element of UNTAG and the choice of the electoral system provided for in the settlement plan, have already been agreed upon.

55. Notwithstanding the slow pace of the talks and the acknowledged limits of the progress recently made at Lusaka, Zambia, and Sal, Cape Verde, on the way towards negotiations between the parties involved, Senegal encourages those efforts and advocates a cease-fire conducive to the implementation of resolution 435 (1978) as a whole.

56. South Africa, because of the abhorrent practice of *apartheid*, which the Pretoria régime persists in further refining by successive reforms, such as the recent bogus constitutional reform, deserves to be once again unreservedly condemned by the international community. My country, Senegal, denounces this inhuman policy of racial segregation and expresses again its solidarity with the oppressed people of South Africa and its legitimate representatives, the African National Congress of South Africa and the

Pan Africanist Congress of Azania. We also energetically repudiate the infringements repeatedly committed against the territorial integrity, sovereignty and security of the front-line countries, and particularly the constant threats made by South Africa against Angola and Mozambique, whose Governments and brother peoples aspire only to peace and development.

57. In west Africa, the question of Western Sahara continues to be the subject of the international community's attention. My country, Senegal, wishes to see a peaceful settlement of that dispute, in accordance with resolution AHG/Res. 104 (XIX), adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its nineteenth ordinary session, held at Addis Ababa in June 1983,[1] and endorsed by the General Assembly in its resolution 38/40.

58. With regard to the question of Chad, we can only hope that the recent developments emanating from the Franco-Libyan disengagement agreement of September 1984 may lead to national reconciliation in Chad and to scrupulous respect for the integrity and sovereignty of that country, under the leadership of its legitimate Government—now recognized by the OAU and by the international community—without any outside interference. It is truly high time for that martyred country, rent by internal conflicts and assorted kinds of intervention for the past 20 years, to be able finally to enjoy the peace, national unity and stability so essential to the flourishing of its people and the development of its economy.

59. Just as in Africa, the racist Pretoria Government continues to trample the Charter of the United Nations under foot by oppressing peoples aspiring to peace, so in the Middle East, Israel has been maintaining an atmosphere of tension through its aggressive and annexationist policy against the Arab peoples of the area in general, and the Palestinian people in particular. Israel's systematic recourse to force has inevitably blocked all the peace initiatives undertaken in recent years. The long list of resolutions adopted by the Security Council and the General Assembly is, in this regard, highly indicative of the indifference and cavalier disregard shown by the Tel Aviv Government for the international community's decisions.

60. Now, more than ever before, we must reaffirm the inalienable right of the brother people of Palestine, regrouped within the Palestine Liberation Organization [*PLO*], its sole and legitimate representative, to dignity, self-determination and independence, and to the establishment of a sovereign Palestinian State on the land of Palestine, in keeping with the relevant United Nations resolutions. We must, by all legal means, induce the international community to compel Israel to put an end to the settlements. We must actively support the Lebanese people, which is now gravely divided, to achieve its unity and territorial integrity and regain its stability, free from the acts of aggression perpetrated daily against its sovereignty. We must spare no effort to obtain total withdrawal from the Arab territories occupied by Israel by force since 1967. We must, finally, foster the conditions for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East, with due respect for the right of all the peoples of the region to live within secure and recognized boundaries.

61. My country, Senegal, had the great honour, thanks to the confidence placed in it by the international community, to preside over the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, held at Geneva from 29 August to 7 September 1983. We know that since then the Secretary-General, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the Organization of the Islamic Conference, as well as the Al-Quds Committee, presided over by King Hassan II, of Morocco, have made repeated efforts to ensure progress on this question. Those efforts should be encouraged and continued, because my country, which presides over the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, believes that an International Peace Conference on the Middle East, with the full participation of the PLO, should be able to bring about a definitive solution to the Middle East question.

62. As is well known, for four years now there has been a fratricidal conflict between Iran and Iraq that has taken the lives of thousands of innocent persons; huge material losses have occurred and vast resources have been wrested from the development of the two countries in a deadlocked conflict, and all this has been to no avail. Given this sorry state of affairs, all the initiatives that have been undertaken have proved fruitless. Senegal, which is a member of the Islamic Peace Committee seeking peace between those two countries, takes this opportunity to repeat to the Security Council, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the Organization of the Islamic Conference that it has always supported and will continue to support them in actions designed to obtain a rapid and definitive cease-fire between Teheran and Baghdad and peace negotiations on the basis of the fundamental principles of international law and the stability of the countries of the region.

63. On the Asian continent, Afghanistan and Kampuchea continue, as is known, to be subjected to the laws and domination of foreign Powers. It is therefore only proper to hold that the people of Afghanistan and the people of Kampuchea are entitled to just recognition of their legitimate aspiration to the free choice of their political system and their leaders. In this connection, Senegal will continue to press actively for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from those two countries and for just respect for the Charter of the United Nations with regard to them, through the peaceful application of the good offices machinery of the Secretary-General and the quest for a negotiated solution between the parties concerned. So far as Senegal is concerned, in both cases the main objective is to enable the Afghan and Kampuchean peoples to exercise their right to decide, in all sovereignty, their own destiny.

64. In Kampuchea, more particularly, after three years of praiseworthy and sustained diplomatic efforts, the implementation of the relevant resolutions on this question is still encountering certain obstacles, but they should not deter us from our goal, which is the restoration of peace to Kampuchea and the region. To that end, it should be emphasized that the work of the United Nations, through the *Ad Hoc* Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea, presided over by Senegal, far from being directed against this or that State is, rather, designed to secure conditions necessary for a constructive dialogue between all the parties concerned. In this connection, certain States should reconsider their attitude and join the international consensus on the

question of Kampuchea, particularly as that consensus takes into account the concerns of all the interested parties. Experience has shown that the use of force is not the way to solve this dispute. It is through constructive and responsible dialogue that all the parties concerned can put an end to this conflict, which has lasted far too long.

65. In the Korean peninsula, we keep coming back to the idea of the peaceful reunification of the two sides within the framework of a sincere and fraternal quest for common ground. Our country will therefore continue to support any idea designed to secure this objective and based on the free will of the entire Korean people.

66. Finally, in Central America, if the principle of respect for the right of peoples to self-determination is observed by all, in the sub-continent and elsewhere, there is some hope of seeing the peoples of the region co-operate effectively in easing the many tensions and eliminating the hotbeds of conflict that prevail there. It is in this spirit, and this spirit only, that Senegal intends to continue to give active support to the efforts of the Contadora Group.

67. The picture of the world situation is certainly not an encouraging one. However, like the weather, international political developments are always characterized by a predictable alternation of overcast periods and periods when the elements of nature come together to produce fine weather. Thus, there is no room for despair; rather, we should be optimistic and organize our efforts. Today more than ever those efforts must be applied to the constant search for the most appropriate solutions to the varied economic and financial problems affecting the world and, more particularly, the developing countries.

68. The world is currently experiencing an unprecedented economic crisis, which must not be viewed as a short-term phenomenon, much less as a cyclical occurrence, because it is deeply rooted in the superimposed imbalances and accumulated inequalities which have dominated the international economic system during the 1980s.

69. I shall not refer here to the elements of that crisis nor to its many manifestations, because other speakers have already done this and the United Nations itself, at various levels, has considered all the aspects of this crisis with admirable conviction and determination.

70. In May 1974, at the urging of the countries of the third world, the General Assembly adopted the Declaration and the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [*resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)*]; then in December that same year the Assembly adopted the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [*resolution 3281 (XXIX)*]. This new international economic order was and is still supposed to correct inequalities, remedy injustices and close the immense gap that exists at all levels between the rich and the poor countries. It is in the light of these objectives that I wish, on behalf of Senegal, to emphasize, in this last half of my statement, two fundamental subjects of particular interest for almost all African countries: the indebtedness of the third world and the phenomenon of drought and desertification.

71. Our countries in particular have felt the full force of the world crisis. To varying degrees in recent years, they have recorded large balance-of-payments deficits, aggravated by a sharp decline in their industrial and agricultural production, thus bringing about a steady fall in their per capita income. On top of this, the phenomenon of decreased rainfall has caused a marked foodstuffs deficit. Moreover, the prices of their raw materials and commodities have consistently dropped while the costs of importing capital goods, manufactured articles and finished products have experienced an unprecedented exponential increase. This has led to a considerable fall in the export earnings of our countries.

72. The well-known inadequacy of financial resource flows and the structural difficulties we have experienced have forced us, in order to ensure a minimum of development, to contract major debts for the purpose of breaking the deadlock. Thus, the foreign debt of the developing countries increased from $244 billion in 1977 to $625 billion in 1982 and at the end of 1983 stood at $785 billion.

73. The result of such a situation could not fail to be a serious reduction in the gross national product of our countries and a drastic restriction of their capacity to absorb the effects of the world crisis.

74. At the same time, and on the international level, we have the effects of the following factors: persistent monetary instability; fluctuations in exchange rates, over which we have no control; the particularly high level of interest rates; new protectionist barriers imposed by the industrialized countries; the increase in shipping rates; interest payments on commercial credits; and the constant rise in energy prices and in the cost of oil products and derivatives.

75. As the final blow to our development efforts, we then have, on the monetary side, the inadequacy of financial resources, particularly on concessional terms, the stagnation or even decline of the real value of official development assistance when considered in the light of the cumulative effects of inflation and the drop in the prices of raw materials and, to crown it all, the conditions imposed under the lending policies of official and private financial institutions.

76. The developing countries are certainly not prey to despair, but how can they hope to see any light at the end of the tunnel tomorrow unless specific measures are taken today gradually to end a critical situation whose consequences could, like a shock wave, reach those tomorrow that believe today they are well out of its reach?

77. A few months ago, the Secretary-General undertook the praiseworthy initiative of visiting several countries in the black continent with a view to mobilizing additional resources to support the already fragile economies of the African countries. While we congratulate him on this move, we at the same time renew our appeal to the international community and the specialized financial institutions to organize a world conference on indebtedness to seek the best ways to study this contemporary phenomenon, analyse its evolution and define the most appropriate remedies, in order to give a new impetus to our countries' economies and free them of the bottle-necks and other obstacles trapping them in the maze of mechanisms which are now in place and which have led to the present state of affairs.

78. Throughout this period, drought and desertification have inexorably dominated and invaded our continent. In 1983 no fewer than 35 African countries were afflicted by the phenomenon of drought,

which is no longer limited to certain areas of west Africa but has spread to east Africa, central Africa and even southern Africa, where on both sides of the equator the existence of vast forest areas with dense vegetation stretching from the Atlantic to the Indian Oceans should guarantee regular rainfall; this, however, is now threatened.

79. Some countries of Asia and the Americas are seriously worried by the prospect of the same calamity as is threatening the African countries.

80. Drought is a phenomenon characterized each year by the virtually complete absence of precipitation in areas where irrigation is little known or unknown, thus ruling out any chance of normal agriculture and therefore of a harvest. Desertification occurs like a disease that wherever it goes destroys vegetation and watercourses, dries up rivers, streams, lakes and ponds and wipes out the food plants and aquatic and land animals on which man usually feeds.

81. Every year the Sahara desert in the north of Africa, from Mauritania to the Sudan, from the Atlantic Ocean to the Red Sea, moves tens of kilometres southwards, making hundreds of thousands of hectares unfit for agriculture and causing the movement of thousands of people and their livestock, separating them from their traditions and way of life and causing problems for the people in their new grazing areas.

82. The African countries concerned, thanks to the support and understanding of the international community, have organized themselves into subregional and regional zones to tackle the problem of this dual phenomenon of drought and desertification. As has been indicated by the United Nations Sudano-Sahelian Office [*UNSO*]:

> "The purpose of the fight against the effects of drought and desertification is essentially to rehabilitate and protect the productive potential of the land, water and other natural resources and, at the same time, to develop and strengthen man's ability to exploit these resources . . ."

It was in this spirit that the Permanent Inter-State Committee on Drought Control in the Sahel, composed of eight West African countries, was set up.

83. In 1973 the Secretary-General created UNSO, which between 1973 and 1978 developed into the leading organ of the United Nations system directly mandated by the General Assembly to co-ordinate the activities of United Nations agencies designed to help the countries of the Sudano-Sahelian region in their struggle against the effects of drought. UNSO's mission has since developed to cover, in particular, in addition to the Sudano-Sahelian zone, that situated north of the Equator, and to deal with the implementation of the Plan of Action to Combat Desertification, adopted by the United Nations Conference on Desertification, held at Nairobi in 1977.[2]

84. Just a few weeks ago, in July, on the initiative of President Abdou Diouf, a ministerial conference on the two phenomena—drought and desertification—was held at Dakar, with the participation of the European Economic Community, the United Nations, FAO, UNDP and UNEP, as well as UNSO, which played a particularly active role in the preparation and conduct of the conference and in the achievement of results.

85. Among the conclusions of that conference, which we have communicated to the competent organs of the agencies I have mentioned, the concept of countries stricken by desertification has been accepted, with all the practical consequences that logically follow the adoption of such a concept by the United Nations. My Government hopes that at this session the General Assembly will draw up and adopt a resolution defining precise measures and appealing to the international community to make available increased resources to give effect to the conclusions of the Dakar conference. We are glad that the question of countries stricken by desertification and drought has been included in the agenda of this session.

86. The three fundamental ideas of UNSO—and here let me pay tribute to the officials of that agency for their hard work in seeking solutions to the thorny problem of countries stricken by desertification—are the following: first, aid to the various countries and their regional institutions in the field of planning and formulating projects and programmes designed to fight the effects of drought and desertification; secondly, aid in the mobilization of the necessary resources for the implementation of the various projects and programmes, either on a bilateral or a multilateral basis or through the United Nations Trust Fund for Sudano-Sahelian Activities, with a considerable increase in the resources made available to UNSO, which at present are insignificant compared with the magnitude of the problems; and, thirdly, the management of the Trust Fund and the implementation, through the resources of that Fund, of the projects and programmes to which UNSO contributes.

87. It is obvious that the work of UNSO cannot exclude a range of decisive actions jointly conducted by the countries concerned to help them work out and implement a coherent policy for combating this phenomenon.

88. In conclusion, let me say that our world is today burdened with difficulties of all sorts. Besides our political problems, we now have many questions to ask about the economic future of the peoples whom we represent. Should we not at last be emphasizing what unites us and casting a veil of reason over what divides us, in order to concentrate on what is essential: fostering our solidarity and giving each other reciprocal support. This means that we must act together to eradicate focal points of war, reduce tensions between peoples and turn a deaf ear to the appeals of the sirens of discord and over-armament. To support each other reciprocally means that we must pool the immense technological progress achieved by mankind for the service of mankind and against the policies of the mass destruction of the resources of our planet. To support each other reciprocally means to be responsible and show solidarity with the poor peoples, impoverished by nature or threatened by calamities, those living in the more arid areas of our world or in islands surrounded by the oceans but without rainfall. We must help them to confront this real everyday hardship.

89. Only then need we not despair of ourselves, for we shall be men—men of peace, men of dialogue, men of generosity; men of a generation which will not have lived for nothing and which, having explored the moon, skirted the planets Mars and Saturn, circled Venus and admired Orion, will come back to Earth to control, with head held high, its own destiny, the destiny of mankind.

90. Mr. JACKSON (Guyana): In electing you, Sir, President of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly the international community has honoured a man of remarkable talent and experience. Your contribution in the United Nations has been outstanding and you have served Zambia and Africa with distinction. For us from Guyana there is special pleasure in seeing you guide our deliberations for there are long-standing and unshakeable bonds which unite your country, Zambia, and mine. On a more personal note, we greatly appreciate the role you played in cementing those bonds during the period you served as your country's first accredited representative to Guyana.

91. It gives me no less pleasure to pay a tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Jorge Illueca, of Panama, for the efficiency and dignity with which he discharged his duties as President of the Assembly's thirty-eighth session.

92. With the admission of Brunei Darussalam as its 159th Member, the United Nations has moved another step closer to the goal of universality. In welcoming this new State, Guyana extends the hand of friendship and co-operation.

93. Each year the Assembly's general debate provides an opportunity for a review of the state of international relations. For the past few years, this review has indicated persistent negative trends and tendencies. This year the situation offers little reason for optimism.

94. The scourge of war, from which there is a pledge in the Charter of the United Nations to "save succeeding generations", is a danger now more pressing than it ever was. It is a prospect made grim not only by the gruesome rumination over the use of nuclear power on a limited basis, but also, even more chilling, by the awesome capacity possessed by some States to annihilate us all.

95. The Charter also expresses a resolve "to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples". This is being seriously undermined, for there is a single-minded determination to demand that all of us pursue the same model of development.

96. The militant resurgence of the power politics of yester-year has done violence to another Charter principle, that of the "equal rights . . . of nations large and small", and relegated that principle almost to the realm of mythological musings; and the naked use of power is invoked in circumventing "the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law", sometimes even with the aim of rendering such law effete.

97. A state of generalized crisis permeates international relations. The use and the threat of the use of force in conflict resolution are on the increase. There is today aggravated resort to the military as a means of achieving nationally determined political objectives. Indeed, some Member States may already have reached the stage where, especially in relation to small States, diplomacy and negotiations have been made subservient to the exercise of military might. What we are witnessing is a re-emergence of the militarization of foreign policy and the use of organized violence as an instrument of State policy.

98. Deep-seated economic problems aggravate and are aggravated by political tensions. Freely embraced international co-operation is under serious threat. The evolution of a sense of global community seems to have come to a halt; and there is a frightening tendency to seek recourse almost exclusively to activities within the competence of the individual nation State and a selective bilateralism for development and security.

99. Development is today in many places deferred, and some Governments are faced with the prospect of, or are confronted by, social upheavals and the concomitant political unrest produced by the current environment. Despite the clear need for collective action, there is a resistance to global solutions, a resistance that is manifested in numerous ways. The North-South dialogue, for example, remains stymied by opaqueness and obscurantism.

100. Similarly, in their negotiations with the IMF, developing countries are confronted with inductile prescriptions for economic recovery. General concern over the inflexibility and appropriateness of these measures was highlighted at the Latin American Economic Conference, held at Quito on 12 and 13 January 1984, when leaders of Latin American and Caribbean countries, in the Quito Declaration and Plan of Action, urged the necessity for a revision of IMF conditionality criteria which, in their present form, can endanger stability and development. The leaders called for greater importance to be attached to "the countries' development priorities and their political and social limitations so that they may realistically cope with the internal adjustment need imposed by the present world-wide economic recession" [*see A/39/118, annex*].

101. Recently, the Fourth General Conference of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization, held at Vienna from 2 to 19 August, failed to yield any results beyond general commitments to greater co-operation and adherence to agreed principles. In effect, what has happened over the past few years is the continued postponement of the democratization of international relations, including reform of relevant institutions and modification of their operations.

102. In the area of international economic relations, many are the interpretations of recent developments, the analyses of the performance of the global economy and the prognoses for its future direction. Signs of recovery are visible in developed market economies, but its durability is uncertain. Furthermore, the impact of incipient recovery remains a matter of some conjecture, and its benefits have not had a positive effect on the developing countries as a whole.

103. What is undeniable, too, is that the international community continues to face an accumulation of severe economic problems. Indeed, some of these problems have worsened precisely as a consequence of policies pursued in the name of national recovery. I will, however, refer to only a few of those problems: debt, trade issues and interest rates.

104. The international community is divided on how the debt problem should be properly approached. At the heart of this difficulty is the unwillingness of some States to recognize and appreciate that the debt problem is a global one which requires joint action. It is no longer sufficient for individual debtor and creditor countries to meet and agree on general policy guidelines for resolving the debt problem. Rather, a consensus should be found within the framework of a multilateral political dialogue which includes the participation of con-

cerned international banks and multilateral financial institutions.

105. The countries of the Caribbean Community, which met at Nassau, Bahamas, from 4 to 7 July this year, acknowledged this imperative when they agreed that "the debt problem must be treated internationally, as a matter of urgency, if the developing countries are to play their part in the global economy".

106. On trade issues, protectionism commands attention. Curiously enough, protectionism is everywhere criticized. When some representatives of the developed countries met in London last June at their annual Economic Summit, they enjoined all States, industrialized and developing alike, to resist continuing protectionist measures, to reduce barriers to trade and to make renewed efforts to liberalize and expand international trade in manufactures, commodities and services. Yet protectionism is being increasingly resorted to, sometimes in quite innovative forms, with the principal effect of denying exports from the developing world access to the markets of the developed countries.

107. Those among us who profess the inherent values of free trade have a special responsibility to promote and effect the dismantling of obstructions to it.

108. The trade problem is, however, wider than that of market access. It encompasses the demand for primary commodities and commodity prices which are today weak and unstable. In our efforts to deal with this question, it is necessary to ensure arrangements which afford developing countries just and remunerative prices.

109. The factor which straddles these issues is that of interest rates, whose high level aggravates indebtedness and inhibits our capacities to discharge our debt obligations. A rise in those rates represents the transfer of resources from developing to developed countries. Such a rise also reduces the resources available to developing countries to be applied to productive activities so that such countries might be better enabled to discharge their debt obligations. Additionally, increased returns from exports can, when applied in some cases to debt servicing, produce the classic treadmill situation, that is, moving faster to avoid falling backwards, and in effect standing still.

110. So dramatic are the consequences of high interest rates that the President of the World Bank noted that the punishing effect of today's high interest rates on developing countries stood out in stark relief, and he called upon developed countries to make their reduction a priority policy matter.

111. One unchallenged growth point of international economic relations, however, has been the progressive development of economic and other forms of co-operation among developing countries. South-South co-operation has been pursued in an effort to reap the value of enhanced self-reliance, both individual and collective. Organs of the United Nations system have rendered valuable assistance in this regard. It is a matter of regret that the postures of some developed countries have been at best ambivalent or at worst downright hostile to the involvement of the United Nations system in schemes and programmes encouraging South-South co-operation. It seems inconsistent to contend that developing countries should do more to help themselves and, at the same time, withhold support from, or deliberately obstruct, efforts at assisting the self-reliance of developing countries through the activities of international organizations.

112. Turning to the course of international political relations over the last year, we note that tension has escalated to new and more dangerous levels, feelings of insecurity have intensified, and an increasingly pervasive fear of the present, and for the future, stalks many a land and grips many a people.

113. The single most disturbing factor has been the sharp deterioration in the relations between the super-Powers. The rhetoric has been shrill and bristling with hostility. A toning down of that rhetoric in favour of constructive dialogue has long been urged by many of us in the international community. It is good to note that quite recently there has been some indication of the possibility of movement in that direction. Guyana's hope is that this is no mere tactic of the moment.

114. The armaments culture, especially in the nuclear field, has developed almost with a logic of its own. It is time for the benevolent intervention of human reason for the sake of human survival.

115. Let us all at this session of the General Assembly issue a stirring call for the embrace of serious dialogue to bring an end to the maddening spiral. I believe that it would be of advantage for the Secretary-General to be given an enhanced role in that dialogue. All humankind has a stake in the successful outcome of such dialogue.

116. Pursuit of dialogue would acknowledge a concern voiced not only in the corridors of international politics, for in offices, fields and factories, in every aspect of human endeavour, the common people are expressing their deep concern about the threat to human survival. They seek to build restraints on policies which can only lead inexorably to a holocaust. The young people who in 1985 will celebrate International Youth Year stand as a potent challenge to policies which promise them little hope and security and which are not based on an ethic of survival. People all over, including the youth, demand a world which is safe, one which offers more hope for the future. Guyana is on their side.

117. In the general field of disarmament, there is a curious situation. No Member of the United Nations speaks against disarmament. Yet in the professed cause of security, armaments become more sophisticated and more numerous. At such levels of refinement, the room for error and recall becomes considerably reduced. There is, as a result, a corresponding increase of the likelihood that, by some fickle and faltering twist of fortune, war may become the inevitable consequence of miscalculation. In the absence of agreed restraint, such armaments are themselves purveyors of insecurity and vectors of fear.

118. A prime task is, therefore, to decelerate the feverish preparations for war. International efforts must be urgently intensified to put a stop to the arms race and to accelerate the process towards genuine disarmament.

119. It is perhaps in the Middle East, a continuing hotbed of tension and instability, that we see demonstrated most vividly the futility of policies which seek security based on force of arms. Durable peace in that region will remain an elusive goal so long as Israel pursues, and is encouraged so to do, policies of occupation and annexation and continues to stifle

the genuine political aspirations of the Palestinian people, including their right to a homeland.

120. I reiterate here Guyana's support for the holding of an international peace conference on the Middle East with the participation of all interested parties, including, naturally, the PLO.

121. The tragic war between Iraq and Iran continues to be a matter of deep concern. Immense losses have been inflicted, and many of us have felt anguish and pain. Its prolongation heightens the level of tension in the region, with consequences already extending well beyond it.

122. Significant changes have taken place in the economic and political configuration of southern Africa. Certain conjunctural factors have shaped and influenced those developments, but the basic generic problems of colonialism and *apartheid* persist and fester.

123. The recent convulsions within the South African society, engendered through protest by the oppressed, stand as incontrovertible evidence of the disposition of the majority of the people of that country. The lukewarm reaction of the so-called Coloureds and the Indians to the vaunted constitutional changes also point unmistakably to the deep malaise that afflicts that society. The vast army of the disenfranchised and despised in South Africa is entitled to ask whether the international community cannot do more to support their own efforts and so hasten the demise of the abominable *apartheid* system. Condemnation of *apartheid* is not enough. What is required is practical action to abolish it.

124. There can be no more temporizing in relation to Namibia. The independence of that country cannot be linked to any extraneous issue. Security Council resolution 435 (1978) must be implemented in its entirety. The people of Namibia, led by SWAPO, must no longer be frustrated in their march to freedom and independence. This vestige of colonialism must be extirpated once and for all.

125. How much longer must the people of Korea suffer the division of their country? The situation in the peninsula remains tense. It can, however, be improved if sincere efforts are exerted for the peaceful and independent reunification of Korea without outside interference. The proposals made earlier this year by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for tripartite talks are constructive and warrant our support.

126. General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX) continues to be the corner-stone for a solution to the Cyprus problem. Efforts at the implementation of this and other pertinent resolutions have, unfortunately, not yet produced the desired results. Within the past year, the situation has been compounded by unilateral actions by the Turkish Cypriot community, actions which have no legal validity. The Secretary-General has sustained an intimate involvement in the search for a solution, the vicissitudes notwithstanding. We stand firmly behind him in his current initiatives.

127. My own region, Latin America and the Caribbean, is not immunized from tension and threats to peace and security.

128. In Central America, radical forces are counterposed in a deepening crisis. Addressing themselves to this issue, the heads of Government of the Caribbean Community when they met at Nassau in July of this year declared: "Notwithstanding ideological factors, the fundamental crisis faced by the people of that region was rooted in deep-seated social and economic ills." What is of the utmost importance is the avoidance of external military intervention in seeking a solution to that crisis. I wish to reiterate Guyana's support for the efforts of the Contadora Group in its patient search to find peaceful political solutions to the problems of the subregion. All States should respect and fully support those efforts. Indeed, intervention as a policy mechanism must be abandoned in the region as a whole.

129. The independence and territorial integrity of Belize continue to be under threat from neighbouring Guatemala. Guyana once again affirms its irrevocable support for the desire of the Government and people of Belize to consolidate their independence and to guarantee their territorial integrity.

130. The explosive events in Grenada nearly a year ago caused deep trauma. The General Assembly gave its own determination on those events. Its records, which include a statement of the position of Guyana, speak for themselves. The Commonwealth heads of Government, when they met at New Delhi in November 1983, agreed, in their Final Communiqué, that "the emphasis should now be on reconstruction, not recrimination".[3] Guyana has acted within this framework.

131. The passage of time, in relation to Grenada, can dull the memory and heal wounds, but it should not anaesthetize us to the extent that we either forget lessons or abandon principles. We must take cognizance of the fact that the resolution adopted by the General Assembly [*resolution 38/7*] is still unfulfilled in all its parts. We must also, in the wake of that circumstance, strengthen the capacity of the United Nations for increasing the security of small States.

132. For the entire period of Guyana's existence as an independent country, relations with our neighbour, Venezuela, have been dominated by the controversy that has resulted from the Venezuelan contention that the Arbitral Award of 1899, which settled the boundary between our two countries, is null and void. Both the facts of the case and their impact on our relations with Venezuela have been presented by us to the General Assembly for the past three years. We are still some considerable way from reaching an agreement on the basis of which we can lay to rest once and for all this ghost of the past.

133. Under the terms of the Geneva Agreement of 1966,[4] the Secretary-General has been entrusted with the task of selecting a suitable means of settlement. If the search for a peaceful solution is to be undertaken in earnest, a climate conducive to success is a prerequisite. Suspicion and distrust, which have too often infected past relations, must give way to understanding. Confidence flows from respect.

134. The Secretary-General was prescient when he asked for and obtained from both countries assurances that we would do everything necessary "in order to foster and maintain the most favourable climate for the effective application of the Geneva Agreement". Guyana gave that assurance readily since it has always been our wish to develop friendly relations with Venezuela. Since early this year, we have noted signs from Caracas of a desire to reciprocate and extend the hand of friendship. As it has consistently in the past, Guyana pledges that it will co-operate fully towards the attainment of a peaceful settlement in an atmosphere of friendship.

135. The future of international organizations is at this time a matter of major concern, for notions are abroad that these organizations should subscribe to a single ethos and that national priorities must be imposed upon mutual co-operation in the wider context of international peace, security and development. The practice is also recurring among the powerful of bypassing international organizations, such as the United Nations, in settling issues properly the concern of those organizations.

136. Let us recall that the Charter of the United Nations advocates universality and therefore presupposes pluralism. Diversity of perception, of position and even of posture must therefore logically follow. Thus, if international organizations are to function properly, they must reflect, in debate no less than in decision, the variety of values held by the membership. Therefore to attempt to impose a uniform value system on this or any other international organization is to endeavour to make that organization a clone of that system. Such a development would be contradictory to the purpose of international organizations and therefore self-defeating.

137. No Member of the Organization can assert with conviction that the United Nations system is sufficient to ensure its security and to protect fully all its interests. But it does provide us all with a forum in which the reconciliation of divergent and sometimes conflicting interests can be engineered. For small States like Guyana, the United Nations is also an important part of our security shield.

138. International relations are changing and complex. Our ability to cope with such a dynamic situation will be dependent on the capacity and ingenuity applied to adapting institutions to make them more adequately responsive to current needs. To desire that institutions function as if the objective conditions in which they operate are the same today as in times past is to retreat from reality, to indulge in fantasies and to pursue a chimera. But, in seeking to correct deficiencies and make organizations more effective, we must be careful lest in the fervour of our efforts some of us in effect swim against the tide of human development and perhaps inadvertently bring about a roll-back of democracy.

139. The phenomenon we are dealing with is an assault upon institutions and principles which constitute the very basis of international co-operation.

140. We are also faced with a paradox. The institutions under attack are universalist in nature and generally make extensive use of the majority principle in decision-making. On the other hand, those institutions based on a different model and dominated by the wielders of economic power are extolled as exemplary.

141. The paradox of the threat to international co-operation deepens when we consider that there is an acknowledged movement towards greater regional and subregional co-operation, especially in the economic and other functional fields. Yet it is precisely at this time of enhanced endeavours at regional co-operation that a retreat from multilateral activities that at once transcend and encompass regional co-operation is being vigorously advocated and pursued.

142. In promoting effective democratic international organizations, no one calls for the abandonment of the pursuit of national interests. On the other hand, it must surely be possible through commitment and common purpose to utilize international organizations in a way that can smooth the contours of conflict and confrontation and advance the prospects for co-operation.

143. I suggest that what is required is the elevation to a universalist plane of the reconciliation of our separate interests and agreement upon appropriate restraints on the application of power in its various forms and manifestations, all in the interest of the common good of mankind.

144. Next year, the fortieth anniversary of the signing of the Charter of the United Nations will be marked. Preparations for that anniversary have already begun. Those celebrations should not be merely ritualistic. They must be invested with meaning and with purpose.

145. Guyana believes that out of our deliberations this year should come agreement on action for strengthening the United Nations and better realizing the purposes and principles of its Charter. In this context, we should also consider measures which will have as their objective the strengthening of regional and subregional organizations and which will assign an enhanced role to the United Nations system.

146. Since assuming office, the Secretary-General has expressed profound concern for the vitality and effectiveness of the United Nations and has advanced a number of valuable ideas for action by Member States to achieve this end. Once again, in his report on the work of the Organization [*A/39/1*], he has provided us with a frank and clear analysis of current deficiencies of the United Nations and ourselves and a framework for activities in the future which shows great insight. As he said,

> "Let us look back at the road we have travelled, distil the experience and set out again refreshed and with a new determination. The purposes for which the United Nations was set up are essential for the future of our planet. The vision expressed in the Charter remains, and we should rally to it."

147. There is a serious challenge before us. The imperative is a political no less than a moral one. It is to mobilize the world's people in support of the cause of the United Nations—that of survival, of development and of peace.

148. The real alternatives are between the maintenance or the quest for supremacy and the building of a co-operative global partnership. I believe that agreed arrangements are possible through the resolute pursuit by all of us of a policy of active and peaceful coexistence. It is, I venture to suggest, a necessary condition of peace and stability and of the real security of all States. But that condition is not sufficient. Such a policy must be buttressed by complementary ones which do not frustrate actual and nascent processes for securing peace.

149. The Movement of Non-Aligned Countries has been in the vanguard of the forces working for a harmonious global environment. That Movement, to which Guyana is proud to belong, brings together the collective experience and yearnings of the peoples of more than 100 countries and movements. We are of different ideological backgrounds, but we share a common platform for peace and common aspirations to development.

150. Our Movement, which provides a viable alternative to bloc politics, has, the odds notwithstanding, indefatigably alerted the international community to the prospects of nuclear disaster and fought strenuously for the adoption of genuine and complete

disarmament, a task now made most urgent. Despite external and internal difficulties, we as a collectivity have consistently advocated respect for the fundamental principles of independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-intervention and the non-use of force.

151. Non-alignment has never wavered in its support for the strengthening of the United Nations in the attainment of those objectives. Multilateralism and internationalism beckon us forward.

152. Mr. AL-NUAMI (United Arab Emirates) (*interpretation from Arabic*): At the outset, it gives me great pleasure to extend to you, Sir, on behalf of the delegation of the United Arab Emirates, our warmest congratulations on your election as President of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. Your election is an expression of the international community's recognition of your experience and ability, and an assertion of the important role played by your friendly country, Zambia. We are confident that your ability will contribute positively and effectively to the realization of the hopes pinned on this session.

153. We are pleased to extend our thanks and appreciation to your predecessor, Mr. Jorge Illueca, who skilfully presided over the thirty-eighth session; we highly praise his efforts aimed at the settlement of international disputes.

154. We should like to seize this opportunity to renew our expression of confidence in the endeavours undertaken by the Secretary-General and to reaffirm our support for his persistent efforts aimed at ensuring adherence to the purposes and principles of the United Nations and enhancing its role in the settlement of the international disputes that threaten the security and existence of mankind.

155. My country's delegation is pleased warmly to welcome the admission of the State of Brunei Darussalam to the United Nations; we look forward to the establishment of mutual co-operation with that friendly country based on our common ties.

156. As we are approaching the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, we hope that the day will come when the countries still under colonialism or foreign occupation will become free and join the United Nations.

157. The Secretary-General has indicated, in his report on the work of the Organization [*A/39/1*], that the past year has been characterized by great-Power tension and by violence or threatened violence in various parts of the world. The cycle of violence referred to by the Secretary-General and undoubtedly involving almost all parts of the world, is caused by lack of good sense, by the obstinate adherence by States to concepts of self-interest and by the exertion of pressure on third-world countries to prevent them from achieving stability and devoting their national resources to the development of their economic potential. Hence, security has become the preoccupation of individuals and nations in our contemporary world.

158. Our region, the Gulf area, is one of the regions of the world where tension has increased as a result of the destructive war raging between two neighbours—Iraq and Iran. The consequences of that war have affected international shipping lines, thus seriously endangering international navigation in the Gulf area and inflicting severe damage not only on the economies of the Gulf countries but also on those of the entire world.

159. Events have shown that the course of that war, and its consequences, will only bring havoc to the two Muslim peoples in particular and to the security of the Gulf area, as well as to world peace in general. The real beneficiaries of the continuation of that war are those who exploit regional disputes for the attainment of their own aims, namely, the extension of their spheres of influence in the world through the creation of regional climates conducive to that end.

160. In view of our responsibility with regard to the region's stability and security as well as the maintenance of international peace, we have supported all the efforts being exerted by the Secretary-General, the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries for the halting of this haemorrhage, bringing the combatants to the negotiating table to settle their differences through peaceful means, infusing a spirit of peace and leading to an accord between the two States.

161. In our endeavour to achieve these lofty goals, we have not only supported those initiatives, but we have also contributed, in co-ordination with the member States of the Gulf Co-operation Council, by contacting both parties in an attempt to put an end to that war in a manner guaranteeing the legitimate rights of both countries.

162. In this context, we put on record with appreciation the positive response exhibited by brotherly Iraq towards the initiatives taken and its declared readiness to end the war immediately. We look forward to the day when the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran will do likewise and respond positively to the efforts and initiatives undertaken for that purpose.

163. We, in the Gulf, attach particular importance to freedom of navigation because of its close connection with the development of our resources and economy, in addition to its significance to the world economy. We are opposed to any action which hinders or restricts freedom of navigation on the high seas. Hence, we were gravely concerned over the recent events in the Red Sea, given their inherent danger and threat to navigation in that vital waterway.

164. On the basis of this understanding and in view of our area's direct link with the Indian Ocean, my country continues strongly to support the efforts undertaken for the adoption of the necessary measures for the implementation of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace [*resolution 2832 (XXVI)*] and for effective compliance with it on the part of the international community.

165. The United Arab Emirates has affirmed on more than one occasion that the security of the Gulf area is exclusively the security of its States and they are directly responsible for it. This principle is an extension of the general principle that my country continues to adhere to, namely, non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries.

166. The Middle East is one of those regions that continues to suffer from tensions. It witnesses daily, in an unprecedented manner, displacement, murder, destruction, wars, occupation and violence. The region has become the scene of the most violent acts of aggression in the contemporary world. An entire people has been denied stability and peace in a free and independent homeland, while other peoples are threatened with the same destiny. Calls for help and denunciations have been made on an almost daily

basis from this and other forums; but the world stands helpless, despite all the progress made in various fields and at all levels, unable to put an end to the destructive violence which has already lasted too long and has almost become the inevitable destiny of man in the region.

167. The conditions which prevail in the Middle East region stem, in their origin and development, from Israel's continued persistence in perpetrating aggression and its refusal to comply with the resolutions of the international community. For this reason, the question of Palestine remains unresolved. It constitutes a source of continued concern because of the suffering of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples and the risk of global confrontation which could lead to a destructive war extending in its effects beyond the States of the region, to engulf the whole world.

168. The true reasons behind the continuation of this problem are well known to the international community, namely, Israel's desire to achieve the Zionist dream by means of expansion and hegemony over the States of the region, the convergence of this desire with the goal of certain States to play havoc with the destiny of the region's peoples and the pursuance by these States of policies hindering the Security Council from adopting resolutions aimed at putting an end to aggression and holding the aggressor responsible for its aggression.

169. We maintain and stress the conviction that the Middle East problem is a clear expression and an inevitable outcome of the failure to settle the core question, namely, the question of Palestine. The conclusion of a just and comprehensive settlement should be predicated, fundamentally, on the following: first, recognition of the inalienable rights of the people of Palestine to return to its homeland and to establish its independent State on its national soil under the leadership of its sole and legitimate representative, the PLO; and secondly, Israeli withdrawal from all the occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem.

170. The continued absence of such settlement could lead only to further deterioration of the situation and greater tension and, consequently, to the creation of new problems, as is the case with the Israeli occupation of southern Lebanon. Thus, the world finds itself, once again, confronted with derivative issues that require further efforts that may drag on indefinitely.

171. Lebanon, a vivid example of this, has been the victim of Israeli aggression and occupation for over two years. In spite of all the efforts made and resolutions adopted by the United Nations, particularly Security Council resolutions 508 (1982) and 509 (1982), which call for the withdrawal of Israeli forces immediately and unconditionally to the internationally recognized borders, the Israeli forces continue to occupy southern Lebanon and to subject its population to all forms of military and economic pressures in order to force them to leave their lands. In this context, we regret the exercise by the United States of its right of veto last month, thus preventing all the other members of the Security Council from adopting a humanitarian draft resolution,[5] calling upon Israel to desist from its inhuman practices against the population of the south and to comply with the provisions of the fourth Geneva Convention of 1949.

172. The separate attempts and the partial solutions aimed at addressing the Middle East problem will remain, in their essence and ramifications, insufficient for establishing a sound basis for the desired just and comprehensive settlement. Therefore, we affirm that General Assembly resolution 38/58 C, which calls for the convening of an International Peace Conference on the Middle East, with the participation of all the parties, including the PLO, offers the appropriate framework for the establishment of the conditions for a just and durable peace in the region. We hope that certain major Powers will reconsider their position on the convening of this conference in conformity with their international responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.

173. Southern Africa, like the Middle East, continues to suffer from the abhorrent yoke of colonialism and the practices of racial discrimination, which constitute an affront to humanity. Such practices cast doubt on the ability of the international community to shoulder its responsibilities towards a large segment of mankind in the realization of justice, equality, freedom and human dignity. We salute the heroic struggle of the nationalists for freedom, equality and independence, and we reaffirm our belief in their just cause and our firm determination to continue to support their legitimate struggle.

174. We condemn the policy of *apartheid* pursued by the Government of South Africa. We consider that policy a crime against humanity, whose elimination requires concerted international efforts. This applies to the so-called new constitution introduced recently by the Pretoria régime and aimed at consolidating the policy of *apartheid*. Hence, we support Security Council resolution 554 (1984) and the recent resolution adopted by the General Assembly [*resolution 39/2*] which condemned that act with all its implications.

175. On the same premise, we salute the just struggle of the people of Namibia under the leadership of SWAPO, and we affirm our continued support for the self-determination, independence and territorial integrity of Namibia. We are very confident and unshaken in our belief that no matter how oppressive and evil aggression may be, it is inevitable for justice to win and for man's dignity to be respected.

176. In accordance with the basic principles upon which our foreign policy is predicated, together with our commitment to the Charter of the United Nations and international norms and our conviction that non-interference in the internal affairs of other States is conducive to the alleviation, to a great extent, of international tension, we call for the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Afghanistan and for the freedom of its people to establish the régime they choose. This applies to Kampuchea, whose people have long suffered from foreign interference. It also applies to the problems facing the States of Central America. In this connection, we endorse the principles and concepts adopted by the Contadora Group for the settlement of those problems. Likewise, we urge that the dispute between North Korea and South Korea be settled through free dialogue between the two countries in order to achieve the aspirations of their people for unity.

177. With regard to the question of Cyprus, we commend the recent efforts made by the Secretary-

General to help the Turkish and Greek communities of Cyprus to arrive at a solution to this problem that would guarantee the rights of both communities, ensure security and coexistence for the people of the island and guarantee the territorial integrity, independence and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus.

178. We believe that arms control and disarmament are of vital importance for international peace and security and that they can be realized only in an atmosphere of political stability and mutual confidence, particularly among the States possessing nuclear weapons.

179. The Secretary-General has pointed out in his report on the work of the Organization [*A/39/1*] that the lack of concrete progress in disarmament and arms control has aroused deep fears of a nuclear confrontation. We are deeply concerned over the escalation of the production and stockpiling of nuclear weapons and their storage in various parts of the world. Moreover, our concern is aggravated by the stalemate in the negotiations between the two super-Powers and the failure to resume them with regard to control of the development and production of certain kinds of nuclear weapons. Because of this grave situation, it is becoming more and more difficult to live in an atmosphere of escalating fear and panic from the possible outbreak of nuclear war. Furthermore, it is no longer possible to overlook the enormous resources that are wasted on armaments at a time when mankind is in dire need of those resources for the purposes of economic and social development.

180. The United Arab Emirates welcomes the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones, including the region of the Middle East. We hope that the international community, and in particular the great Powers, will view this matter with the importance it deserves, since it constitutes a fundamental element in the maintenance of security and stability in the region.

181. The political situation cannot be examined separately from the prevailing economic problems. The economic problems in the world today indicate that the economic crisis continues to affect all countries. The current situation is not only disappointing but also a source of deep concern over the possible consequences.

182. While economic stagnation, low growth rates and high rates of unemployment and inflation have all become constant aspects of the world economy, their effects are most severely felt by the developing countries. Those countries are unable to sustain their economic and social development programmes and to arrest the continued deterioration in their already low standards of living. There is overall agreement that the continuation of such a situation could ultimately have catastrophic consequences.

183. Although in some developed countries the economy has experienced relatively slight recovery, that does not call for much optimism because that recovery is limited and has not brought about any real changes in economic policies with respect to current problems. In their economic policies, the developed countries have not always been willing to address the basic problems of the world economy.

184. Hence, the economies of the developing countries have continued to suffer a great deal from the consequences of such practices as continued protectionism, congestion of export markets, deterioration of the terms of trade, decline in export revenues, exacerbation of foreign debts, high level of interest rates and increasing pressure for instituting external structural adjustments. All of this has created enormous difficulties for the developing countries and made them unable to pursue their economic development programmes and to halt the erosion of their standards of living, thus creating a situation that could seriously threaten their social stability.

185. This critical situation of the world economy calls for serious and responsible consideration on the part of all in order to alleviate its negative effects within a comprehensive framework, with the participation of the developing and developed countries alike. It is therefore imperative to strengthen the role of the United Nations and its collective framework in a process of international economic reform.

186. It is also imperative to establish sound and objective foundations to be observed by all other international institutions in the consideration of the economic problems of the world on an interdependent, balanced and comprehensive basis, in order to lead ultimately to the establishment of a just and effective international economic order.

187. This appeal has its roots in numerous resolutions adopted by the General Assembly, particularly those pertaining to the establishment of a new international economic order; it also stems from the continued efforts of the developing countries, represented by the Group of 77, which have been reflected in the positive decisions adopted by that Group in various economic forums; and it has been clearly expressed in our persistent pursuit to launch global negotiations, since we believe in the important role such negotiations could play in reforming the world economy.

188. We aspire to a world built on the solid foundations of justice, amity and peace, a world in which each State, big or small, will enjoy stability and a secure future.

189. Mr. OUMAROU (Niger) (*interpretation from French*): The thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly was concluded only a few days ago, under the distinguished presidency of Mr. Jorge Illueca, of Panama, to whom, on behalf of the delegation of the Niger, I should like to pay a most sincere tribute for the dedication and skill with which he discharged his responsibilities, despite the constraints and numerous problems he encountered due to the high position he occupies in his country.

190. The unanimous will of this prestigious Assembly has given you, my dear brother Lusaka, the heavy responsibility of guiding the work of the thirty-ninth session. That choice does honour to you and your country, Zambia, and to our continent, Africa. We welcome that choice and wish to congratulate you most warmly.

191. I personally have had the great privilege of knowing you, Sir, for a long time here at the United Nations. Indeed, I have known you as a brother in our struggle, and I have been able to appreciate your great capacity for work and your deep knowledge of the functioning of the Organization. Humanism has characterized all your actions and the wisdom of each of your acts. It is by no means fortuitous that since 1979 you have been presiding over the United Nations Council for Namibia, which certainly would have carried out its historic task long ago if the

manoeuvres and delaying tactics of those responsible for making decisions in the world had not time and again blocked your initiatives and your efforts. It is our hope that your spiritual and intellectual qualities will enable you successfully to carry out the new task entrusted to you. You may count on the constant support of my country's delegation.

192. I should like also, on behalf of President Seyni Kountché and the Government of the Niger, to convey to the Secretary-General our great appreciation of his tireless and diverse efforts in the service of the world since his election as head of the Organization. When he took office he devoted much study to the strengthening and renewal of the United Nations, and he has taken numerous initiatives since then; all of this deserves our appreciation and our support.

193. I wish finally to express to the State of Brunei Darussalam—which it has already been our great pleasure to welcome to membership of the Organization of the Islamic Conference last January at Casablanca—the warm congratulations of the Government and the people of the Niger on its admission to the United Nations.

194. The evaluation of the international situation given here at the thirty-eighth session on behalf of the Government of the Niger [*30th meeting*] was not an optimistic one. The events we have already deplored and others that have occurred since that time have unfortunately not dispelled our apprehensions.

195. For years, the collective attention of the nations and Governments represented in this Hall has been focused on the continuing deterioration of the international situation and on its potential dangers for us all. But as though this were inevitable—which makes one despair of human nature—the situation seems to continue to deteriorate day by day, despite the considerable means at our disposal to establish the conditions for a better life on earth and to resolve all the problems facing today's world.

196. In South Africa, violence continues, and when I speak of violence I am not referring to the glorious spirit of revolt which increasingly rouses and encourages the blacks: I am referring to the savage, blind, continuous oppression which the whites of that country impose daily on those blacks, martyred by a despicable system which they are determined to combat and destroy. We in the Niger have been consistent on this issue, and we shall not change. As long as *apartheid* continues to humiliate and dehumanize our brothers, and as long as the white minority, with stupid stubbornness and perverse selfishness, continues to cling to this racist hydra, which holds it up to ridicule and makes it an international outlaw, we shall continue to fight this régime and shall refuse it any recognition as a part of mankind.

197. Similarly, the question of Namibia continues to be one of high priority for the United Nations. We have waited long, and we had long hoped that, thanks to efforts throughout the world, and particularly in the Security Council, this Territory, which is illegally occupied by South Africa, would achieve independence before 1984. Unfortunately, our faint warnings and the complacency which many of us have shown towards the minority racist régime of Pretoria have made it impossible thus far to attain that result. Today, the chances for success in achieving a negotiated settlement seem to be slimmer than ever. Therefore, the international community must react more firmly to South Africa's constant refusal to cooperate with the United Nations with a view to implementing Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

198. I wish to reaffirm the Niger's active support for SWAPO, the sole authentic representative of the Namibian people, and for the national liberation movements of South Africa. We also assure the front-line States of our commitment to them. We express the hope that no respite will be given to the minority racist régime of Pretoria and that Africa, and the entire international community, will remain resolutely united in the face of South Africa's racist, colonial defiance.

199. But it is not only southern Africa which is a source of concern to the world today: in the Horn of Africa, instability has become endemic and has resulted in numbers of refugees never before seen by our continent. Peace there is exceedingly precarious, and war and famine have wrought ravages of which only the indifference of the media allows the broad masses to be unaware. To be sure, solutions have been sought, but these have apparently not been commensurate with the seriousness of the situation and the growing magnitude of events. The United Nations could still do more, and that is why we urge it to act vigorously.

200. In Chad—plunged into gloom and nearly destroyed by an excessively long and murderous war—we must say that we begin to see a glimmer of hope in the comparative normalization, over a period of something more than two years, of the economic and social life of that country. The recent announcement of the withdrawal of foreign forces stationed on the territory of Chad gives rise to new optimism—to the extent, and only to the extent, that the commitments undertaken by the parties concerned are scrupulously observed, that any impulses to return in one or another guise are blocked or avoided, and that neither the territorial integrity nor the sovereignty of this fraternal country are compromised or crushed in the course of this operation. We have always said and reiterated that, in our view, the solution to the problem of Chad is a matter for our brothers in Chad alone, free from all expansionist, annexationist, ideological and colonialist designs. Today, more than ever, we maintain that position.

201. With regard to Western Sahara, we cannot but deplore the damage done to the OAU by this question, on which Africa has laboured so long at councils of ministers and at summit conferences, but of which the mere mention outside of such meetings gives rise only to delays and confusion. We in the Niger take it as given that the right of the Saharan people to self-determination must be respected and that the full implementation of the resolution AHG/Res.104 (XIX), adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its nineteenth ordinary session, held at Addis Ababa in June 1983[1]—in favour of which my country voted unreservedly and without any ulterior motives—must constitute a decisive step in the right direction.

202. Since you too, Mr. President, are an African brother, this may be the place to express our regret that in a continent such as ours, where the structural weakness of our States should in the normal course of events strengthen our collective devotion to the ideals of dialogue, tolerance and peace, a mere

transitory disagreement on one question or another should paralyse us and eclipse our greatest achievements and the joint efforts we should be making to help each other rehabilitate ourselves after centuries of foreign domination. What a catastrophe for mankind and for the world it would be if, for lack of consensus—on the question of disarmament, for example—the next General Assembly session should be adjourned or jeopardized!

203. Therefore, the Niger here appeals to Africa to do all in its power to save its prestige and its place in the world by saving the OAU, that is, by fulfilling its duties of cohesion, solidarity and unity.

204. Despite the constant preoccupation by the United Nations with the establishment of a stable order in the Middle East, and despite all the efforts that have been made to that end by each of our States, the situation in that part of the world remains explosive. Israel persists in occupying Arab territory and carrying out acts of aggression and sabotage against its neighbours. The Palestinian people is still waiting for the international community to redress the injustice from which it has suffered for many years now and to ensure thereby the recovery of its inalienable national rights.

205. The establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East is an obligation of the United Nations and is in keeping with the vital interests of world peace. Therefore, it is indispensable that we continue to seek, under the auspices of the Organization, the beginning of an active process of negotiations in order to achieve a comprehensive, just and lasting solution to the Middle East crisis. And this is an appropriate time to stress that, to be just and lasting, the peace we are seeking must be based on the following principles, which have already been repeated time and again: the inadmissibility of the occupation of territory by force, and hence Israel's unconditional withdrawal from all the occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem; recognition of the Palestinian people's right to return, to self-determination and to the establishment of an independent and sovereign State in its homeland, Palestine, under the leadership of the PLO; and, finally, the full and total participation of the PLO in any peace process.

206. At this stage, I would assure the martyred Palestinian people and battered Lebanon, as well as all the brother Arab countries of the battlefield, of the unswerving and active support of the Government and people of the Niger. The Niger, as is well known, spares no effort to ensure the triumph of justice and right in that part of the world.

207. When speaking of peace, how can we forget the war that has been raging for four years now between Iran and Iraq? The great loss of human life and the considerable material damage caused by this war to both sides and the disturbances it has created in international maritime navigation, and hence in international trade, call for energetic action by the community of nations to put an urgent end to hostilities. The efforts undertaken to that end are highly commendable, and they must be encouraged and stepped up. I have in mind particularly the efforts undertaken in the framework of the Islamic Peace Committee, those initiated within the framework of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the initiatives of the Security Council and the Secretary-General.

208. We note also, with great anguish and concern, other hotbeds of tension, particularly in Afghanistan and Kampuchea, two independent and sovereign countries, Members of the United Nations and members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, that have been struggling for many years now against foreign occupation. The Niger calls for the speedy implementation of the relevant General Assembly resolutions, which call, in particular, for the withdrawal of foreign troops from the territories of those two countries and for respect for their independence and their status as non-aligned States.

209. I have in mind also the Korean peninsula, a hotbed of great tension, which today is divided as a result of the vicissitudes of history, but whose people aspire to national reunification. In the spirit of the South-North Joint Communiqué of 4 July 1972,[6] we encourage and support the efforts to achieve a peaceful and negotiated solution to this problem.

210. To sum up, everywhere in the world our action must be designed to encourage and systematize recourse to peaceful means for the settlement of disputes between States and to cultivate patiently and staunchly the spirit of détente and peaceful coexistence among all nations. That is one of the most reliable ways of making an effective contribution to the achievement of peace in the world, the highest aspiration of the peoples we represent.

211. Along with these many conflict situations, the world is also facing a severe economic crisis, which has had adverse effects on all our countries, particularly the developing ones. The drop in the prices of primary commodities, the decrease in development aid, the difficulties of access to international capital markets, the generalized monetary disorder caused, in particular, by the rampaging dollar, the high interest rates, the dizzying rise of public debt servicing, and the increase of protectionism have created an untenable situation in many developing countries.

212. The indicators in this regard are alarming. In 1981 the gross national product of the developing countries, taken as a whole, increased by only 1.5 per cent. In 1982 this rate fell still further. The per capita growth rate was therefore negative. Today the total foreign debt of those countries is more than $900 billion. The prices of their primary commodities, on the exporting of which many of them still depend, have fallen, in real value, to the lowest level since 1945. Thus, according to statistics furnished by UNCTAD, in 1981 and 1982 the non-oil-exporting developing countries lost $34 billion as a result of the deterioration of their terms of exchange. Today the figure is probably close to $70 billion or $80 billion.

213. The situation of the African countries, on which I should like to dwell, is even more drastic. The years 1982 and 1983 were, as noted by experts of the Economic Commission for Africa, years of crisis for the African continent. Global production of goods and services was in a state of stagnation in 1982 and, contrary to forecasts, the growth rate for 1983 was very low; it was estimated at only 0.2 per cent as compared to 1982. Hence, since 1980, there has been a continued decrease, in absolute terms, of about 10 per cent per year in the per capita production in our continent.

214. The significant drop in their rates of exchange, together with other factors linked to the international markets, has slowed down or stopped the process of development in many African countries, whose abili-

ty to meet their investment needs has considerably decreased. It is no exaggeration to say that many of our countries now work solely to pay their debts, to survive or to try to manage their meagre gains. At the same time, the food situation of the continent has dangerously deteriorated not only because of the low level of agricultural production and discouraging problems in the rural areas, but also because of the unceasing drought besetting entire regions, particularly the Sahel. Thus, the food situation remains precarious in at least 24 African countries stricken by drought.

215. The Secretary-General, who visited the countries of the Sahel last January, brought back most useful information on the effects of the drought on human beings, on cattle and on the ecosystem. While he noted that after the terrible drought of the years 1970–1973, which caused considerable damage to the Sahel as a whole, commendable efforts had been made by the Governments of the countries concerned to replenish their decimated livestock and to lay down a real agricultural policy both at the national and the regional levels, he also had to note that those countries have not really gained anything yet; the paucity of their gains is quite obvious, not only because of climatic disasters and the adverse effects of desertification, but also because of the present serious international situation, which makes any real continuity in the majority of their development programmes impossible.

216. We are grateful to him for the attention he has given to our problems and in particular for the structures he decided to set up immediately both here and at Nairobi in order to follow developments in the situation in Africa. However, we know that the scope of the situation goes beyond his efforts and the means currently available to the United Nations family, whose resources are dwindling and drying up.

217. What we need is a global effort that requires the organization of a dynamic chain of international solidarity to assist the millions of men, women and children threatened by hunger, thirst, disease and death. We must also give these States the means to assume their duty of participating in the maintenance of balance in societies and world peace. Continuing to ignore their present difficulties could lead to explosive situations which would then have to be settled by perhaps asking the world to come together as a matter of emergency to assess and redress the damage caused by its own selfishness and uncaring attitude. Africa is indeed an intergal part of this planet. We must not be indifferent to its current difficulties and deficiencies.

218. After all, this great and beautiful continent cannot be considered indefinitely as a continent of famine and hunger, of disasters and victims, of poverty and the poor, of incurable suffering and unremitting problems. After having been the cradle of mankind, it is still capable of great fruitfulness, which will one day undoubtedly benefit all peoples and all nations.

219. It is therefore high time to act resolutely to stop the continuing fragmentation of the world economy and to cure those ills from which the most disadvantaged countries suffer. Any salutary action implies greater justice in trade relations, stabilization of the prices of raw materials, judicious monetary reform, a courageous solution to the debt problem of the third world, increased development aid—in brief, the search for ways and means to achieve the establishment of a new international economic order.

220. In May 1980, during a seminar organized here jointly by UNITAR, the Centre for Economic and Social Studies in the Third World and the Club of Rome, I stressed that " . . . the violations of the dignity of man that arise from unjust poverty and destitution and the intense feelings of frustration that come from the wrongful distribution of the wealth of the earth intensify dissension among peoples and lead to confrontation and war between nations".

221. We must put an end to this state of affairs if we really wish to contribute to harmony among men and to give a gathering such as ours the greatest meaning and effect possible on the course of the world and full credibility in the eyes of all the men, women and children who are waiting expectantly—they know not for what—but who are nevertheless waiting.

222. President Seyni Kountché would have come here personally and in his capacity as acting Chairman of the Permanent Inter-State Committee on Drought Control in the Sahel [*CILSS*] had not the most catastrophic harvests the Niger has ever known obliged him to remain with his people to share their concerns, calm their fears and actively consider with them the measures to be implemented in order to save our herdsmen and our brave peasants, who are the victims of a combination of unfortunate factors and who have been deprived of the harvests they justly expected from their hard work. On his behalf and on behalf of all the CILSS countries, it is therefore my pressing duty to remind all Governments and institutions represented here that they must act in solidarity with regard to this situation.

223. Mr. EASTMAN (Liberia): Sir, I hail, salute and congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. You bring to this high position a wealth of experience and personal qualifications that should serve you well in the performance of your duties. Africa is proud of you as its son and wishes you success as you preside over the deliberations of this lofty body. You can rest assured of the fullest cooperation and support of my delegation.

224. I also wish to express our appreciation to your predecessor, Mr. Jorge Illueca, who ably conducted the affairs of the Assembly during the past year. He will be remembered as decisive and fair.

225. The Secretary-General deserves commendation for his efforts in the search for international peace and understanding. We know that under his authority, the Organization will continue to strive for the maintenance of peace and will endeavour to achieve social and economic stability for mankind.

226. We welcome the admission of Brunei Darussalam to membership of the United Nations. This act was a significant step in the affirmation of the role of the United Nations and the principle of universality. We are confident that Brunei Darussalam will make every effort to promote the goals of the Organization and join in the struggle for the total elimination of the remaining pockets of colonialism.

227. During the Assembly's thirty-eighth session [*6th meeting*], my Head of State, Samuel K. Doe, made a comprehensive report to this body on the progress towards a return to civilian government in Liberia. At that time he informed delegations that a national constitution commission had completed a

draft constitution which had been turned over to a constituent Advisory Assembly comprising representatives from each of the political subdivisions of the country for review and recommendations to the People's Redemption Council. A revised draft constitution, which was presented to the People's Redemption Council by the constituent Advisory Assembly was subsequently accepted and thereafter presented to the people of Liberia in a referendum. The Liberian people voted overwhelmingly for acceptance of the draft constitution.

228. Today, with the Assembly's kind indulgence, I shall update that report. The People's Redemption Council has been dissolved and replaced by a National Interim Assembly, comprising representatives from all the political subdivisions of the country, to guide the transition process. The ban on politics has been lifted, making possible the formation of political parties. So far, 11 political groupings have been announced. It is with such encouraging progress that the Government and the people of Liberia look forward to a peaceful transition to civilian rule.

229. As we continue on this path, we are mindful that the transition to civilian government is fraught with difficulties but filled with challenges. We firmly believe that the ultimate success of this process will rest primarily upon the intentions and the resolve of the Liberian people and the goodwill and understanding of the international community. We therefore use this opportunity to call upon friendly Governments and all who are gathered here today to identify with us and lend your fullest support to these endeavours.

230. The United Nations is increasingly experiencing many difficulties and a pervasive sense of frustration. The high hopes with which the Organization began its existence in 1945 continue to dwindle considerably. The search for peace has been marked by blurred achievements. Apart from the development of permanent institutions exclusively devoted to peace, and a general acceptance, even if one that is not fully applied, of principles such as the equality of States and human rights—including the right of self-determination, the right to work, the right to education and to self-fulfilment and the right to an equal share in the world's limited resources, as well as the right to full participation in the decision-making processes of international relations—peace has neither been assured nor freely maintained.

231. If there is a constant danger of war in the midst of the universal desire for peace, it is perhaps because we are not all equally committed to peace. There are some of us who pay lip-service to its pursuit. If the United Nations is to be an effective instrument, Member States must be not only peace-preachers but also peace-seekers and peace-keepers and must redouble their efforts to carry out the noble ideals and principles for which the Organization stands. If international peace and security are to prevail, we must be totally committed to it and defend it at all times and not only at the hour of expediency or maximum danger.

232. We believe, moreover, that the Charter of the United Nations contains all the principles and precepts needed to assure peace and guarantee security. If, however, we have failed to secure peace it is not that the Charter is weak or inadequate or that some of its provisions are outmoded, as some would claim; it is only that we cannot summon the moral courage and political will to subordinate our own interest to the common interest of all, in accordance with the Charter.

233. No other issue or policy in world affairs in the last three decades has caused so much disgust, bitterness, hostility and strife as the South African Government's policy of *apartheid*. The entire world continues to voice condemnation and to heap scorn on this strange and diabolical policy—without a dent being made in the armour of its practitioner.

234. This year the international community has witnessed an upsurge in the policy of *apartheid* in one of its cruelest forms and in the guise of reform or superficial change in the bogus elections conducted last August by South Africa to vote on a new constitution which would further divide the population and entrench *apartheid*, making its implementation more efficient. Liberia was pleased that those elections were boycotted, as was only right, by an overwhelming majority of the people of South Africa and that, prior to the election, the Security Council, on 17 August 1984, declared both the new constitution and the elections null and void [*resolution 554 (1984)*].

235. How can a nation which professes Christianity preside with seeming delight over the systematic separation of races through legislative enactments aimed at the physical uprooting and displacement of the African majority? South Africa is infested and misled by cruel and unkind men who belong to the past, who appear not to worry about potential enemies, who seem to have no desire for allies and who have no real friends.

236. How can we, as a collective entity, members of the world community, continue to permit the majority of the people of that land to be victims of tyranny and oppression, of exploitation and degradation, of poverty and hatred? What, I ask, does our moral conscience tell the United Nations we should do now on their behalf? What do we make of the proliferation of resolutions on the policies of *apartheid* of the South African Government and the decisions of the United Nations which the racist régime continues to defy and ignore? How much longer can we afford to listen sympathetically to complaints made to the Organization by neighbouring African countries and by the South African majority against South Africa while at the same time ignoring their plea for effective action?

237. Liberia, for its part, remains firm in its total rejection of *apartheid* and of the racist régime which practises it. We believe that comprehensive mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations are the only effective weapon against *apartheid*. Individual and collective efforts in the United Nations and elsewhere must be encouraged and sustained for the imposition of sanctions against the Pretoria régime until that bastion of racism crumbles.

238. South Africa's *apartheid* system, its destabilization policies and economic blackmail are danger signals to the people of that region. Namibia has been virtually transformed into an *apartheid* inferno and a base for South Africa's aggressive attacks against neighbouring countries. South Africa's colonial and illegal occupation of Namibia is being increasingly consolidated, with utter disregard for the resolutions and decisions of the United Nations.

239. My delegation considers the question of Namibia a priority item. More than six years ago, Security Council resolution 435 (1978) was adopted, calling for free and fair elections in Namibia under United Nations supervision and control; yet the settlement plan for Namibia's independence has not been implemented. In the meantime, the South African racist régime continues to intensify its militarization of the Territory and to subject the Namibians to the cruelest form of human humiliation and degradation, in defiance of United Nations resolutions and decisions.

240. The untiring efforts of the Secretary-General and the exemplary manner in which he has carried out his mandate on the question of Namibia deserve our commendation. We note in his report on the question of Namibia that, notwithstanding all the progress made in the negotiations this year, the United Nations has not yet been able to proceed, for reasons which are well known. Indeed, the reasons have to do with extraneous issues that were not introduced at the time of the adoption of resolution 435 (1978) but have subsequently received international attention and been rejected. Liberia, for its part, finds it difficult to accept the concept of parallelism, which links the independence of Namibia to the withdrawal of troops from Angola.

241. It seems clear that the United Nations needs most urgently a new set of commitments and a collective resolve to end South Africa's intransigence and the sufferings of the Namibian people.

Mr. Gouara Lassou (Chad), Vice-President, took the Chair.

242. Liberia has pledged to encourage the efforts undertaken by the front-line and other well-meaning States to make Namibia's independence a reality and to bring about relaxation of tension and peace and security in southern Africa. While we are grateful to Western contact groups for spearheading Security Council resolution 435 (1978), we are of the view that the question of Namibia should be resolved within the framework of the United Nations. However, Member States that have leverage over South Africa should not be discouraged or prevented from using their good offices to bring about stability and the Organization's objective in that region.

243. We urge the international community to continue the financial and moral support to Namibia, SWAPO and the front-line States as well as the Nationhood Programme for Namibia, the United Nations Fund for Namibia and the United Nations Institute for Namibia, at Lusaka.

244. As though colonialism, institutionalized racism, the misery of outright deprivation and scarce resources were not enough evils to reckon with, the refugee situation and food crisis have added new dimensions to Africa's intractable problems.

245. Four million refugees, the largest in any one area in the world, are scattered all over the continent and, worst of all, are dependent on countries whose economies can hardly sustain their own citizens.

246. The Second International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa, held at Geneva from 9 to 11 July 1984, must be supplemented by worldwide concerted efforts to alleviate the plight of Africa's refugees. This group of unfortunate people must be provided the means of developing their abilities and skills to be able to earn a livelihood and to contribute to the communities in which they live. We, on the continent, must do as much as lies in our power to eliminate some of the causes of this problem, for we know that this situation has not always been the result of natural phenomena. At the same time, we must intensify and redouble our efforts to assist our uprooted brothers and sisters in easing their endless miseries and sufferings and helping them to regain their confidence and normalize their lives.

247. Hunger, prolonged drought and desertification pose serious threats to the social and political fibre of our continent. According to FAO, 100 million Africans will suffer from severe hunger and malnutrition due to food deficits this year, and FAO has appealed for emergency food assistance without delay, assistance which is necessary if massive starvation, malnutrition and the loss of thousands of human lives are to be avoided. We commend FAO for the efforts being made to bring this unfortunate situation under control and we hope the assistance needed will be forthcoming from the international community.

248. Liberia's resumption of diplomatic relations with the State of Israel has not altered its Middle East policy. We continue to believe in, and will give support to, a just and lasting peace which cannot be achieved in the Middle East without: first, the due recognition of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to a State of their own; secondly, the complete withdrawal of all foreign forces from all Arab lands; and thirdly, the right of all States in the region, including Israel, to live freely within secured and internationally recognized boundaries, with the fullest respect for their territorial integrity and sovereignty.

249. The Government of Liberia also believes that peace in the Middle East cannot come through a policy of isolation of one of the major parties to the conflict. We believe also that it is through the language of exchange of views among all the peoples of the region that the path to peace and understanding lies. Peace will continue to elude us if we are not prepared to accept that all the States in the region have the right to live freely within secured and internationally recognized boundaries.

250. The tragic story of Lebanon is one of continued sufferings, destruction and war. It is a situation that remains unstable, fragile and explosive. The international community should go on record again in urging the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Lebanon as well as stress the due recognition of and respect for the territorial integrity and sovereignty of that country.

251. The prolongation of the Iran-Iraq conflict, a conflict between two Muslim neighbours, can only add to the fragility of the area. Liberian ships and those of other countries have been arbitrarily attacked and damage done to life and property with impunity. We believe that the Security Council should again intervene in this long-standing conflict before it takes on unmanageable proportions.

252. The Central American region has witnessed unrest and violence for some time now and on an increasing scale.

253. The Government of Liberia has always adhered to, and will continue to adhere to, the principle of the peaceful settlement of disputes. While there are still wide differences between the Government of Argentina and the Government of the United Kingdom on the question of the Falkland

Islands, we urge the continuation of meaningful negotiations for the peaceful solution of that dispute.

254. Another perennial issue which continues to evade the collective resolve of the United Nations is the question of Korea. My Government has always stressed the need for the resumption of direct negotiations between the South and the North. Such talks, we believe, are likely to resolve enmity and distrust and promote reconciliation and reunification between the two sides. It is therefore our hope that both sides will bury the hatchet, as it were, and sincerely resume talks aimed at the achievement of those important objectives.

255. As is generally conceded, the arms race consumes a disproportionate share of the scarce resources of our planet and continues to do so at an ever-increasing rate. It utilizes much of our finest scientific talent in sterile and destructive pursuits.

256. Despite the danger and waste of the arms race, the States of the world have continued to stockpile armaments at an alarming rate, a clear indication that no State is prepared to disarm if it feels its security is not guaranteed. Each year, the two nuclear Powers seem to produce new weapons which are more efficient in deadliness and which, when adopted by their armed forces, immediately require a matching effort by the other side.

257. While we advocate a halt to the arms race, we equally stress the urgent need for an answer to the security question, thereby removing the need for the constant increase in military expenditures and rivalry between States.

258. We believe that security can be found only in the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and that it is only through the goodwill of all nations, coupled with mutual trust, confidence, understanding and co-operation, that we can achieve the international stability and security so urgently needed in our world.

259. It is therefore interesting to note President Chernenko's answers to questions posed to him during a recent interview and the reaction of the Government of the United States. We sensed from President Chernenko's answers a readiness to negotiate complete disarmament, despite the rhetoric. We are inclined to believe that the Soviet leader expressed his Government's preparedness for honest and serious talks with the Government of the United States. Let me quote a particular paragraph of President Chernenko's response:

> "I wish to reaffirm with all certainty our readiness for dialogue, for honest and serious talks aimed at finding accord that takes into account the security interests of all countries and peoples."

260. We have noted also the response of the United States: that it is seriously seeking agreement with the Russians, that it welcomes the statement of President Chernenko, and that it is ready to resume the Geneva negotiations. We noted with added interest President Reagan's address to the General Assembly on 24 September [*4th meeting*], with its reference to United States-Soviet Union relations, and the "comprehensive and broad" talks held between the United States Secretary of State, Mr. Shultz, and the Soviet Foreign Minister, Mr. Gromyko, on Wednesday, 26 September.

261. In his statement to the General Assembly on 27 September [*10th meeting*], the Soviet Foreign Minister stressed that the Soviet Union would fully co-operate with all States prepared to help ease international tensions by practical deeds and to create an atmosphere of trust in the world in order to consolidate the foundations of peace.

262. We loudly proclaim the need for curbing weapons in outer space and for stopping the arms race and the continuous buildup of military armament; we want disarmament. We therefore endorse what appears to be a reasonable closeness of the positions of the two sides, though the approaches may appear divergent, and we urge them to get on with this important business and translate their pronouncements regarding genuine disarmament efforts into meaningful action. We are watching closely and with keen expectations the results of the assurances given by both sides.

263. The seriousness of our global economic crisis can be determined by the fact that it encompasses all nations of the world; rich or poor, developed or developing, large or small, we have all been affected in one way or the other. We have seen the economic havoc it has wrought in developed countries. In the developing societies, vulnerable as their economies are, it has created in its wake enormous balance-of-payments deficits, mounting debt burdens and worsening terms of trade, owing to a drastic fall in commodity prices and a sharp rise in the prices of imported goods.

264. The crisis has introduced new dimensions into the debate on world development. There is a growing awareness that the fates of the developed and the developing countries are interlinked in the crisis. I hope that one good thing it has brought forth is the realization by the industrialized countries that the prosperity of the developing countries is vital to their own economic survival.

265. The threat of default by debtor developing countries and its implications for the international financial and banking system have brought into sharp and disturbing focus the inherent danger and inadequacy of the present world economic system. Although borrowers and lenders have endeavoured to avoid such default, the efforts have amounted to no more than short-term rescue operations, providing temporary support only.

266. While various remedies have been suggested to resolve the debt crisis, we believe that a concerted policy effort by debtors, creditors and international financial institutions to address the crisis now presents the best alternative. Long-term measures should include modifications in the objectives and an increase in the resources of multinational institutions concerned with finance and development, as well as changes in the framework of the commercial banking system.

267. It is particularly important that a co-ordinated economic expansion in industrialized nations be accompanied by low interest rates and a relaxation of trade restrictions, in order to contribute to an economic upturn and provide relief to debtor nations.

268. In order to reverse the tremendous transfer of resources from developing countries to the industrialized world and thereby improve the economic outlook of the developing countries, and in particular African countries, financial institutions and industrialized countries should write off long-standing loans and turn some of the loans that have been rescheduled more than once into grants-in-aid. Such a moral

gesture on the part of the creditors would reduce the debt burden of some developing countries and enhance their economic recovery.

269. The magnitude of the crisis of the world economy dictates the need to summon our political will and make the concerted efforts necessary to launch the negotiations on reforming and restructuring the existing economic order without delay. This process, we continue to believe, would serve as a major step in achieving a more orderly and equitable world economy and at the same time foster greater co-operation among nations.

270. The economic situation in Africa is critical and precarious, and it poses a serious threat to the social and political well-being of our people. It is true that the global economic situation affects all developing countries, but its impact on sub-Saharan Africa is tremendous. These countries continue to experience negative growth, and their export earnings are still on the decline.

Mr. Lusaka (Zambia) resumed the Chair.

271. While we recognize that the development of Africa is our primary responsibility, as enshrined in the Lagos Plan of Action,[7] concerted efforts by the international community and donor countries, which have the enormous capacity to correct the critical economic situation, would complement the national efforts of African Governments in reversing the negative trend of their economies.

272. The people of Liberia fully endorse the Secretary-General's initiative with regard to the critical social and economic situation in Africa. We wish to thank him for his efforts and urge him to continue to regard the economic situation in Africa as a priority issue that requires the moral and political support of the international community and donor countries for its amelioration.

273. We welcome the World Bank plan to aid sub-Saharan African countries, in spite of the lack of substantial pledges for the $2 billion that the Bank would need to implement the programme. The effort of the Bank to highlight the economic malaise of African countries deserves the full support of all true friends of Africa. We call upon the industrialized countries and those developing countries which have the capacity to do so to pledge funds to the Bank programme for improving the economic situation in Africa.

274. At this point, the Government of Liberia wishes to thank all those friendly States and international organizations that participated in the Liberia round-table conference, which was held at Berne in October 1983. It is our hope that we can continue to rely on their understanding and assistance as we go through a critical economic period in our national life. We wish also to express our gratitude to the Secretary-General and all those in the United Nations system who worked so tirelessly for the convening of that conference.

275. Earlier I reflected on various achievements in the search for international concord, especially the evolution of permanent institutions for peace and the development of principles and rules of conduct of States. I should like to close by focusing on the serious nature of our present assignment.

276. Every time the General Assembly has met in the past 38 years, hopes have arisen that the world body would be able successfully to address some of the major problems haunting man's struggle for progress and development. Speeches of hope and promise are made, couched in triumphant phrases; resolutions are adopted and then ignored; thereafter, representatives go back home to their Governments and begin all over again doing what they best know—acting in the supreme interest of each individual's country, whether it be planning for war, raising the interest rates, causing a flood of refugees to spill over into someone else's territory or something else.

277. This year the General Assembly meets for the thirty-ninth time in regular session. It is meeting at a time when the two super-Powers have hardly been on speaking terms. It meets under the threat of a nuclear cloud, with both East and West looking at each other through a palisade of nuclear missiles. It is meeting at a time in our world history when the poor nations—and there are many of them—are poorer and the threat of human sufferings through famine, drought and oppression is becoming not only widespread but uncontrollable.

278. In short, the United Nations has serious business to discuss this year. But this is not all: the United Nations must resolve to be resolute and tackle the problems facing mankind. It must decide to take some positive steps in the direction of curbing the arms race, in bridging the gap of poverty, in stemming the lucrative arms trade which aims at defeating the very purpose for which the Organization was founded: to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war. The United Nations must restore the people's faith in its ideals, its objectives and its functional ability.

279. The new generation today is crying out for that United Nations which once had the will to help resolve the problem in the Korean peninsula; obstructed the partition of the Congo during the 1960s; voted for the establishment of new States; aided in the liberation of many African States. The United Nations should arm itself with that tenacity of purpose to address the burning issues of mankind and pull the world away from crises.

280. In the early days of the formation of the world body, the United Nations adopted the decision made at Bretton Woods that gave birth to the current world economic order. If it now appears that Bretton Woods no longer serves the best needs of mankind's economic order, we think the United Nations as a moral force should put pressure on the economic Powers so that a reconstruction of the economic order suitable to the demands of the time may be accomplished.

281. In June this year, the allied forces of Europe and the United States commemorated the fortieth anniversary of the invasion of Europe, which history tells us was the turning-point in the Second World War. Next year, the United Nations will celebrate its fortieth anniversary as the corner-stone of peace and progress. But before it can do that, it needs to restore hope to mankind by lessening tensions and making the two super-Powers play a more positive role in maintaining a world order based on peace and harmony, not by competitive polemics and harsh rhetoric, not by confrontation and stockpiling weapons, but by devising constructive proposals calling for joint efforts in addressing the issues of the day.

282. If this session of the General Assembly can take some positive steps in a direction that would lead the super-Powers to appreciate their role and thereby work jointly for the progressive attainment of

world peace, it will accomplish more than many of its resolutions ever have since Day One.

283. I know that the nations of the third world which make up a large part of this world body are committed to this serious assignment this year. I hope all the nations of this family are also so committed.

284. The PRESIDENT: Several representatives have requested to exercise the right of reply. May I remind members that, in accordance with General Assembly decision 34/401, statements in exercise of the right of reply are limited to 10 minutes for the first intervention and to 5 minutes for the second intervention and should be made by delegations from their seats.

285. Mr. ALATAS (Indonesia): It is with considerable regret, and indeed with some surprise, that my delegation has noted the remarks of the Foreign Minister of Papua New Guinea on Indonesia-Papua New Guinea relations in his statment in the Assembly two days ago [*15th meeting*].

286. Papua New Guinea is Indonesia's immediate neighbour to the east. Our two countries share a 600-mile land border which cuts across one of the most difficult terrains in the world, as well as across traditional ties of custom and kinship between border inhabitants on both sides. Thanks to foresight and mutual goodwill on the part of both Governments, however, close co-operation and arrangements on a wide array of common border issues have been instituted from the moment Papua New Guinea acceded to independence in 1975. This includes a comprehensive Basic Agreement on Border Arrangements, signed in 1979 and now in the process of being revised and updated.

287. Indonesia has at all times strictly adhered to these border arrangements, as it has also been Indonesia's consistent policy to abide by the numerous border agreements, covering both land and sea, with all its neighbours to the south, north and west of its national territory. Respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States are fundamental tenets of Indonesia's foreign policy.

288. We were painfully surprised, therefore, to hear the Foreign Minister of Papua New Guinea accuse us of having wilfully violated his country's territorial sovereignty. In support of this serious allegation, the Foreign Minister referred in his statement to certain events and incidents which we thought had long been resolved and clarified by our two Governments.

289. On the alleged intrusion by an Indonesian military aircraft into Papua New Guinea airspace in March of this year, my Government has given, both publicly and through diplomatic channels, a full account of what in fact took place in the course of a search operation for a lost missionary plane. At no time did any Indonesian aircraft cross into Papua New Guinea territory, as claimed by certain habitually biased and hostile press media of another neighbouring country, the original source of the allegations.

290. Again, after a thorough investigation by my Government, no evidence could be found of the involvement of any Indonesian army units in another alleged border incident in or near the village of Suwampa.

291. In those instances where indeed an unintentional intrusion occurred, as was the case with the construction of a highway in the eastern part of Irian Jaya along the common border, Indonesia has been prompt in acknowledging the mistake and correcting it and has even gone so far as to tender a public apology.

292. In short, whenever irritations or misunderstandings have arisen which threatened to mar the friendly relations between our two countries, my Government has consistently sought to resolve them in a spirit of goodwill, co-operation and mutual respect. What is more, in responding to certain incidents and situations which were clearly harmful and inimical to Indonesia's interests, we have always tried to show the utmost restraint and understanding, eschewing public protests and preferring quiet diplomacy through established bilateral channels.

293. When the Indonesian missionary plane already referred to was attacked, several of its Indonesian passengers brutally killed and two others, including its Swiss pilot, forcibly abducted into Papua New Guinea territory, Indonesia had to accept the explanation of the Papua New Guinea Government that it did not consider itself in any way involved in the incident and that therefore its ability to intervene was limited.

294. In the face of incessant cross-border incidents and acts of harassment and subversion against its border population by separatist elements who continue to find refuge on Papua New Guinea territory, Indonesia has shown great restraint, and this despite the joint undertaking contained in the 1979 Basic Agreement not to allow our respective border areas to be used as "sanctuary, staging areas, bases or for illegal activities against the other".

295. As regards the sudden influx of large numbers of Indonesians crossing into Papua New Guinea, to which the Foreign Minister referred, this is indeed a serious problem, which is being faced by both Governments. Indonesia has no doubt that this unprecedented flow is the direct result of provocative rumour-mongering by the very same separatist elements who have found the simple border-village dwellers an easy prey to their seditious incitements. Be that as it may, my Government has extended its full co-operation to the Papua New Guinea Government in arranging the prompt and orderly return of these border-crossers. To this end, we have agreed on a framework of principles that would govern the process of returning these people, with explicit assurances concerning their safety, well-being and reintegration. Meanwhile, we are contributing materially to the alleviation of their desperate plight, housed as they are in temporary camps, which has already resulted in the death of some 90 border-crossers. We have welcomed the humanitarian assistance of UNHCR in this respect, but we see no reason for UNHCR also to monitor the crossers' re-entry and resettlement in Indonesia, for we have already agreed to allow Papua New Guinea officials to do so. We believe that this problem is best handled through bilateral arrangements already in place and agreed upon. We therefore regret that our sense of independence and self-respect in being able to solve the problems on our own without unduly involving an already overburdened UNHCR is being misinterpreted by the Foreign Minister of Papua New Guinea.

296. It is clear that the problems that have arisen have either been or are in the process of being amicably resolved between our two Governments, as is appropriate between neighbours genuinely interest-

ed in maintaining friendly and mutually co-operative relations. We are at a loss, therefore, to understand the need for and the implications of the statement made by the Foreign Minister of Papua New Guinea.

297. Despite all that has happened, Indonesia's actions will continue to be guided by the spirit of goodwill, accommodation and restraint which has always characterized its relationship with Papua New Guinea. We seek nothing but genuine friendship with Papua New Guinea, our closest neighbour to the east. We are neither interested in nor intent on interfering in their domestic affairs or national development. In the light of the remarks made by the Foreign Minister of Papua New Guinea, it may be pertinent to ask whether his Government is indeed guided by the same spirit. We shall await the answer to this question, as always, in patience and in all serenity.

298. Mr. MARTÍNEZ-GUTIÉRREZ (El Salvador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Regarding certain concepts mentioned this morning by the representative of Cuba in the course of the general debate [*18th meeting*], the Government of El Salvador rejects those concepts since what Cuba said was simply a confirmation of its policy of intervention and support for the armed rebels of the extreme left.

299. Mr. BLANCO (Uruguay) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Cuba referred to Uruguay. It is ironic that that delegation should try to arrogate to itself the position of arbiter of freedom and democracy. It is such paradoxical assertions that threaten the prestige of the United Nations.

300. We hope that one day the noble Cuban people will recover its freedom and responsibility for its own destiny. As we have announced, and in accordance with its democratic traditions, Uruguay will be holding general elections next month, in an atmosphere of dignity and the free and full exercise of its political sovereignty.

301. Mr. LOHIA (Papua New Guinea): The delegation of Papua New Guinea reserves the right to exercise at a later date its right of reply to the remarks just made by the representative of Indonesia.

302. The PRESIDENT: The observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization has asked to be allowed to reply to the statement made by one of the speakers in the general debate. I intend to call on him on the basis of General Assembly resolution 3237 (XXIX) of 22 November 1974.

303. Mr. MANSOUR (Palestine Liberation Organization) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Since the delegation of the PLO is speaking for the first time at this session, Sir, may we offer our congratulations on your assumption of the presidency.

304. This morning [*18th meeting*] we heard many words from the Zionist Minister Shamir about peace, terrorism and famine in the world. We should like to commment here very briefly on two subjects: terrorism and peace in our region.

305. The Zionist Minister should be the last person to speak about terrorism since he personally and his party are well known to us and to the world for their past and present terrorist record. The heinous Deir Yassin massacre, the blowing up of the King David Hotel in Jerusalem, when a number of people were killed, including Count Bernadotte, the United Nations Mediator for Palestine, both of which terrorist acts took place in the 1940s, are but two examples of the various terrorist operations which were personally supervised by the two notorious terrorists, Shamir and Begin, and which caused the British Government to offer at the time a reward of £10,000 to anyone who would come forward with information leading to the arrest of those two international terrorists.

306. Nor do we wish to speak about the official terrorism of the Zionist Government, led by the Likud Party, which organized the most hideous official terrorist operations during three months in the summer of 1982 in southern Lebanon, in the Bekaa region, in the mountains and in Beirut. Such activities led to the outbreak of war there, to the destruction of many Palestinian refugee camps and of entire Lebanese cities and villages, and to the death or dispersal of all their inhabitants, as well as to the hideous massacres of Sabra and Shatila, for which the bloodthirsty Sharon and Begin were found responsible by Zionist justice itself. These are but a few examples of the activities of professional Zionist terrorists led by the leaders of Israel. Can we give any credence to the words of the terrorist Shamir about terrorism, or should we believe the acts, the history and the record of his Government *vis-à-vis* terrorism against our people?

307. When the Likud Government—that of the terrorist Shamir—assumed power in Israel in 1977 and resorted to the policy of the "big stick" against Palestinian citizens in the occupied territories and the renewal of the establishment of settlements, this had a big impact on Zionist settlers in that area, who began to organize themselves into special internal security bodies and to exert, in their capacity as settlers and political and extremist terrorist movements, all kinds of pressure on the Israeli Government to allow them to extend their field of activities and play a repressive role against Arab citizens. They wished to serve as a terrorist reserve army to give effect to the official "big stick" policy and ensure the attainment of its objectives, which the occupation army was unable to do, despite its resort to all kinds of inhuman and arbitrary procedures, because of the determined national opposition of the Palestinian Arab masses in the occupied territories.

308. This led the Israeli Government to adopt, protect and foster terrorism and provide a favourable climate by encouraging, organizing and providing it with all the means necessary to develop and direct its activities to serve and consolidate the settlement policy. This is the foundation and mainstay of its policy aimed at terrorizing, intimidating and expelling as many of the Arab inhabitants of the occupied areas as possible in order to spread frustration in their ranks, force them to submit, consolidate the occupation and settlement policies, and annex the Gaza Strip and the West Bank.

309. The various investigations and the questioning of some members of the secret terrorist organization whom the Likud Government was compelled to arrest—and whose identity and activities it sought to keep a secret—established the fact that many of them were high-ranking army and police officers and officials of the civil administration with very strong links with some Ministers and other members of the Knesset of the Likud Government at the time. These people used their influence to set free many of the arrested terrorists despite their unquestionable guilt. This clearly proves that the Israeli Government and its various departments at various levels are mixed up in the terrorist activities against the Arabs. In the light of the results confirmed by the last Israeli

elections, which showed an increase in extremist, rightist, Fascist tendencies, it is clear that the occupied areas can expect a new phase of organized Zionist terrorism.

310. The world in general is fully aware of the stumbling-block to a just peace in our region. Last December, the world community adopted a historic resolution in this Hall. I refer to resolution General Assembly 38/58 C, which calls for the convening of an International Peace Conference on the Middle East in which all the parties to the conflict, including the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, would participate.

311. I should like to remind the Zionist Minister and all those who, unlike the PLO, shed crocodile tears over the fate of the Palestinian people that our people has made known and continues to emphasize every day, through all its leaders in the occupied territories and outside and even those behind the bars of the prisons of the neo-Nazis, as well as our prisoner-fighters now on strike in Nablus—whose message to the Secretary-General and to United Nations delegations has been distributed as a United Nations document [*see A/39/548, appendix*]—that the PLO and only the PLO is the sole representative of our people.

312. The General Assembly resolution to which I have referred reflects the overwhelming desire of the international majority, not the desire of a single State. So far, Israel and its master, the United States, have refused to comply with the relevant United Nations resolutions and with the international will.

313. All the world realizes that Israel is not a peace-loving country and does not work towards peace. Shamir and all the other leaders of Israel may shed crocodile tears over peace to mislead the world as to their real policies and practices, which are against peace in our region. Those who truly strive for peace should realize that the path to peace is clear and has been well defined by the United Nations in its resolutions. Israel and the United States have only to comply with the universal will.

314. The PRESIDENT: I am sorry to interrupt the speaker, but he has already spoken for 10 minutes. I therefore ask him to be kind enough to conclude his statement.

315. Mr. MANSOUR (Palestine Liberation Organization) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The professional Zionist terrorists, led by Sharon and Shamir, are in no position to give lessons in peace-making to the representatives of world States, hundreds of which have struggled against imperialism, occupation and aggression, or to the heroes of the national liberation movements of the world.

The meeting rose at 7 p.m.

NOTES

[1] For the text, see resolution 38/40, para. 1.

[2] See *Report of the United Nations Conference on Desertification* (A/CONF.74/36), chap. I.

[3] See A/38/707, annex, para. 10.

[4] Agreement to resolve the controversy over the frontier between Venezuela and British Guiana (United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 561, No. 8192.)

[5] See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-ninth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1985*, document S/16732.

[6] See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 27* (A/27/27), annex I.

[7] Lagos Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Monrovia Strategy for the Economic Development of Africa (A/S-11/14, annex I).

United Nations
GENERAL ASSEMBLY
THIRTY-NINTH SESSION
Official Records

20th PLENARY MEETING
Thursday, 4 October 1984, at 10.40 a.m.
NEW YORK

President: Mr. Paul J. F. LUSAKA (Zambia).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations the Head of State and President of the National Council of the Revolution of Burkina Faso, Captain Thomas Sankara, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

2. Mr. SANKARA (Burkina Faso) (*interpretation from French*): I bring the fraternal greetings of a country covering 274,000 square kilometres, where 7 million men, women and children refuse henceforth to die of ignorance, hunger and thirst, even though they are not yet able to have a real life, after a quarter of a century as a sovereign State represented here at the United Nations.

3. I come to this thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly to speak on behalf of a people which, on the land of its ancestors, has chosen from now on to assert itself and to take responsibility for its own history, in both its positive and negative aspects, without any complexes.

4. I come here, mandated by the National Council of the Revolution of Burkina Faso, to express the views of my people on the problems that have been included on the General Assembly's agenda, which form the tragic background of the events which are sadly undermining the foundations of the world late in this twentieth century. It is a world of chaos, in which the human race is torn apart by struggles between the great and the not-so-great, attacked by armed bands and subjected to violence and plunder. It is a world in which the nations, eluding international jurisdiction, command groups beyond the law, which, with gun in hand, live by preying on others and organizing the most despicable kinds of trafficking.

5. I do not intend to enunciate dogmas here. I am neither a messiah nor a prophet. I possess no truths. My only ambition is a twofold aspiration: first, to be able to speak in simple language, the language of facts and clarity, on behalf of my people, the people of Burkina Faso, and, secondly, to be able to express in my own way the feelings of that mass of people who are disinherited—those who belong to that world maliciously dubbed "the third world"—and to state, even if I cannot make them understood, the reasons that have led us to rise up, all of which explains our interest in the United Nations, the demands of our rights drawing strength in the clear awareness of our duties.

6. Nobody will be surprised to hear us associate the former Upper Volta, now Burkina Faso, with that despised rag-bag, the third world, which the other worlds invented at the time of our independence in order better to ensure our intellectual, cultural, economic and political alienation. We want to fit in there without at all justifying this great swindle of history, still less accepting that we are a backward world left behind by the West. Rather, we do so to affirm our awareness of belonging to a three-continent whole and to state, as one of the non-aligned countries, our deeply felt conviction that a special solidarity unites the three continents of Asia, Latin America and Africa in the same battle against the same political traffickers and economic exploiters.

7. Thus to recognize our presence in the third world is, to paraphrase José Martí, to affirm that we feel on our cheek every blow struck against every other man in the world. So far, we have turned the other cheek. The slaps in the face have been redoubled and the evil-doers have felt no tenderness in their hearts. They have trampled on the truth of the just. They have betrayed the word of Christ. They have turned His cross into a club, and after putting on His robe they have torn our bodies and souls to shreds. They have obscured His message, making it a Western one, whereas we saw it as a message of universal liberation. Now our eyes have been opened to the class struggle and there will be no more blows dealt against us. It must be proclaimed that there will be no salvation for our peoples unless we turn our backs completely on all the models that all the charlatans of that type have tried to sell us for 20 years. There can be no salvation for us unless we reject those models; there can be no development without that break.

8. Now all the new "master minds" are awakening, roused by the dizzy increase of millions of men in rags and frightened by the threat to their digestion of this multitude hounded by hunger. They are beginning to change their tune and are again anxiously seeking among us miraculous ideas for new forms of development for our countries. In order to understand this it is necessary only to read the proceedings of innumerable colloquys and seminars.

9. I certainly do not wish to ridicule the patient efforts of those honest intellectuals who, because they have eyes to see, have observed the terrible consequences of the ravages caused in the third world by the so-called development specialists.

10. I fear that the results of all the energies seized by the Prosperos of all kinds may be turned into a magic wand to be used to turn us back into a world of slavery, dressed up according to the taste of our times. This fear is justified by the fact that the African petite bourgeoisie with its diplomas, if not

that of the whole third world, is not ready—whether because of intellectual laziness or simply because it has sampled the Western way of life—to give up its privileges. It therefore forgets that all true political struggle requires a rigorous theoretical debate, and it refuses to do the thinking necessary in order to invent the new concepts needed to wage the kind of struggle to the death that is ahead of us. A passive and pathetic consumer group, it overflows with the "in" words of the West, just as it overflows with its whisky and champagne, in salons where there is a dubious kind of harmony. One will search in vain—the concepts of Blackness or the African personality now being a little outdated—for truly new ideas from the brains of our so-called intellectual giants. Words and ideas come to us from elsewhere. Our professors, engineers and economists are content simply to add a little colouring, because they have brought from the European universities of which they are the products only their diplomas and the surface smoothness of adjectives and superlatives. It is urgently necessary that our qualified personnel and those who work with ideas learn that there is no innocent writing. In these tempestuous times, we cannot leave it to our enemies of the past and of the present to think and to imagine and to create. We also must do so.

11. Before it is too late—and it is already late—this élite, these men of Africa, of the third world, must come to their senses; in other words, they must turn to their own societies, they must look at this wretchedness that we have inherited, to understand that the battle for thought that will help the disinherited masses not only is not a vain one but can become credible at the international level. They must provide a faithful picture for their own peoples, a picture that will enable them to carry out profound changes in the social and political situation so that we can free ourselves from the foreign domination and exploitation that can lead our States only to failure.

12. This is something that we understood, we, the people of Burkina Faso, on that night of 4 August 1983, when the stars first began to shine in the heavens of our homeland. We had to take the lead of the peasant uprisings in the countryside, threatened by desertification, exhausted by hunger and thirst, and abandoned. We had to give some sense of meaning to the revolts of the unemployed urban masses, frustrated and tired of seeing the limousines of the alienated élite flash by following the head of State, who offered them only false solutions devised and conceived in the brains of others. We had to give an ideological soul to the just struggles of our masses mobilized against the monstrosity of imperialism. Instead of a minor, short-lived revolt, we had to have revolution, the eternal struggle against all domination. Others have noted this before me and yet others will say after me how broad the gap now is between the rich peoples and those that aspire only to have enough to eat, enough to drink, to survive and to defend their dignity, but nobody could believe how much of the food of our people has gone to feed the rich man's cow.

13. In the case of Upper Volta, the process was even more crystal clear. We demonstrated the essence of all the calamities that have crushed the so-called developing countries.

14. The truth about aid, represented as the panacea for all ills and often praised beyond all rhyme or reason, has been revealed. Very few countries have been so inundated with aid of all kinds as has mine. Aid is supposed to help development, but one can look in vain in what used to be Upper Volta to see any sign of any kind of development. The people who were in power through either naïvety or class selfishness could not or else did not want to gain control over this inflow from the outside or grasp the scope of it and use it in the interests of our people.

15. Analysing a table that was published in 1983 by the Sahel Club, Jacques Giri, in his book entitled *The Sahel Tomorrow*,[1] concluded quite sensibly that aid to the Sahel, because of its content and because of the machinery in place, was only aid for survival. He emphasized that only 30 per cent of that aid would enable the Sahel simply to remain alive. According to Jacques Giri, this outside aid was designed only for the continued development of the unproductive sectors, imposing intolerable burdens on our small budgets, completely disrupting our countryside, creating deficits in our trade balance and, in fact, speeding up our indebtedness.

16. Here are just a few standard facts to describe what Upper Volta used to be like: 7 million inhabitants, with more than 6 million peasants; infant mortality at 180 per 1,000; life expectancy of 40 years; an illiteracy rate of 98 per cent, if literacy is considered to mean being able to read, write and speak a language; one doctor for 50,000 inhabitants; 16 per cent receiving schooling; and lastly, a gross domestic product of 53,356 CFA francs, that is, just over $100 per capita.

17. The diagnosis obviously was a very bad one. The source of the evil was political and so the only cure must be a political one.

18. Of course, we encourage aid that can help us to manage without aid, but in general the aid and assistance policies merely led us to become completely disorganized, to enslave ourselves, to shirk our responsibility in our economic, political and cultural areas.

19. We have chosen a different path to achieve better results. We have chosen to establish new techniques. We have chosen to seek forms of organization that are better adapted to our civilization, abruptly and once and for all rejecting all kinds of outside diktats, so that we can create the conditions for a dignity in keeping with our ambitions.

20. We refuse simple survival. We want to ease the pressures, to free our countryside from medieval stagnation or regression. We want to democratize our society, to open up our minds to a universe of collective responsibility, so that we may be bold enough to invent the future. We want to change the administration and reconstruct it with a different kind of civil servant. We want to get our army involved with the people in productive work and remind it constantly that, without patriotic training, a soldier is only a criminal with power. That is our political programme.

21. At the economic level, we are learning to live simply, to accept and to demand of ourselves the austerity that we need in order to carry out our great designs.

22. Thanks to the revolutionary solidarity fund, which is fed by voluntary contributions, we are now beginning to deal with the cruel questions posed by the drought. We support and have applied the principles of the Declaration of Alma-Ata,[2] expanding our primary health care. We endorse as a State

policy the global strategy of GOBI FFF[3] advocated by UNICEF.

23. We believe that through the United Nations Sudano-Sahelian Office, the United Nations should enable those countries affected by drought to establish a medium- and long-term plan to achieve self-sufficiency in food.

24. To prepare for the twenty-first century, we have begun, by creating a special tombola section, an immense campaign for the education and training of our children in a new school. The programme is called "Let's teach our children". Through committees to defend the revolution, we have established a vast house-building programme—500 units in three months—and we are also building roads, small water collectors, and so forth. Our economic ambition is to work to ensure that the use of the mind and the strength of each inhabitant of Burkina Faso will produce what is necessary to provide two meals a day and drinking-water.

25. We swear that in future in Burkina Faso nothing will be done without the participation of the people of Burkina Faso themselves, nothing that has not been decided by us, that has not been prepared by us. There shall be no more attacks on our honour and dignity.

26. Strengthened by this conviction, we want our words to cover all those who suffer, all those whose dignity has been crushed by a minority or a system.

27. Let me say to those who are listening to me now that I speak not only on behalf of Burkina Faso, my country which I love so much, but also on behalf of all those who suffer, wherever they may be.

28. I speak on behalf of those millions of human beings who are in ghettos because their skin is black, or because they have a different kind of culture, those whose status is hardly higher than that of an animal.

29. I suffer, too, on behalf of those Indians who have been massacred, trampled on and humiliated and who, for centuries, have been confined to reservations, so that they do not have any aspirations to any rights whatsoever, so that their culture cannot become enriched through contact with other cultures, including that of the invader.

30. I speak out on behalf of those who are unemployed because of a structurally unjust system which has now been completely disrupted, the unemployed who have been reduced to seeing their lives as only the reflection of the lives of those who have more than themselves.

31. I speak on behalf of women throughout the entire world who suffer from a system of exploitation imposed on them by men. As far as we are concerned, we are willing to welcome all suggestions from anywhere in the world that will help us to promote the full development and prosperity of the women of Burkina Faso. In return, we will share with all countries the positive experience we are now undertaking with our women, who are now involved at all levels of the State apparatus and social life in Burkina Faso, women who struggle and who say with us that the slave who will not shoulder responsibility to rebel does not deserve pity. That slave will alone be responsible for his own wretchedness if he has any illusions whatsoever about the suspect indulgence shown by a master who pretends to give him freedom. Only struggle helps us to become free, and we call on all our sisters of all races to rise up to regain their rights.

32. I speak on behalf of the mothers of our poor countries who see their children dying of malaria and diarrhoea, unaware that to save them there are simple methods available but which the science of the multinationals does not offer to them, preferring to invest in cosmetics laboratories and engage in cosmetic surgery to satisfy the whims and caprices of a few men and women who feel they have become too fat because of too many calories in the rich food they consume with regularity. That must make even members of this Assembly dizzy—not to mention the peoples of the Sahel. We have decided to adopt and popularize the methods that have been advocated by WHO and UNICEF.

33. I speak on behalf of the child, the child of the poor man, who is hungry and who furtively eyes the wealth piled up in the rich man's shop, a shop that is protected by a thick window, a window which is defended by an impassable grille, the grille guarded by a policeman in a helmet with gloves and a bludgeon, the policeman placed there by the father of another child, who comes there to serve himself or rather to be served because these are the guarantees of capitalistic representativeness and norms of the system.

34. I speak on behalf of the artists—poets, painters, sculptors, musicians, actors and so on—people of good will who see their art being prostituted by the show-business magicians.

35. I cry out on behalf of the journalists who have been reduced to silence or else to lies simply to avoid the hardships of unemployment.

36. I protest on behalf of the athletes of the entire world whose muscles are being exploited by political systems or by those who deal in the modern slavery of the stadium.

37. My country is the essence of all the miseries of peoples, a tragic synthesis of all the suffering of mankind but also, and above all, the synthesis of the hopes of our struggles. That is why I speak out on behalf of the sick who are anxiously looking to see what science can do for them—but that science has been taken over by the gun merchants. My thoughts go to all those who have been affected by the destruction of nature, those 30 million who are dying every year, crushed by that most fearsome weapon, hunger.

38. As a soldier, I cannot forget that obedient soldier who does what he is told, whose finger is on the trigger and who knows that the bullet which is going to leave his gun will bring only a message of death.

39. Lastly, I speak out in indignation as I think of the Palestinians, whom this most inhuman humanity has replaced with another people, a people who only yesterday were themselves being martyred at leisure. I think of the valiant Palestinian people, the families which have been splintered and split up and are wandering throughout the world seeking asylum. Courageous, determined, stoic and tireless, the Palestinians remind us all of the need and moral obligation to respect the rights of a people. Along with their Jewish brothers, they are anti-Zionists.

40. Standing alongside my soldier brothers of Iran and Iraq, who are dying in a fratricidal and suicidal war, I wish also to feel close to my comrades of Nicaragua, whose ports are being mined, whose towns are being bombed and who, despite all, face up with courage and lucidity to their fate. I suffer with

all those in Latin America who are suffering from imperialist domination.

41. I wish to stand side by side with the peoples of Afghanistan and Ireland, the peoples of Grenada and East Timor, each of those peoples seeking happiness in keeping with their dignity and the laws of their own culture.

42. I rise up on behalf of all who seek in vain any forum in the world to make their voices heard and to have themselves taken seriously.

43. Many have already spoken from this rostrum. Many will speak after me. But only a few will take the real decisions, although we are all officially considered equals. I speak on behalf of all those who seek in vain for a forum in the world where they can be heard. Yes, I wish to speak for all those—the forgotten—because I am a man and nothing that is human is alien to me.

44. Our revolution in Burkina Faso takes account of the ills of all peoples. We are also inspired by all the experiences of mankind, from the very first breath of the first human being.

45. We wish to enjoy the inheritance of all the revolutions of the world, all the liberation struggles of the third-world peoples. We are trying to learn from the great upheavals that have transformed the world. We have drawn the lessons of the American revolution, the lessons of its victory against colonial domination, and the consequences of that victory. We endorse the doctrine of non-interference by Europeans in American affairs and non-interference by Americans in European affairs. In 1823, Monroe said "America for the Americans". We would say "Africa for the Africans; Burkina Faso for the Burkinabé". The French revolution of 1789, which disrupted the foundations of absolutism, has taught us the rights of man linked to the rights of peoples to freedom. The great revolution of October 1917 transformed the world and made possible the victory of the proletariat, shook the foundations of capitalism and made possible the dreams of justice of the French Commune.

46. Open to all the wishes of the peoples and their revolutions, learning also from the terrible failures that have led to truly sad infringements of human rights, we want to preserve from each revolution only that essence of purity that prohibits us from becoming servants to the realities of others, even though in our thinking we find that there is a community of interests among us.

47. There must be no more deceit. The new international economic order, for which we are struggling and will continue to struggle, can be achieved only if we manage to do away with the old order, which completely ignores us, only if we insist on the place which is ours in the political organization of the world, only if we realize our importance in the world and obtain the right to decision-making with respect to the machinery governing trade, economic and monetary affairs at the world level.

48. The new international economic order is simply one among all the other rights of peoples—the right to independence, to the free choice of the form and structure of government, the right to development—and like all the rights of peoples it is a right which can be gained only through the struggle of the peoples. It will never be obtained by any act of generosity by any Power whatsoever.

49. I continue to have unshakeable confidence—a confidence I share with the immense community of non-aligned countries—that, despite our peoples' battering-ram cries of distress, our group will preserve its cohesion, strengthen its power of collective negotiation, find allies among all nations, and begin, together with all who can still hear us, to organize a really new system of international economic relations.

50. I agreed to come to speak before the Assembly because, despite the criticism of certain major contributors, the United Nations remains the ideal forum for our demands, the place where the legitimacy of countries which have no voice is recognized. This was expressed very accurately by the Secretary-General, when he wrote [*see A/39/1*]:

> "The United Nations reflects in a unique way the aspirations and frustrations of many nations and groups all over the world. One of its great merits is that all nations—including the weak, the oppressed and the victims of injustice"—that is, us—"can get a hearing and have a platform even in the face of the hard realities of power. A just cause, however frustrated or disregarded, can find a voice in the United Nations. This is not always a well-liked attribute of the Organization, but it is an essential one."

The meaning and scope of the Organization could not be better defined.

51. Therefore, it is absolutly essential for the good of each of us that the United Nations be strengthened and provided with the means to take action. That is why we endorse the Secretary-General's proposals to this end, to help the Organization break the many deadlocks which have been carefully preserved by the great Powers in order to discredit it in the eyes of the world.

52. Since I recognize the admittedly limited merits of the Organization, I cannot but rejoice to see new Members join us. That is why the delegation of Burkina Faso welcomes the admission of the 159th Member of the United Nations, the State of Brunei Darussalam.

53. The folly of those who, by a quirk of fate, rule the world makes it imperative for the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries—which, I hope, the State of Brunei Darussalam will soon join—to consider as one of the permanent goals of its struggle the achievement of disarmament, which is an essential aspect of the principal conditions of our right to development.

54. In our view, there must be serious studies of all the factors which have led to the calamities which have befallen the world. In this connection, President Fidel Castro stated our view admirably at the opening of the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Havana in September 1979, when he said:

> "Three hundred billion dollars could build 600,000 schools, with a capacity for 400 million children; or 60 million comfortable homes, for 300 million people; or 30,000 hospitals, with 18 million beds; or 20,000 factories, with jobs for more than 20 million workers; or an irrigation system for 150 million hectares of land—that, with the application of technology, could feed a billion people."[4]

If we multiply those numbers by 10—and I am sure that that is a conservative figure—we can see how much mankind wastes every year in the military field, that is, against peace.

55. It is easy to see why the indignation of the peoples is easily transformed into rebellion and revolution in the face of the crumbs tossed to them in the ignominious form of some aid, to which utterly humiliating conditions are sometimes attached. It can be understood why, in the fight for development, we consider ourselves to be tireless combatants for peace.

56. We swear to struggle to ease tension, to introduce the principles of civilized life into international relations and to extend these to all parts of the world. That means that we can no longer stand by passively and watch people haggle over concepts.

57. We reiterate our determination to work actively for peace; to take our place in the struggle for disarmament; to take action in the field of international politics as a decisive factor, free of all hindrance by any of the big Powers, whatever may be their designs.

58. But the quest for peace also involves the strict application of the right of countries to independence. On this point, the most pathetic—indeed, the most appalling—example is found in the Middle East, where, with arrogance, insolence and incredible stubbornness, a small country, Israel, has for more than 20 years, with the unspeakable complicity of its powerful protector, the United States, continued to defy the international community.

59. Only yesterday, Jews were consigned to the horrors of the crematorium, but Israel scorns history by inflicting on others the tortures it suffered.

60. In any event, Israel—whose people we love for its courage and sacrifices of the past—should realize that the conditions for its own tranquillity are not to be found in military strength financed from outside. Israel must begin to learn to be a nation like other nations, one among many.

61. For the present, we declare from this rostrum our militant, active solidarity with the fighters, both men and women, of the wonderful people of Palestine, for we know that there is no suffering that has no end.

62. Analysing the economic and political situation in Africa, we cannot fail to stress our serious concern at the dangerous challenges to the rights of peoples hurled by certain nations which, secure in their alliances, openly flout international morality.

63. We are naturally pleased at the decision to withdraw foreign troops from Chad so that the Chadian people themselves, without intermediaries, can find the way to put an end to that fratricidal war and finally be able to dry the tears that have been shed for so many years. But, despite the progress made here and there in the struggle of the African peoples for economic emancipation, our continent continues to reflect the essential reality of the contradictions between the big Powers and to be oppressed by the unbearable scourges of today's world.

64. That is why we cannot accept and must unreservedly condemn the treatment of the people of Western Sahara by the Kingdom of Morocco, which has been using delaying tactics to postpone the day of reckoning that will in any event be forced upon it by the will of the Saharan people. I have visited the regions liberated by the Saharan people, and I have come to believe more firmly than ever that nothing will stop its progress towards the total liberation of its country under the militant and enlightened leadership of the Frente POLISARIO.[5]

65. I do not wish to dwell too long on the question of Mayotte and the islands of the Malagasy archipelago; since the facts are clear and the principles obvious, there is no need to dwell on them. Mayotte belongs to the Comoros; the islands of the archipelago belong to Madagascar.

66. With regard to Latin America, we welcome the initiative of the Contadora Group as a positive step in the search for a just solution to the explosive situation in the region. Commander Daniel Ortega, speaking here [*16th meeting*] on behalf of the revolutionary people of Nicaragua, made concrete proposals and posed some basic, direct questions. We hope to see peace in his country and throughout Central America on and after 15 October; this is what world public opinion calls for.

67. Just as we condemned the foreign aggression against the island of Grenada, so we condemn all foreign intervention. Thus, we cannot remain silent about the foreign military intervention in Afghanistan.

68. And yet there is one point that is so serious that each of us must give a very open and clear explanation of it. That question, as members can imagine, is that of South Africa. The unbelievable insolence of that country with respect to all nations of the world—even those that support the terrorism which it has erected into a State system designed physically to liquidate the black majority of that country—and the contempt that it has shown for all our resolutions constitute one of the most serious and overwhelming concerns of the world today.

69. But the most tragic factor is not that South Africa has outlawed itself from the international community because of its *apartheid* laws, not even that it continues to occupy Namibia illegally and keep it under its colonialist and racist boot or that it continues with impugnity to subject its neighbours to the laws of banditry. No, what is the most abject and the most humiliating for the human conscience is that it has made this tragedy a matter of everyday reality for millions of human beings, who have only their own body and the heroism of their bare hands to defend themselves. Sure of the complicity of the big Powers and the active support of certain among them, as well as of the criminal collaboration of some pathetic African leaders, the white minority simply ignores the feelings of all those people, everywhere in the world, who find the savage methods of that country to be absolutely intolerable.

70. There was a time when international brigades went to defend the honour of nations that suffered aggression. Today, despite the agonizing open wounds that are suffered, all we do is vote for resolutions that do nothing more than call on a nation of pirates, which "destroys a smile as hail kills flowers", to mend its ways.

71. We shall soon be celebrating the one-hundred-and-fiftieth anniversary of the emancipation of slaves in the British Empire. My delegation supports the proposal of Antigua and Barbuda [*A/39/241*] for the commemoration of that event, which is of very great importance to African countries and the black world. For us, all that can be said throughout the world during the commemorative ceremonies must empha-

size the terrible cost paid by Africa and the black world in the development of civilization. Nothing was given us in return, which no doubt explains the tragedy on our continent today. It is our blood that nourished the rise of capitalism, that made possible our present condition of dependence and consolidated our underdevelopment. But we cannot hide the truth any more; it cannot be ignored. The figures cannot be simply haggled away. For every black man who came to the plantations, five died or were crippled. And here I do not mention the disorganization of the continent and its consequences.

72. While the entire world, thanks to you, Mr. President, with the help of the Secretary-General, will be commemorating that anniversary and noting this truth, it will understand why we long for peace among nations and why we demand our right to development with absolute equality through the organization and distribution of human resources. It is because we belong to one of the races that has suffered the most that we in Burkina Faso have sworn that we shall never accept any splitting up of our country or any denial of justice. It is the memory of that suffering that causes us to stand side by side with the Palestine Liberation Organization [*PLO*] against the armed bands of Israel. It is the memory of that suffering which, on the one hand, causes us to support the African National Congress of South Africa [*ANC*] and the South West Africa People's Organization [*SWAPO*] and, on the other, makes absolutely intolerable the presence in South Africa of men who say they are white and feel entitled on that account to set the whole world on fire. It is that memory of suffering that makes us put all our faith in the United Nations, with the common responsibility, the common task and the common hopes of us all.

73. We demand that throughout the world the campaign to free Nelson Mandela be intensified so that his presence here at the next session of the General Assembly will be a victory of collective pride. In memory of our suffering and as a collective pardon, an international humanitarian prize should be given for all those who have contributed to the defence of human rights through their work and research. We call for cutting all budgets for space research by one ten-thousandth and devoting that amount to research in the field of health and to improving the human environment which has been disrupted by those "fireworks" which are harmful to the ecosystem.

74. We also propose that the structures of the United Nations be reviewed and revised so that an end may be put to the scandal of the right of veto. The perverse effects of its abuse have, of course, been offset by the vigilance of some States that possess the veto right. However, nothing can justify that right—neither the size of the country nor its wealth.

75. If the argument used to justify that inequity has been the cost paid during the Second World War, then those nations that have arrogated those rights to themselves should know that each of us has an uncle or a father who—like thousands of other innocent people recruited from the third world to defend the rights that had been flouted by the Hitlerite hordes—also suffered and died from Nazi bullets. Therefore, let those major Powers, which miss no opportunity to question the right of peoples, not be so arrogant. The absence of Africa from the club of those that have the right of veto is an injustice which must be ended.

76. Lastly, my delegation would be failing in its duty if it did not call for the suspension of Israel and the pure and simple exclusion of South Africa from the United Nations. When, in the course of time, those countries have done what they must do to justify their presence in the international community, then we would be only too happy to welcome them here and to guide their first steps.

77. We should like to reconfirm our confidence in the United Nations. We are grateful for the work which its agencies have done in Burkina Faso and for their presence side by side with us in the difficult times in which we are living. We are grateful to the members of the Security Council for having allowed us twice this year to preside over the work of the Council. We only hope the Council will recognize the principle of the struggle against the extermination of 30 million human beings each year through hunger, which today is more devastating than nuclear weapons.

78. Our confidence and faith in the United Nations leads me to thank the Secretary-General for his visit, which we greatly appreciated; he came to see for himself the harsh reality of our life and to get a true picture of the aridity of the Sahel and the tragedy of desertification.

79. I cannot conclude without paying a tribute tc the President of the General Assembly, who, with his great intelligence and perception, will guide the work of this thirty-ninth session.

80. I have travelled many thousands of kilometres to be here. I have come to ask each member to work together to put an end to the contempt of those who are unreasonable, to eliminate the tragic spectacle of children dying of hunger, to do away with ignorance, to ensure the triumph of the legitimate rebellion of peoples and to put an end to the use of weapons so that they can be laid down and fall silent, and to ensure that mankind will survive and that together, with the great poet Novalis we can all sing together:

> "Soon the stars will come back to the Earth where they have long been gone; soon the sun will return, the star will shine again among the stars, all the races of the world will gather together again after a long separation, the old orphaned families will find one another again and every day there will be new discoveries, more people will embrace one another; then the inhabitants of the old days will come back to the Earth, the ashes will be relit in each tomb, the flame of life will burn again, the old houses will be rebuilt, the old times will come again and history will be the dream of the present extended to infinity."

81. Down with international reaction! Down with imperialism! Down with neo-colonialism! Down with "puppetism"!

82. Eternal glory to the peoples who are struggling for their freedom! Eternal glory to the peoples who stand shoulder to shoulder to defend their dignity! Eternal victory to the peoples of Africa, Latin America and Asia in their struggle!

83. Fatherland or death: we shall triumph.

84. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank Mr. Sankara, Head of State and President of the National Council of the Revolution of Burkina Faso, for the statement he has just made.

85. Mr. CHŇOUPEK (Czechoslovakia) (*interpretation from Russian*): We congratulate you, Sir, on your election to the office of President of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly, welcoming in your person a prominent representative of a friendly, non-aligned country with which we have been developing broad, constructive and fruitful relations. We wish you as well as the Secretary-General every success in your demanding work. We also appreciate the work of your predecessor, Mr. Jorge Enrique Illueca.

86. We welcome Brunei Darussalam as a new Member of the United Nations. We extend to that country our sincere congratulations on its accession to independence.

87. This highest forum of the United Nations meets at a time when peoples of the world are getting ready to commemorate the fortieth anniversary of the victory over fascism and militarism and the end of the Second World War. The combined will of nations not to allow a recurrence of such a cataclysm gave birth to the Organization. Czechoslovakia, one of the founding Members of the United Nations, has, since the first moments of its existence, been consistently striving for the implementation of the lofty ideals of its Charter in the interest of maintaining and strengthening world peace and developing all-round co-operation among nations. As early as the first session of the General Assembly, we resolutely advocated the very first general control and reduction of armaments and armed forces, the prohibition of the use of atomic energy for military purposes and the elimination from national armaments of atomic weapons and of weapons adaptable then or in the future to mass destruction. At that time, in December 1946, the Czechoslovak delegation stated that it supported without reservation or scepticism the entire relevant resolution and expressed its conviction that the state of the world called for disarmament which would promote the necessary co-operation between all countries of the world.[6]

88. Throughout the ensuing four decades, we have been actively supporting the United Nations in its irreplaceable peace-promoting activities and continue to do so.

89. During this year's successful visit of the Secretary-General to the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, we expressed at the highest level our commitment to the cause of the United Nations, as well as our readiness to strengthen its activities and confidence in it. We emphasized that in the present volatile international situation, the peoples need the United Nations as a universal institution of a world system of collective security no less than they did at the time of its establishment. We also stressed that the Organization requires the determination of nations to find just solutions to momentous problems because, as history teaches us, there is no other road to peace but peace. Peace itself is the road, and it can be achieved only through patient, collective efforts every day, through gradual, deliberate building of all-round co-operation among States and consistent strengthening of their mutual confidence and security.

90. Seen from this point of view, this year's general debate so far has been a demonstration of justifiable concern about international developments, which are full of adverse tendencies. Within the short period of the last year, the spiral of the arms race has climbed to unprecedented levels. The stockpiles of nuclear weapons have reached such a tremendous quantity that they are sufficient to bring about multiple general destruction; consequently, there is no reason whatsoever for their further accumulation. The remaining disarmament talks have hardly made any progress. The dialogue has continued to falter. Mistrust among States has increased. There has been open interference in the internal affairs of countries; there have been acts of aggression. The pursuit of the policy of proceeding from a position of force has been intensified. International relations have been further destabilized. Liquidation of so many of the positive achievements from the years of détente has continued.

91. It is the most reactionary circles of imperialism, primarily those in the United States, that we hold directly responsible for such a course of events—those circles which reflect most clearly the interests of the military-industrial complex, those which have been asserting, instead of the much-needed preservation of the military-strategic balance and a gradual reduction in its level, a policy of force, hegemonism, diktat, State terrorism, striving for military superiority, fanning hotbeds of tension, imposing their imperialist demands on other countries and non-compliance with agreements which have been concluded.

92. This truly dangerous situation has been particularly aggravated by the installation of new United States intermediate-range missiles in Western Europe. The reason for this was the fact that these were weapons of a new quality, first-strike weapons with strategic effects. Their deployment has created a completely new military-strategic and political situation. The Geneva talks have been blocked. The prospects for limiting and reducing nuclear weapons have been substantially worsened. If I had to say from this rostrum last year, at the thirty-eighth session, that "the Pershing II missiles are to be deployed a mere 180 kilometres from our borders" [*19th meeting, para. 111*], then, unfortunately, I have to state now, much to my regret, that they have already been deployed. I must also add that there was nothing for us and our allies to do but to adopt appropriate defensive countermeasures in deploying systems of operational tactical missiles with increased range—which resulted in the fact, for which we are not to blame, that the European continent has only suffered a loss without making any gain. The balance has been restored at a higher and more dangerous level. The presence of new weapons in Western Europe has not brought any increase at all in security; quite the contrary, it has caused a general decrease in security, prompted the growth of mistrust and tension in relations among States, created further complications on the way to agreement and posed a threat to other regions also within their striking radius and, in the long run, to the whole world.

93. International relations have been considerably aggravated by the continued pursuit of plans aimed at achieving strategic superiority and preparing for a nuclear war in outer space, by the programme to develop and produce means for the militarization of outer space. This space project with "defensive" or "preventive" purposes to be achieved by the envisaged anti-ballistic and anti-satellite systems has in fact shifted the question of war in outer space—in that "sixth ocean", as it might be called today—from the realm of theory to that of practice. However, a war in outer space would not be an alternative to a

war on earth, as some people foolishly believe, but rather a prelude to it.

94. The overall state of affairs, furthermore, has been unfavourably affected by the dangerous statements casting doubt on the post-war settlement in Europe in connection with the Yalta and Potsdam Conferences. The authors of these irresponsible utterances, which in essence amount to a refusal to recognize the *status quo* in Europe, have taken an extremely dangerous step, placing in jeopardy the very foundations of European peace. Everybody knows, after all, that any attempt to revise European borders guaranteed by the entire potential of the community of socialist States is in advance condemned by history to failure.

95. Further deterioration in the situation has been caused by the impact of these utterances on those forces that have not reconciled themselves to the defeat of nazism and the post-war arrangements in Europe. In fact, we could see what an encouraging effect they had on West German revanchism: how it has been conspicuously revived; how it has defiantly raised its head; how, deplorably, contrary to the agreements concluded by the Federal Republic of Germany with Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union, Poland and the German Democratic Republic, it has raised demands at rallies in Munich and elsewhere for a revision of the post-war arrangement of Europe and its borders; how, arrogantly, it claimed a "right to a homeland" or the solution of "an outstanding German question"—all this with the patronage of the highest representatives of State and Government and in conditions marked by the presence of new medium-range missiles, by the growing military strength of the Bundeswehr and the lifting of limitations on the production of certain types of weapons, including strategic ones.

96. What is required is wisdom, far-sightedness, composure and the ability to look at matters not from the position of force and ideological illusions but in the light of political realities in order to restrain such confrontational steps, eliminate their impact and place barriers in their way—whether it be the threat of missiles, war in outer space, attempts to question the post-war settlement or the growth of revanchism.

97. Thus, what is needed is not only a change of tone in the rhetoric but a change of approach; not only gestures but actions; not words but deeds. After all, confidence, too, is indivisible. In other words, in the spirit of the best traditions of the anti-Hitler coalition, it is necessary to display an ability to subordinate ideological prejudices and problems in mutual relations which can be solved to the primary objective criterion—the fundamental concern of mankind as a whole and of one's own nation for a return to the policy of détente, lasting peace and constructive co-operation.

98. Czechoslovakia, in co-ordination with the other socialist countries, is always ready to contribute to such a course.

99. Unfortunately, the situation is such that for the time being we do not see any indications that imperialism is ready to give up its current policy of force; nor do we perceive any readiness on the part of the United States to undertake concrete action for the solution of current problems and for the sake of a policy of stable, mutually advantageous co-operation.

100. Together with our allies, we have already expressed our willingness and readiness for such negotiations in a wide-ranging set of important peace initiatives aimed at reaching agreement on the most vital current problems.

101. First of all, there are the proposals contained in the Political Declaration of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty, adopted at Prague on 5 January 1983,[7] the joint statement issued in Moscow on 28 June 1983,[8] and the Declaration by the member countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance at their high-level Economic Conference, held in Moscow from 12 to 14 June 1984 [*A/39/323, annex II*]. As the President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, Gustáv Husák, stated recently "through their initiatives and proposals, the States of the socialist community are striving for constructive solutions of international problems, for a return to the path of détente and the settlement of crisis situations and hotbeds of tension in various parts of the world, on the basis of honest and equal negotiations, on the basis of equality and equal security".

102. At the same time, we are ready to consider and accept any idea, any proposal, that leads us away from the nuclear abyss. In the struggle against the danger of war, against the arms race, we are ready to ally ourselves with all peace-loving countries.

103. Our approach is based on the well-founded assumption that the international situation can be restored to health only through a serious and creative dialogue imbued with a spirit of responsibility for the fate of humanity. Precisely that kind of dialogue may lead to the fulfilment of the pressing and most vital task of averting the threat of nuclear war, a task in which today the very existence of mankind is at stake. To that end, all States without exception must unite. The entire capacity of the United Nations, too, must be used for the same purpose. What must be achieved is that relations among nuclear Powers be governed by certain principles. Above all, averting a nuclear war must become the principal objective of their foreign policies, as envisaged in the extremely important proposal submitted by the highest Soviet official, Mr. Konstantin Chernenko, on 2 March 1984, which is rightly referred to as the code of conduct for nuclear Powers. Its adoption would contribute to a considerable reduction in the risk of military confrontation and to the strengthening of security and stability in the relations among States possessing those most horrible weapons ever created by man.

104. Czechoslovakia is emphatically advocating an immediate halt to the nuclear arms race and the adoption of effective measures to reduce the stockpiles of nuclear arms until they are completely liquidated. In this context, we also appreciate the appeal made by the Heads of State or Government of six countries, in their Joint Declaration of 22 May 1984 [*see A/39/277*], addressed to the nuclear Powers. An exceptionally important step towards reaching those objectives, in our view, would be the freezing of nuclear-weapon arsenals by nuclear Powers possessing such weapons at both quantitative and qualitative levels, as envisaged in the highly topical proposal by the Soviet Union adopted at last year's session of the General Assembly.

105. Also, the adoption by the nuclear Powers which have not yet done so of the obligation not to be the first to use nuclear weapons would constitute a

very important measure towards reaching a positive political turn in confidence-building throughout the world.

106. A milestone would be set on the road to nuclear disarmament by drafting and adopting a treaty on a complete and universal nuclear-weapon-test ban.

107. We are in favour of strengthening the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*] and of achieving its universality. In this context, Czechoslovakia attaches great importance to the Third Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty, to be convened at Geneva in 1985. We shall work for the success of the Conference, so that it might contribute to the further strengthening of the régime for the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

108. We do not regard as irreversible the situation that has been created in Europe following the start of the deployment of first-strike United States weapons; solution is possible. The deployment of those weapons must be immediately discontinued and the situation must be returned to the status that existed in the fall of last year.

109. We support the proposals for the establishment of nuclear-free zones in various parts of the world. We are willing and ready to consider any constructive initiatives for their establishment, especially in Europe.

110. Together with nuclear disarmament, an exceptionally timely and truly urgent task, in our view, is to prevent an extension of the arms race to outer space before it is too late and before the space surrounding our planet is filled with new types and systems of first-strike weapons—conventional, nuclear, laser or beam weapons. The use of force in outer space and from outer space against the earth, as well as from the earth against objects in outer space, must be prohibited once and for all. We are convinced that people throughout the world would welcome with relief a speedy start to Soviet-United States talks on these questions, as proposed by the Government of the Soviet Union in its statement last June. We also give our full support to the new and important Soviet initiative taken at this session by Mr. Andrei Gromyko [*see A/39/243*] for the adoption of an historic undertaking by all States to safeguard the use of outer space exclusively for peaceful purposes for the benefit of mankind, which might lead in the future to the establishment of a world organization to that end.

111. At the Conference on Disarmament, at Geneva, we actively advocate the speedy drafting of a convention on the prohibition and destruction of chemical weapons. In that respect, a good foundation was provided by the proposal submitted by the Soviet Union in 1982[9] at the twelfth special session of the General Assembly, the second session devoted to disarmament, and supplemented by further constructive Soviet proposals, including the latest one concerning verification of the destruction of chemical weapons. The achievement of a general ban on chemical weapons may also be significantly facilitated by the proposal made by the States members of the Warsaw Treaty Organization addressed to the States members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [*NATO*] for the elimination of chemical weapons from Europe.

112. We believe it is extremely important to give new impetus to efforts for the limitation of the conventional arms race. The urgency of this task is further increased by the fact that through the fault of the NATO militarists a new generation of conventional weapons is coming into being, whose capabilities are approaching those of the most destructive weapons. For a number of months now, a response has been awaited to one of the important joint initiatives by the Warsaw Treaty countries, namely, to begin talks with the NATO countries on the question of a freeze on military expenditures and the subsequent reduction of such expenditures. It would be useful if States not belonging to either of those two military-political groupings were also to participate in the implementation of the proposed measures.

113. At the Conference on Confidence- and Security-building Measures and Disarmament in Europe, meeting at Stockholm, we are striving in particular to achieve the implementation of proposals relating to important military-political measures. First, there is a draft treaty on the mutual non-use of military force and the maintenance of peaceful relations. The conclusion of such a treaty would provide a legal and political guarantee of an improvement in the strengthening of confidence and security. It was with this in mind that on 7 May the Warsaw Treaty member States addressed an appeal to the member States of NATO [*A/39/300*] to begin multilateral consultations on that proposal.

114. The deliberations at the Stockholm Conference thus far have clearly shown that an agreement cannot be attained without constructive consideration of the basic important questions of confidence and security and without ensuring consideration on an equal footing of all proposals submitted. We are convinced that the Conference can reach positive results. What is needed, however, is better mutual understanding, a responsible approach and political will on the part of all the participants.

115. At the Vienna talks on the reduction of armed forces and armaments, we have endeavoured, together with our allies, to overcome the profound deadlock reached in those talks through the fault of the West. The approach set forth in the proposals submitted by the socialist countries in 1983 provides a simple and mutually acceptable way to implement the mandate of the Vienna talks in its entirety. The appropriate use of that approach would facilitate overcoming the numerical barrier and would speed up the adoption of a mutually acceptable agreement that would make possible a substantial reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe.

116. In the interest of progress in the solution of all disarmament questions, Czechoslovakia will continue its efforts of previous years and will also at this session of the General Assembly further elaborate on the ideas of the Declaration on International Co-operation for Disarmament, which was adopted at our initiative in 1979 [*resolution 34/88*].

117. We believe that the General Assembly should give new encouragement to the efforts aimed at safeguarding the peaceful nature of relations among States and strengthening mutual confidence. Were it not for the policies of States that arrogate to themselves the right openly to destabilize the independent existence of other countries and to subvert their social and political order, the situation in the world would undeniably be more tranquil and less dangerous. It is precisely for this reason that we support the new and most timely proposal by the Soviet Union

[*A/39/244*] that the United Nations categorically condemn the policy and practice of State terrorism, which is in total contravention of the fundamental norms of international law embodied in the Charter of the United Nations.

118. The settlement of persisting conflicts and hotbeds of tension is one of the most pressing tasks of the United Nations. In this regard, I wish to emphasize the timeliness and importance of the Soviet Union's appeal of 29 July of this year [*see A/39/368*] to resume without delay collective international efforts for a settlement in the Middle East. We view this appeal as a realistic proposal for a comprehensive settlement of the dangerous situation in that region caused by the aggressive expansionist policies of Israel and by imperialist interference. In this connection, we reaffirm our support for the just struggle of the Palestinian people for national self-determination and the establishment of its own independent State.

119. We favour the speediest possible termination of hostilities between Iran and Iraq and the settlement of the conflict by political means in the spirit of the relevant United Nations decisions, in particular Security Council resolutions 540 (1983) and 552 (1984). At the same time, we oppose any external attempts at military interference, whether they are undertaken in the guise of "protection" of oil routes or under any other pretext.

120. We strongly reject interference in the affairs of Cuba and escalation of aggressive militarist actions against Nicaragua, and we condemn once again the aggression against Grenada.

121. We agree with those who see the cause of the explosive situation in Central America and in the Caribbean not in a global East-West confrontation but in the deep political, social and economic crisis created as a result of the interference and gross exploitation practised by imperialism. It is these causes that must be eliminated. We fully support the efforts of the Contadora Group to bring about a peaceful and just settlement of the conflict situation in that region.

122. We value and fully support the proposals of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan for an improvement of relations in the region. We believe that the steps taken by the Secretary-General and his Personal Representative will also contribute to finding realistic ways of achieving that goal. A prerequisite is the halting of foreign imperalist interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan.

123. Czechoslovakia fully supports the peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea in the defence of their freedom and independence and in their efforts to restore peace, stability and co-operative relations among States of the region. We demand that the General Assembly assume a realistic approach to the question of the representation of the Kampuchean people in the United Nations by their true representatives, that is, the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, which has been consistently pursuing a peaceful foreign policy and striving for the development of co-operation with all States.

124. We support the proposals of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for a peaceful reunification of Korea on a democratic basis, preceded by the withdrawal of United States troops from the southern part of the country.

125. We will continue to extend our full support to an equitable settlement of the question of Cyprus so that Cyprus will remain an independent, sovereign, united, territorially integral and non-aligned State, free from any foreign military presence.

126. We continue to feel full solidarity with the just struggle of the people of Namibia, led by SWAPO, for their freedom. Namibia must be granted independence without any pre-conditions or obstructions. We also support all forms of struggle against the inhuman policy of *apartheid* and racial discrimination carried out by the Pretoria régime.

127. We attach great importance to the activities of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and to its positive role in current international relations. We welcome its stand in favour of the halting of the arms race, the peaceful settlement of conflict situations in the world and the strengthening of peace.

128. We fully support the demands of the developing countries and their efforts aimed at restructuring international economic relations on a just and democratic basis. We condemn the aggravation of neo-colonialist exploitation of the developing countries and the practice of the imperialist States of shifting onto the shoulders of the developing countries the burden of the consequences of the economic crisis by means of both political and economic pressure.

129. In the Declaration adopted at the Economic Conference of the member States of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, held in Moscow last June, the participants advocated the adoption of effective measures designed to do away with any kind of exploitation. We confirmed our steadfast commitment to the development of fruitful economic, commercial, scientific and technological contacts with all States so motivated.

130. It is in this spirit that we continue to develop our relations with the Western countries through all existing channels, while consistently applying the well-tested principles of peaceful coexistence. Under conditions of orderly relations, we continue to conduct with most of them a dialogue which produces undisputed constructive results. We regard this as a positive feature of the overall international climate. At the same time, however, we say quite frankly that the deployment of the new first-strike weapons in certain countries of Western Europe could not leave our relations with them unaffected.

131. The present day demands of us urgently that we rededicate ourselves to all the positive aspects of the activities of the United Nations, that we develop them and defend and strengthen, consistently and tirelessly, the foundations of world peace and security as a prerequisite and condition for the solution of the other pressing issues and problems faced by mankind.

For our part, we are ready now as we were before to continue along that road.

132. Mr. HALEFOĞLU (Turkey): First of all, I should like to congratulate you, Sir, on your election to the presidency of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. Your well-known qualities as an eminent statesman of Africa and your dedication as President of the United Nations Council for Namibia to its independence and the eradication of the abhorrent practice of *apartheid* will contribute to the success of our work. I also wish to express our thanks to the outgoing President, Mr. Jorge Illueca, of Panama.

133. It gives me particular pleasure to reiterate on behalf of my Government our full confidence in the Secretary-General. His exceptional leadership, impartiality, foresight and dedication are a source of admiration and respect all over the world.

134. I also wish to extend a warm welcome to Brunei Darussalam, as the newest Member of the United Nations.

135. The agenda of this session contains important items which reflect not only the concerns but also the expectations of the international community. My Government pledges its full support for every effort aimed at improving the international climate and promoting the search for the peaceful settlement of existing problems.

136. The principles of Turkish foreign policy are strongly opposed to oppression, colonialism and racial discrimination. Consequently, we remain deeply concerned about the intolerable and dangerous situation in southern Africa.

137. In Namibia, we are still confronted with one of the last, but most important, vestiges of colonialism, illegal occupation and repression. The process of independence for Namibia is at present passing through a critical stage. Further delay in implementing Security Council resolution 435 (1978) will aggravate the political situation and the troubles in and around Namibia. In this regard, we commend the valuable and untiring efforts of the Secretary-General to make possible the full implementation of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia. As a founding member of the United Nations Council for Namibia, Turkey resolutely supports the legitimate and just struggle of the people of Namibia for their independence, under the leadership of SWAPO.

138. Turkey also strongly condemns the policy of *apartheid* pursued in South Africa, a policy which constitutes the most abominable form of racial discrimination, and it appeals to all Member States to unify their efforts against this inhuman practice.

139. I should also like to mention a positive development in Africa. My Government welcomes the recent agreement on military disengagement in Chad and hopes for its early implementation.

140. The situation in the Middle East continues to cause grave concern. Tension and conflict persist, and unfortunately there is still not much room for optimism about a negotiated settlement. The plight of the Arab Palestinian people continues unabated, while Lebanon is still searching for the opportunity to reassert its sovereignty over its territory and is trying further to pursue the process of national reconciliation and reconstruction.

141. Turkey is naturally concerned about the tense situation in the region. We see Turkey's role as one of stability, peaceful change and progress. Its historical and cultural heritage, its geographic location and the Western values it has adopted put it in a unique position to play this role.

142. The question of Palestine occupies centre stage in the Middle East political arena and is today, as it has been for more than three decades, among the high-priority items on the agenda of the United Nations. The Organization, through numerous resolutions, has firmly supported the right of self-determination of Arab Palestinians and the creation of an independent Palestinian State, without which no settlement can be just and enduring. It is therefore important that Israel should withdraw from all the Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem. Israel should comply with its obligations under the relevant international conventions as the occupying Power and respect the human rights of the people in the occupied territories. Israel must not be allowed further to modify the demographic character and institutional structure of these territories. To put it simply, unless their homeland remains intact, Arab Palestinians will not have the territory upon which to establish their State.

143. The Government of Turkey is of the view that the opportunities created by the Fez plan contained in the Final Declaration of the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference, adopted on 9 September 1982,[10] and by the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, held at Geneva from 29 August to 7 September 1983, should now be judiciously pursued. In this connection, we support the convening of an international peace conference on the Middle East, as endorsed by the General Assembly in resolution 38/58 C. There is considerable support for such a conference. We hope that the Secretary-General can make progress in assisting its preparation through appropriate initiatives. Needless to say, the PLO must participate in the conference on an equal footing with the other parties.

144. In the context of the grave problems of the Middle East region, we wish to underline once again our deep concern over the precarious situation in Lebanon. Israel has repeatedly been called upon to put an end to its violations of the human rights of the population in southern Lebanon. Israel must promptly withdraw from Lebanon as a first and essential step in the process of Lebanese reconciliation and rehabilitation. We are encouraged by the recent moves for the withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanon. The Lebanese people have already endured untold suffering and losses. They should be left alone, free from foreign interference. A united, sovereign and territorially integral Lebanon is indispensable for the overall stability of the region. We are all under an obligation to help the Lebanese people achieve that goal.

145. The war between Iran and Iraq is yet another major source of tension and danger in the region. Turkey, a neighbour of the two countries, with equally close ties with both, is very much distressed by the loss of human lives and material devastation inflicted by the war. The potential in the conflict for unpredictable developments remains high, and there is always the danger of escalation. We again call on both sides to end the war. Turkey is prepared to assist and to contribute to a settlement under conditions mutually acceptable to Iraq and Iran. We also support other initiatives that enjoy the confidence of the two parties, and, in particular, express our appreciation to the Secretary-General for his efforts.

146. We continue to be deeply concerned about the situation in Afghanistan. The determination of the Afghan people to live in freedom is praiseworthy. We applaud the efforts of the Secretary-General to obtain a negotiated political settlement. The Afghan people must be able to exercise its right to self-determination, and the Afghan refugees must be allowed to return to their country in safety. Such a settlement should restore Afghanistan's independence and non-aligned status by ensuring the withdrawal of foreign military forces. We also express our appreciation to the Government of Pakistan, which, despite its

limited means, provides shelter and humanitarian assistance to the Afghan refugees, and our satisfaction over its positive and co-operative approach to a peaceful settlement.

147. The situation in Kampuchea is another matter which deserves the constant attention of the international community. An early political settlement, involving the withdrawal of all foreign troops from that country, the cessation of all foreign influence in the internal affairs of Kampuchea and the restoration of independence based on the right of self-determination, is imperative. Turkey highly appreciates the efforts of the members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations towards a peaceful solution of this important problem, which endangers peace and stability in the region.

148. I should also like to touch upon the situation in the Korean peninsula, which remains unchanged. We are convinced of the need for a speedy resumption of the dialogue between the parties concerned in order to settle the Korean question by peaceful means. In this context, we greatly value the initiatives of the Government of the Republic of Korea designed to bring about a dialogue. There is also an important role to be played by the United Nations, which has long been directly involved in the issue. In this connection, we are convinced that a better atmosphere of peace, reconciliation and understanding would be fostered by admitting the parties directly concerned to this universal body.

149. In spite of the most welcome signs of the development of the democratic process in Latin America, the present situation in Central America remains tense. The aggravation of the political atmosphere and the acute economic and social difficulties in the region have a negative impact on international relations. In this respect, we fully support the efforts of the Contadora Group in the search for a peaceful, negotiated solution to the conflicts in the region.

150. We believe that law and order must be established and that the aspirations of these nations to live and develop under democratic pluralistic régimes respectful of basic human rights must be fulfilled.

151. We should like to commend the Secretary-General for his recent efforts concerning Cyprus. My Government is pleased with the reactivation of the search for a negotiated settlement. We consider the high-level proximity talks which began on 10 September within the framework defined at Vienna to be a constructive step forward. We sincerely hope that the current initiative of the Secretary-General will lead to the resumption of the direct negotiating process between the Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot sides on the existing, mutually agreed basis. We are encouraged by the information from the Secretary-General that in their first round the proximity talks have been thorough, serious, business-like and conducted in a constructive spirit. I take this opportunity to reiterate our gratitude to the Secretary-General for his untiring and skilful efforts to bring about a lasting solution to the Cyprus question.

152. Today there is an absolute need for careful but imaginative action to exploit the opportunity that has been created for a compromise in Cyprus with the introduction by the Secretary-General, at Vienna, of the "working points". Whatever reasons may still divide the two communities, there is no excuse for delaying the resumption of the direct negotiating process. Both sides stand to gain much more from negotiations than from rhetorical exchanges and propaganda activities. The time has come for the two Cypriot sides to make renewed efforts in their challenging task of reshaping their relations as equal partners in a bicommunal, bizonal, federal framework. We welcome the fact that the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, for its part, has declared its readiness to make every effort to this end. Its positive approach to the Secretary-General's initiative, both in procedure and in substance, has been a step in the right direction. However, this constructive attitude of the Turkish Cypriot side has yet to be reciprocated. This, in our view, is the key to progress.

153. My Government will continue to encourage the negotiating process and lend its support to the Secretary-General's mission of good offices entrusted to him by the Security Council in paragraph 6 of its resolution 367 (1975) of 12 March 1975.

154. International terrorism threatens mankind and the normal conduct of international relations. Its well-established links with international arms and drug smuggling indicate the extent of this threat. Therefore, it is not enough to take appropriate measures individually at the national level, which Turkey has successfully done, to eliminate this problem. It is also necessary for States to assume international obligations to prevent the use of their territory for acts of terrorism against other States. The perpetrators of such crimes should not be allowed to find shelter in other countries. In this regard, Turkey strongly believes that terrorism in all its forms can only be eliminated through close and effective international co-operation.

155. Consequently, as an important aspect of this global problem, we find the item in the agenda of the current session of the General Assembly entitled "Consideration of effective measures to enhance the protection, security and safety of diplomatic and consular missions and representatives" most appropriate for the affirmation of this commitment.

156. Turkey notes with satisfaction the resolutions adopted by the United Nations on the security and safety of diplomatic and consular missions and representatives, who have increasingly been subjected to terrorist attacks, and the decision taken to alert world opinion to the Organization's important role and activities in this area. We look forward to the implementation and further elaboration of these resolutions and decisions.

157. The reversal of the recessionary trend in the world economy since the end of 1982, the resumption of growth in the industrial countries, the further slowing of inflation in the developed market economies and a notable reduction in the current account deficit of the non-oil-producing developing countries compared with the preceding several years have been favourable developments for the recovery of the world economy in 1984.

158. Despite these significant positive signs, difficult economic problems faced by the developing countries remain unsolved. Developing countries, and especially the least developed ones, are unable to resume their growth process, which has been severely affected by the prolonged global recession. Already weakened by serious structural problems, such as rapid population growth, unemployment, high rates of inflation, declining per capita income and low levels of production and exports, developing countries are faced with decreasing demand in the devel-

oped world, weak terms of trade for their primary commodities, restricted access to world markets, and a heavy burden of external debts and high interest rates. This trend has forced many developing countries to adopt restrictive policies and austerity programmes, reducing budget deficits, slowing the growth of the money supply, restraining wage increases and scaling back subsidies to combat inflation. But the continued decrease of their net total savings and of their imports hampers their growth. Sustained growth of the world economy is the only viable long-term solution for most of the current problems.

159. It is difficult for any country, whether rich or poor, large or small, to isolate itself from the rest of the world. It is against this background that intensified co-operative efforts among nations and institutions, both public and private, are needed to overcome our common problems. We must seek short- and long-term measures to reduce protectionist barriers and expand international trade, support and strengthen the multilateral mechanisms for the transfer of financial and technical assistance to developing countries and give due consideration to enhancing the quality and level of their human and natural resources.

160. In this connection, we highly appreciate the London Economic Declaration, issued at the London Economic Summit, held from 7 to 9 June 1984 [*see A/39/304*], and the intention of the seven major industrialized countries to spread the benefits of the world recovery widely to developing countries, especially to the least developed ones, which stand to gain more from a sustained growth of world economy.

161. Turkey, on the basis of mutual benefit, participates actively in enhancing economic relations with developing countries. We are convinced that tangible and realistic results of the economic co-operation among the developing countries, in particular on a regional level, can establish reliable bases for a genuine and comprehensive dialogue on a much larger scale. Likewise, Turkey supports all constructive and practical proposals initiated by developing countries for adjusting similar structural difficulties with a view to providing effective solutions.

162. Finally, a certain convergence of views between the North and the South has emerged in a number of international forums. What is needed now is the political will to translate ideas into action. Such political will is especially needed to resolve the debt problems of the developing countries, which constitute a tangible major threat to the stability of international economic relations.

163. Many speakers here have urged global initiatives rather than interim measures to avert a collapse of the international financial system and to buy time for the developing countries.

164. Turkey believes that the principal responsibility for development lies first with the developing countries themselves. They must realize that sound economic policies are a *sine qua non* for their steady and healthy progress in this field. Turkey is one country which has had experience in successfully adjusting its economy during the global recession and in servicing its debt payments. It has expanded its exports, benefiting also from the possibilities of South-South trade, and it has adopted policies aimed at restoring the balance of the main economic aggregates. Turkey's success in implementing these policies can well be taken as a good example.

165. Turkey's efforts, like those of other developing countries, to continue its expansion of exports are hampered by the protectionist trends in the developed countries. These trends, we believe, could be reversed not only through the early resumption of new comprehensive, multilateral trade negotiations—which should cover all items, such as agricultural commodities, manufactured goods and services—but also through the implementation of the already existing commitments.

166. We believe that adopting an objective approach in all economic fields would pave the way for a comprehensive and constructive exchange of views on world economic issues. We hope, in this context, that a realistic consensus will emerge for the launching of global negotiations within the framework of the United Nations.

167. One of the overriding concerns of mankind is arms control and disarmament efforts. The arms race drains the scarce resources of nations and brings about instability and insecurity in international relations. The developing countries especially are in need of these resources for their economic and social development, which can only be accomplished in a safer and more stable international environment.

168. Turkey's objective is and remains to have an adequate defence capability, as well as balanced and verifiable arms control and arms reduction steps, in conjunction with a policy of dialogue and confidence-building.

169. We are of the opinion that a commitment to rebuilding confidence among States is the most important prerequisite for the success of disarmament initiatives. The successful conclusion of the Madrid follow-up meeting of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe and the convening at Stockholm of the Conference on Confidence- and Security-building Measures and Disarmament in Europe have yet to bring about the desired results.

170. We welcome the recent proposals made by President Reagan in his speech from this rostrum [*4th meeting*] and also the recent contacts between the United States and the Soviet Union as a sign of hope for the future. The super-Powers bear a special responsibility in the field of arms control. They should resume, as early as possible, negotiations on nuclear armaments with a view to paving the way to progress in all other related areas. It is our earnest wish that this session of the General Assembly will mark the beginning of a turning-point in East-West relations, as well as of a better understanding between North and South.

171. Mrs. DE AMORIN (Sao Tome and Principe) (*interpretation from French*): The established practice in the United Nations of setting aside three weeks of the General Assembly session for the general debate is not in itself an objectionable method. The way in which it is used makes the practice less and less praiseworthy, not to say less and less credible.

172. The compilation of all the addresses given before the Assembly gives us an idea of the depth of the abyss which exists between the fundamental principles, the generous ideas and the constructive recommendations which are formally proclaimed and the increasingly powerful brakes used to prevent their full implementation.

173. Where do we stand today in our repeated commitment to work for the building of a just, equitable and harmonious world in which every people may live in freedom, dignity and security?

174. The rights of peoples to self-determination and independence, recognized in the Charter of the United Nations and of the Organization of African Unity and by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, are flagrantly violated by certain Member States.

175. The unswerving support given by the international community to the determination of the Namibian people, under the leadership of SWAPO, to turn Namibia into an independent nation does not prevent South Africa from continuing illegally to occupy that Territory.

176. The régime of *apartheid*—considered a crime against humanity, the shame of the twentieth century—strengthened by its alliances, defies the international community through the brutality of its repressive methods, its disdain for the black population, its travesty of democracy steeped in the most primitive racism and its plan to destabilize the countries of the region.

Mr. Díaz-Durán (Guatemala), Vice President, took the Chair.

177. Despite the relevant resolutions, the heroic peoples of Western Sahara, Palestine and East Timor continue to wage a war of liberation against Moroccan, Israeli and Indonesian forces.

178. The principles and rules governing relations among States—in particular, those of equal rights, the non-use of force in the settlement of disputes, the right to choose one's own path to development, non-interference in internal affairs—are sometimes disregarded by those who wish to become the masters of the universe or who harbour dreams of expansion and domination. The vast majority of the conflicts that rage in the various parts of the world have their origin in the non-observance of those cardinal principles.

179. Moreover, we are far from achieving a new international economic order. It is as though the wealthy countries extract from the poverty and misery of the peoples of the underdeveloped countries the life-blood they need to feed their affluence and strengthen their selfishness.

180. Although it is true that we all belong to the great family of the United Nations, we behave in our relations like members of a broken family, where might is right. The arms race is proof of this.

181. What credibility, then, can we attach to these three weeks of general debate and what is its real contribution to the solution of world problems? The delegation of the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe thinks that it would be more constructive to use this period in the scheduled meetings to analyse the most important items on the agenda. That would have the advantage of making our meetings more lively and of giving Foreign Ministers the time they need to express their views in an atmosphere of dynamic and constructive dialogue.

182. One of the major tasks facing all Member States is that of strengthening the role of the Organization. We welcome the delegation of Brunei Darussalam and are convinced that its participation in that collective effort will be appreciated.

183. The observance in 1985 of the fortieth anniversary of the establishment of the United Nations will provide a suitable opportunity for thorough consideration of the role of the Organization and ways and means of strengthening its effectiveness and credibility in the quest for solutions to the disquieting issues of today's world.

184. In this connection, the excellent report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization [*A/39/1*] constitutes an important contribution.

185. I know how difficult it is to change the rituals of the Organization, but, bearing in mind the purposes of the United Nations and the enormous hope it holds out for the safeguarding of peace and for the freedom and progress of nations and peoples, there is still time to try.

186. Mr. TSERING (Bhutan): I have the honour to convey to the President of the General Assembly and to all representatives the warm greetings and good wishes of His Majesty Jigme Singye Wangchuck, King of Bhutan, for the success of this session of the General Assembly.

187. Allow me also to extend our warm congratulations to Mr. Paul Lusaka on his election to the high office of President of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. His election is not only a recognition of his outstanding qualities as a diplomat and statesman, but also a tribute to his great country, which has been in the forefront of progressive causes in Africa and in the world at large.

188. To his predecessor, Mr. Jorge Illueca, President of Panama, I should like to convey our admiration of the great skill and distinction with which he guided the last session of the General Assembly.

189. My delegation attaches considerable importance to the universal character of the United Nations. In keeping with this view, we are happy to extend a hearty welcome to the Organization's new Member, Brunei Darussalam.

190. One of the primary purposes for the founding of the United Nations was to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war. To that end, all the speakers who have taken part in the general debate during the past two weeks have drawn our attention to the urgent need to strengthen international peace and security. Sadly, however, in spite of such universal calls for peace year after year, much of the world still remains torn by conflicts. New upheavals take place while old wars drag on. After 39 years of the existence of the United Nations, the world has certainly not become a safer place to live in.

191. In fact, the international situation has reached its most critical point since the Second World War. The seriousness of the situation was recently underscored by the appeal for peace and disarmament made by the leaders of Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Sweden and the United Republic of Tanzania in their Joint Declaration of 22 May 1984 [*see A/39/277*].

192. It seems that proxy wars will continue, with developing countries invariably the victims. Whether in Asia or in Africa, in the Middle East or in Central America, the scenario is the same. Why, in the face of the oft-repeated desire for peace of all countries, have these situations been allowed to continue, and in fact to worsen?

193. In our view, conflicts and tension will continue as long as efforts are made to divide the world

into spheres of influence and military blocs. The world is being gradually forced back to the era of the cold war as a result of such great-Power rivalry. Furthermore, tension is heightened by the worsening economic situation in the developing countries. People of all nations are beginning to lose confidence in their future. This situation was aptly summed up last year by the Secretary-General in his report on the work of the Organization,[11] when he said:

> "The belief in a common future has been, to a large extent, lost in the anxieties of a divided present. Short-term national interests, old resentments and fears, and ideological differences have obscured the vision of the Charter."

That bleak and dismal picture remains unchanged in 1984.

194. We see in the Middle East the ongoing senseless and tragic confrontation between Iran and Iraq. The fate of Lebanon is another source of concern to all of us. The international community must do all it can to redress these situations.

195. The resolutions of the Security Council and those of the General Assembly which provide that Israel must withdraw totally and unconditionally from all Arab territories occupied since 1967 remain unimplemented. We must state that not even Israel's legitimate security interests can condone the continuing occupation of southern Lebanon and other Arab territories.

196. Furthermore, the rights of the Palestinians must be fully restored, including the right to self-determination in their homeland. Only then can there be any real chance of a comprehensive peace in the Middle East, a peace founded on the rights of all States in the region to exist within internationally recognized boundaries.

197. In southern Africa, we deplore the blatant evil of *apartheid* and call for its swift and complete eradication. *Apartheid* hurts black and white alike; its inhumanity causes suffering to the oppressed and corrupts the oppressor. We also reiterate our support for the just struggle of the Namibian people for independence under the leadership of SWAPO.

198. Until the super-Powers and their allies learn to refrain from pursuing a policy of intervention and interference and learn to live together in peaceful coexistence, there will be no peace on this planet. Policies aimed at promoting ideologies and extending spheres of influence are a self-defeating process from which neither East nor West will gain in the long run.

199. We all live today under the shadow of a nuclear holocaust brought about by the nuclear arms race. The danger this represents cannot be highlighted strongly enough, though discussions about it are often couched in coldly academic terms amounting to euphemism or a ghastly numbers game. Let us be honest: there can be no such thing as a "limited nuclear war", nor the chance for life, as we know it, after a nuclear holocaust. There can be no talk of the "rationality" of such a situation, nor can we realistically speak of massive nuclear arms buildups as a deterrent to war. History affords us few examples of weapons invented but not used. The choice before us is whether we are to have a future at all.

200. The trend evinced by each side to harden positions and to refuse to come to terms, whether on arms limitation talks or the non-use of space for nuclear weapons, must be reversed. Outer space must definitely be kept free of "star war" scenarios.

201. The cementing of an agreement on a comprehensive nuclear-weapon-test ban is one practical first step. This move would impede, if not halt, the sophistication of existing nuclear weapons and put a stop to the creation of totally new nuclear arms. Furthermore, production of chemical weapons must be banned and existing stocks destroyed.

202. Achievement of superiority by either side is a pathetic illusion, and the headlong rush to try to attain such dominance produces ever greater insecurity and instability. Each megaton of potential destructive force brings us closer to the probability of an accident or a breakdown in restraint. Let us apply the same ingenuity wasted on these gigantic follies to find constructive solutions to the problem of collective security, and thereby end the perceived need for instruments of mass annihilation.

203. The Secretary-General, in his report last year, posed the pertinent question:

> "Who can possibly believe that a world dominated by the nuclear balance, where $800 billion a year is spent on armaments and where a large proportion of the population lives in destitution and with little real hope, is on the right track?"

Indeed, with fully two thirds of the world's population living below the poverty line, the question deserves consideration.

204. The North-South dialogue was a promising beginning to finding ways of overcoming dilemmas confronting the world economy and fostering a spirit of co-operation. Resolutions were debated and agreed upon, but no action has been taken so far. The negative attitude demonstrated by a few Member countries is tantamount to rejection of international co-operation for development. The issues originally addressed by the dialogue remain as vital as ever. The negotiations, in our view, must be resuscitated in the interests of a better future for all humanity.

205. We live in an interdependent world. What happens in one country or region has repercussions in the next and often affects the whole world. Economic interdependence is a concept with which we are all familiar, and yet we must constantly bear it in mind when seeking remedies to the problems of poverty, hunger, illiteracy, and underdevelopment.

206. The state of the world economy in general continues to be plagued by structural deficiencies and imbalance. As a result, there has been a serious erosion of living standards in developing countries. The situation is most desperate in the least developed countries. Regrettably, the results of the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries, held in Paris in September 1981, are yet to materialize. We believe that the international community must assist in eradicating hunger and malnutrition. There is an urgent need to go beyond expressions of concern to positive action. While we recognize that developing countries themselves have the main responsibility for development, we should at the same time remember that external resources do have a vital role to play in complementing national efforts.

207. The past year saw many distressing events, but there have been some encouraging signs as well. One such positive note was sounded by the Nordic Foreign Ministers meeting at Reykjavik just a month ago. In their official communiqué—an extraordinarily enlightened document by any standard—the ministers affirmed their strong support for the Charter of

the United Nations, called for disarmament and resumption of détente between the major Powers, urged a comprehensive test-ban treaty, reiterated their full support for efforts to bring about a just and lasting peace in the Middle East, condemned the policy of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa, and stated the necessity of adopting concrete measures to strengthen the development of developing countries through bilateral and multilateral aid. The international community would do well to listen to the concerted voice of reason, moderation and good sense emanating from Reykjavik. Indeed, in the tension-ridden situation prevailing in the world at present, the Nordic Group, with its pragmatic, constructive and enlightened thinking, could well serve as a bridge between West and East and between North and South.

208. Another positive aspect of the past year has been the continued efforts of the Contadora Group to help maintain peace in Central America. Their task is formidable, but the very existence of the Group is a sign of hope.

209. In our own part of the world, in the Kingdom of Bhutan, the people are moving forward under the wise, dynamic and dedicated leadership of our King, Jigme Singye Wangchuck. After two and a half decades of development planning, we have been able to create the basic infrastructure and to enthuse the people to participate in shaping their own present and future well-being. In doing so, we strive to meet the most basic needs of our people—access to education, health care, decent housing and productive employment. We do not wish development for development's sake. Through innovative measures, we are seeking to achieve a pattern of development best suited to our natural environment and the genius of our people and in conformity with our rich spiritual and cultural traditions.

210. In our region of South Asia, we have taken a significant step forward to further regional co-operation. The Foreign Ministers of Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka had their second meeting in Maldives last July. The meetings were held in a friendly and co-operative atmosphere. We are now hopeful that the next meeting, which will be held in Bhutan some time in the spring of 1985, will make adequate preparations for the summit to be held in Bangladesh later in the year. All this augurs well for the people of our region. Many problems lie before us, but we know that it is only through regional action that we can hope to meet these challenges. The seven member countries are aware that orderly development and progress can take place in South Asia only in an atmosphere of peace, harmony and mutually beneficial co-operation.

211. Human history is not merely a list of tragedies, but is rich in inspiring stories of the glorious achievements of individuals and groups in the fields of politics, economics, the arts, philosophy and other areas of human endeavour. Let us look on our shared present problems as challenges and opportunities. We have on record many fine resolutions—let us implement them. Let this thirty-ninth session be a landmark for world peace and prosperity.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.

NOTES

[1] Jacques Giri, *Le Sahel demain: catastrophe ou renaissance?* (Paris, Karthala, 1985).

[2] See World Health Organization, *Health Care: Report of the International Conference on Primary Health Care, Alma-Ata, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, 6–12 September 1978*, Geneva, 1978.

[3] Growth monitoring, oral rehydration therapy, breast feeding and immunization, along with food supplementation, female education and family spacing.

[4] See A/34/542, annex III.

[5] Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y de Río de Oro.

[6] See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Second Part of the First Session, First Committee*, 34th meeting.

[7] *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-eighth Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1983*, document S/15556, annex.

[8] *Ibid., Supplement for July, August and September 1983*, document S/15862, annex.

[9] A/S-12/AC.1/12 and Corr.1.

[10] *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-seventh Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1982*, document S/15510, annex.

[11] *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-eighth Session, Supplement No. 1* (A/38/1).

United Nations

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

THIRTY-NINTH SESSION

Official Records

21st PLENARY MEETING

Thursday, 4 October 1984,
at 3.45 p.m.

NEW YORK

President: Mr. Paul J. F. LUSAKA (Zambia).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. BELKZIZ (Morocco) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Before beginning my statement, Sir, I wish to convey to you, on behalf of the delegation of the Kingdom of Morocco, my sincere congratulations on your election to the presidency of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. You have been chosen for this post because of your competence and your experience. This fortunate choice also expresses the esteem in which your country, the brother country of Zambia, and the continent of Africa are held. I am happy to assure you that my delegation is ready to give you its whole-hearted support in the fulfilment of your functions.

2. I wish to thank most warmly Mr. Jorge Illueca, your predecessor, and to pay a tribute to him for the outstanding way in which he conducted the work of the thirty-eighth session.

3. It is with great pleasure that I pay a tribute also to the work of the Secretary-General in the service of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

4. It is also a pleasure to welcome to our midst the Sultanate of Brunei Darussalam, which has just been admitted to the United Nations and which, through its efforts and its action, will certainly make its contribution to the work of the Organization.

5. This new session of the General Assembly is taking place at a time when the international scene is particularly strewn with risks. Tension is constantly increasing, disputes are becoming aggravated and increasingly acute, the economic crisis is striking without pity at States, the gap between the rich and the poor countries is growing and the arms race, whose threat to international peace and security cannot be overemphasized, is being accelerated despite the good will of those who have sought in vain to slow it down.

6. This session's agenda includes for consideration various questions that are both important and complex, prominent among them being the Middle East crisis and the question of Palestine, a question which is of major concern to world public opinion and constitutes a severe threat to world peace, stability and security.

7. In the Middle East, the Palestinian people continues to endure deprivations and a rootless existence and to be the victim of tyranny, injustice and oppression.

8. For 36 years the indigenous Arab people has been fighting for its freedom and inalienable rights, which have been recognized by the international community. That people expects the United Nations to help them to recover its rights and to resolve this problem, which poses a grave threat to stability and peace in the Middle East and in the world.

9. The constant attitude adopted by Israel *vis-à-vis* the resolutions adopted by the Organization on this question is a blatant example of violation of the Charter and contempt for the role and credibility of the United Nations. In the region, Israel has followed a course of action without precedent in the history of colonization. It has pursued systematically the same policy of uprooting the Palestinian people, seizing its lands and property and doing its utmost to erase all traces of its civilization and to cast a slur upon the sacredness of its holy places. Israel was not content with trying to suppress the Palestinians as a people by Judaizing their land: it has followed the same policy with regard to neighbouring Arab States, occupying and annexing certain of their territories.

10. On this question, the United Nations has adopted a large number of resolutions, all of which have recognized that the Palestinian people has the right to return, the right to self-determination and the right to establish on its territory an independent State, under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization [*PLO*], the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. These resolutions condemn the Israeli policy of aggression represented by its occupation of territories. They call upon Israel to withdraw from all occupied Arab territories, but Israel has totally disregarded the United Nations resolutions and, indeed, has stubbornly continued to implement its policy of expansion and usurpation.

11. The occupied Palestinian territory has recently experienced a new phase of the repressive policy, practised in order to empty the villages and towns of their Arab populations in order to Judaize them and establish new settlements. The town of Al-Quds al-Sharif is daily the scene of grave events designed to Judaize the Holy City and change its physical character; the holy Al-Aqsa Mosque has been directly threatened by excavations in the subsoil and around that building by the occupation authorities. The Israeli authorities have been pursuing the implementation of their plan in disregard for the feelings of Muslims and Christians and thus continue to disregard Security Council resolutions calling upon it to respect the status of Al-Quds.

12. The Kingdom of Morocco, which had the honour of serving as the host country of the Fourth Islamic Summit Conference, held at Casablanca from

16 to 19 January 1984, and whose King, Hassan II, acted in his capacity as President of that Conference and of the Al-Quds Committee, expresses its condemnation of those practices and appeals to the international community to guarantee respect for the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council concerning Al-Quds al-Sharif, the question of Palestine and the occupied Arab territories.

13. The Twelfth Arab Summit Conference, held at Fez in November 1981 and September 1982, reaffirmed the dedication of the Arab nation to peace based on justice. The Arab Heads of State adopted on 9 September 1982 the Arab peace plan,[1] which guarantees the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and the peace and security of the States of the region. Through this clear and feasible plan, the Arab sovereigns and heads of State have demonstrated their open-mindedness and sincere desire for peace. They have made their positive contribution to the restoration of peace and stability in the Middle East.

14. We believe that the Middle East problem, which has proved so difficult to solve and which continues to pose a serious threat to international peace and security, can be resolved by an amalgam of the Arab peace plan and the plan proposed by President Reagan of the United States on 1 September 1982.[2] We feel also that a solution to the Middle East problem requires that the Soviet Union be involved in its elaboration, in view of the international responsibilities of that great Power. This is the consistent position of my Sovereign, King Hassan II.

15. The fraternal people of Lebanon is still enduring the drastic consequences of Israel's occupation of its territories. The situation in that country has deteriorated gravely; the peace and security of the whole region are thereby threatened. Morocco, which is united with Lebanon by links of brotherhood, reaffirms its total support for the efforts of the Lebanese Government to bring about national reconciliation and safeguard Lebanon's sovereignty and independence. We give our unreserved support to the Lebanese demand for the withdrawal from its territories of the Israeli occupation forces.

16. For more than four years, an atrocious war has been waged between two neighbouring Islamic countries, Iraq and Iran. The Kingdom of Morocco deeply deplores the continuation of that war, which, with each passing day, further destroys the potential of the two brotherly peoples. We hope that wisdom and common sense will prevail and that after the conclusion of a cease-fire the two countries will arrive at a solution capable of restoring peace and security to the region, in keeping with Security Council resolutions.

17. We wish to express our satisfaction with the positive attitude of Iraq, reflected in its decision to abide by the resolutions of the Security Council and respond favourably to the mediation initiatives undertaken to put an end to the bloodshed. At the same time, the Kingdom of Morocco ardently hopes that Iran will eventually adopt the same stance so as to guarantee the restoration of peace and stability and the safeguarding of Islamic energies and potential.

18. We hope that the Islamic Peace Committee, under the presidency of Sir Dawda Kairaba Jawara, President of the Republic of the Gambia, together with the other bodies acting to promote peace, will attain successful results and that the region will thus recover its tranquillity and security, enabling the two neighbours to get on with their work of national construction, in keeping with the aspirations of their peoples for progress and well-being. We hope that mutual goodwill will be shown and that the international community will act vigourously to put an end to this terrible war.

19. Morocco, a country located on the African continent, takes a great interest to African events and problems. For that reason, guided by the awareness of its responsibilities, it has always striven and still strives for the liberation, independence and territorial integrity of the African States and the consolidation of their stability and security.

20. In southern Africa, the Namibian people is struggling for its freedom and independence. Morocco reaffirms its support for the brother people of Namibia, which, under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization [*SWAPO*], its national organization, must obtain complete independence and the exercise of its rights, in conformity with the resolutions of the Security Council, particularly resolution 435 (1978).

21. The people of South Africa continues to endure the consequences of the policy of racial discrimination. My country, which has always condemned racism in all its forms, once again demands that everything possible is done to put an end to the policy of *apartheid*, a policy inimical to human values and incompatible with moral principles.

22. The African continent is suffering the effects of two natural disasters: drought and desertification. The countries of the Sahel are almost permanently affected by drought; desertification also affects those countries and threatens to spread to vast areas of Africa. Large numbers of people have been obliged to leave their areas, as a result of which the economic and social situation of the countries concerned has seriously deteriorated. We believe that these disasters can be tackled effectively only by means of far-reaching international action. Immediate arrangements must be made to help the stricken countries and make it possible to alleviate the consequences of these disasters.

23. These situations undoubtedly constitute real problems for Africa. The countries of the continent are called on to do their utmost, together, to resolve them, instead of being preoccupied with artificial and imaginary problems sustained by selfish considerations.

24. The north-west region of Africa is a setting for one such artificial problem—that of the Sahara. After my country had secured the decolonization of the Saharan provinces—decolonization which Morocco, as in the cases of other provinces formally under French and Spanish rule and under international administration, had carried out in strict conformity with the rules of international law—the problem was artificially revived for the express purpose of impeding my country's progress and exhausting its energy and potential. Although Moroccan rights are clear and beyond dispute, my country has shown great wisdom, good sense and patience and looks forward to the future with optimism and a willingness to continue to overcome difficulties.

25. It is in this context that we must see the historic initiative of King Hassan II, who, at the eighteenth ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity [*OAU*], held at Nairobi in June 1981, an-

nounced the decision to agree to prove what had already been proved in fact, history and law—as His Majesty himself said.

26. His Majesty proposed the organization of a referendum in the Sahara and, as he made clear in his statement to the General Assembly at its thirty-eighth session, did so

> "for the reconciliation of Africa and to teach those who were unaware of things, to demystify the facts for those who were trying to disregard them all and to instill some wisdom into those who still did not want to understand anything" [*8th meeting, para. 24*].

27. After the Nairobi summit had unanimously adopted the resolution calling for the referendum,[3] the Kingdom of Morocco remained faithful to that resolution and co-operated positively with the Implementation Committee charged by the Nairobi summit with the duty of applying the referendum resolution.

28. The Implementation Committee succeeded in drawing up the arrangements for the organization of the referendum and in defining the conditions pertaining to persons invited to state their views. It decided to instruct the observers of the OAU to monitor the progress of the voting operations side by side with observers appointed by the United Nations. Thus, everything was arranged, set up and spelled out so that the referendum could take place and meet all the conditions necessary for a fair, equitable and sincere consultation.

29. My country granted the Implementation Committee the facilities necessary to enable it to fulfil its mission and declared itself ready to organize the referendum whenever the Committee decided that it would be convenient. To avoid any misunderstanding and in the most authoritative tone possible, through King Hassan II, my country confirmed here its solemn commitment to consider itself bound by the results of the referendum.

30. However, obstacles were set in the path of the implementation of the resolution on the referendum because of fear of the inevitable outcome of the consultation. Indeed, more than once the people of the provinces of Al Aaiún, Smara, Bojador and Oued Ed Dahab have proclaimed their unswerving attachment to their Moroccan character, and the whole world was able to verify that fact through numerous reports by journalists and politicians, who, having visited the region several times, saw for themselves the real state of affairs in our southern provinces, the achievements and the constructive work that had been done there, and the calm and security in which the people live, a people firmly committed to their Moroccan identity.

31. The question is quite clear: Morocco, which took the initiative concerning the organization of the referendum, again declares its willingness to co-operate in facilitating the holding of the referendum. We believe that the referendum provides the effective basis for the solution of this problem. Morocco is always ready to co-operate towards that end with the OAU.

32. The Kingdom of Morocco, which believes in the idea of a united Arab Maghreb and in Arab unity, which has worked towards that end ever since the days in which it was struggling to regain its own independence and which, furthermore, has greatly contributed to the attainment of African unity, has worked tirelessly and resolutely to consolidate the fraternal bonds between Arab States and African States, and it regards the establishment of the Arab-African Union as the concrete expression of the idea of such a union and its full attainment.

33. On 13 August 1984, at Oujda, a treaty was signed establishing the Arab-African Union between the Kingdom of Morocco and the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. The Moroccan and Libyan peoples unanimously approved that Union, through a popular referendum in Morocco and by the vote of the peoples' congresses in Libya. The two peoples are convinced that the Union thus proclaimed embodies their desire for unity and that it is the first stone to be laid in constructing the Arab Maghreb, along the pathway towards greater Arab-African union.

34. The treaty concluded between the two fraternal countries can be taken as a model. It is a treaty based on logic and drawn up from the teachings of experience. It is marked by objectivity and is based on realism, a spirit of open-mindedness and tolerance. This treaty, built under the aegis of international law, is aimed at the establishment of a just and equitable peace. The Moroccan-Libyan treaty of union is also characterized by its honesty and sincerity. It is a "guileless treaty", one that is not directed against anyone.

35. There can be no doubt that the Arab-African Union, which is now a concrete reality, will assist in ensuring progress and stability in the Arab world and in the African continent and will serve as a model of its kind for complementarity and co-operation among States.

36. The Kingdom of Morocco has been closely following recent developments in the question of Chad. My country regards the agreement concluded in that connection as the harbinger of a forthcoming resolution of the Chadian crisis that has long been a source of grave concern to the countries of the African continent. In our desire to see stability and security prevail throughout the entire region, the Kingdom of Morocco welcomes the agreement concluded between France and Libya and considers that that agreement opens up broad horizons for all sectors of opinion among the people of Chad to bring about the restoration of peace in that country.

37. My country is also keenly aware of the other political problems that exist in other parts of the world and has been following their evolution with close attention. Morocco has, on diverse occasions, made known its opinions on those problems. Those positions have been unswerving and are based on Morocco's commitment to the basic principles of the United Nations and on its commitment to the resolutions adopted with regard to those problems by the Organization of the Islamic Conference, the League of Arab States and regional organizations.

38. The arms race continues to be one of the most crucial concerns of the General Assembly. The frenzied arms race poses a severe threat to international peace and security; it drains vast financial and material resources and considerable human and technological energy. It has deplorable repercussions on international relations and on international co-operation in particular. Accordingly, the Kingdom of Morocco deplores the slowness with which the Programme of Action adopted at the tenth special session of the General Assembly, the first special session devoted to disarmament, in 1978 [*resolution*

S-10/2, sect. III], has been carried out. It deeply regrets that the twelfth special session of the General Assembly, the second special session devoted to disarmament, held in July 1982, was unable to reach agreement on a comprehensive disarmament plan capable of setting forth concrete measures for moving towards complete and general disarmament under international control.

39. Certain aspects of the current world economic crisis do, of course, have an impact on the countries of the North, but the crisis is of particular gravity for those of the South and is a source of deep concern for the developing countries.

40. There are many reasons for the crisis. The principal reason, however, lies in the fact that economic relations among States are still governed by a certain tendency towards monopolization. We firmly believe that the crisis will worsen if such relations are not viewed in a spirit of North-South co-operation in keeping with the needs of our era and capable of promoting constructive co-operation among the countries concerned.

41. Our increasingly interdependent world makes it essential that we think in terms of establishing an international economy based on complementarity and co-operation between the countries of the South and of the North, the producers of raw materials and the industrialized countries.

42. The obstinate refusal of the developed countries to meet the legitimate demands of the third-world countries could well bring about an economic situation that would be harmful to all the States of the world.

43. Ten years after the adoption of the Lima Declaration and Plan of Action on Industrial Development and Co-operation,[4] the developing countries are still waiting for the industrialized countries to live up to the commitments they assumed within the framework of that Plan for the improvement of investment conditions in the developing countries and the guarantee of the stability of raw materials prices in order to protect the legitimate interests of those countries.

44. There can be no doubt that the debt burden weighing upon the third-world countries is quite capable of creating serious upheavals in the world economic system and its monetary and financial institutions. That system must enable developing countries to enjoy their true share of international trade by doing away with protectionist barriers.

45. The sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held at Belgrade in 1983, and the Fourth General Conference of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization, held at Vienna this year, are only two of the many attempts made to find a common ground between the positions of the countries of the North and those of the South.

46. The Kingdom of Morocco urges the developed countries to make their positions more flexible in order to bring about a new international economic order that would take into account the vital interests of the developing countries.

47. The world is passing through grave crises and is being forced to cope with delicate problems. However, we have all placed our hope in the United Nations in order to promote the best solutions that can make possible the attainment of an international community based on tranquillity, security and the true solidarity of all States. Such an achievement would surely strengthen the confidence the States and peoples of the world have placed in the United Nations and would certainly give concrete expression to the noble objectives of the Charter in relations among nations.

48. Mr. TOURÉ (Guinea) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, since this is the first time that I have had the honour and privilege of addressing this Assembly on behalf of the Second Republic of Guinea, allow me to congratulate you most warmly on your election to the presidency of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly, which came as a surprise to no one. We would also like to pay a well-deserved tribute to your country, which happily has solid ties of friendship and mutual trust with the Republic of Guinea. Your outstanding qualities, Sir, as a seasoned diplomat and your wide experience in the affairs of State, together with your admirable wisdom, guarantee that the work of this session will proceed in the serious and tranquil way required in view of the present disquieting international situation.

49. It is also a pleasure for our delegation to express its congratulations to Mr. Jorge Illueca for the brilliant way in which he led the work of the thirty-eighth session.

50. We welcome, too, the new State of Brunei Darussalam on its admission as the 159th Member of the large United Nations family and assure its Government and people of the readiness of the Government and people of Guinea to co-operate with it.

51. We would also like, on behalf of Colonel Lansana Konté, President of the Republic of Guinea, to take this opportunity to express to the Secretary-General the deep gratitude of the Military Committee of National Recovery and the Government of the Second Republic for the commendable and tireless efforts he has made for the peaceful settlement of the international problems facing the United Nations.

52. As the Assembly is aware, as a result of its categoric and historic "no" in the referendum of 28 September 1958, the courageous people of Guinea achieved full sovereignty on 2 October 1958 in a great outburst of enthusiasm and hope—enthusiasm at having broken the chains of colonialism and hope for a future that held every promise of brilliance.

53. Unfortunately, little by little, as time went on, the Guinean citizen, who had fought like a lion, who had made so many sacrifices and suffered all manner of deprivations to lead our country to independence, saw the noble objectives for which he had fought betrayed. Since then, unfortunately, the people of Guinea, powerless under the burden of a totalitarian and bloody régime, suffered body and soul, shed tears for the thousands of innocent victims, including the finest of its sons, who were assassinated in cold blood, and witnessed the inevitable deterioration of all its values and socio-economic conditions.

54. A people stifled, oppressed and confounded; a people discouraged by the prospect of a future without food; a people lacking hospitals and medicines; a people lacking viable schools, much less decent housing; a people without means of transport and good roads; a people whose needs are immense and whose misfortunes are many—this is the legacy of 26 years of a reign whose cynicism vied with its cruelty; this is the true face of the martyred people of

Guinea following its long and painful desert passage, which, thank God, came to an end on 3 April 1984, when the Guinean armed forces came to power.

55. On 3 April 1984, the Republic of Guinea turned a new page in its history. The armed forces, responding to the appeal of the people, without any bloodshed, assumed their historic responsibilities to save the peace-loving people of Guinea from an imminent civil war into which the former administration would inevitably have led it, inspired by racial and ethnic considerations.

56. The extraordinary outburst of joy, the many expressions of satisfaction throughout the country welcoming the fact that the national army had taken over the destiny of the nation, clearly demonstrated that the tragedy which had been played out for more than a quarter of a century in Guinea had reached tragic dimensions which were no longer bearable.

57. The immense hopes aroused by the events of 3 April 1984 went far beyond our national borders, and the positive reactions registered on the continent and throughout the world make it possible for us, while relying first and foremost on our own strength and our own potential, to appeal for international solidarity which could help us quickly to establish the well-being of the Guinean citizen and, therefore, that of all people, since every individual is part of humanity at large. Full light will be shed on the Guinean tragedy so that the necessary lessons will be learned to ensure that never again will an individual or individuals enslave a people, as was the case in Guinea.

58. Right after taking power, the Military Committee of National Recovery found itself facing a most disastrous economic situation, with the public treasury depleted and the economy at square one. Aware of that burdensome heritage, the result of a quarter century of waste and chaos, the Military Committee of National Recovery and its Government decided to do everything in its power for the rapid development of the immense potential which nature so generously bestowed on our country. Therefore, since 3 April 1984, Guinea has been a vast work-yard, open to all countries that want to co-operate with it in the framework of sincere, open and mutually beneficial co-operation. In this respect, we are pleased to point out that a new investment code which provides sufficient incentives has just been prepared and published.

59. Need we state that what prevails now in Guinea is freedom, the real freedom of which our people dreamt on that fleeting dawn of 28 September. What prevails in Guinea is democracy, genuine democracy and fruitful dialogue, which can give freedom to hearts, minds and initiative. Guinea is now a haven of peace, tranquillity and security, open to the world at large and where human rights and individual freedoms will be zealously defended and completely respected.

60. From this rostrum we reaffirm our complete adherence to the Charter of the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity, the non-aligned countries and the Organization of the Islamic Conference. We extend our unconditional support to all national liberation movements in Africa, the Middle East, Asia and Latin America.

61. We are determined fiercely to combat foreign domination, racism, *apartheid*, zionism and any use of force to resolve international problems. We shall participate fully in the quest for peaceful solutions to the many conflicts confronting our world.

62. The thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly, like the preceding session, has opened in the midst of a highly disturbing international situation. A simple list of the conflicts engulfing our world, and particularly those in the African continent, the Middle East, Asia and Latin America, which unceasingly multiply and develop, is enlightening. The constant and tragic worsening of those conflicts in the world is the painful and dangerous consequence of the ideological and military confrontation of the hegemonistic Powers that wish to divide the world into exclusive zones of influence.

63. This dangerous policy of tension is compounded by the serious and trying economic recession which strikes with full force at the developing countries and, above all, at those African countries that are already in the grip of famine, malnutrition, disease and all the effects of drought and other natural disasters.

64. As we consider the situation in these crisis areas, we must observe with concern that it is always the same ones that are responsible for the increasing tension in international relations.

65. Africa, for its part, has enjoyed no respite, given the conflicts and challenges that disturb it and compromise its development. Our continent remains confronted, first and foremost, with the intolerable policy of *apartheid*, established as a system of Government by a Fascist and arrogant minority régime.

66. The intransigence of Pretoria in the search for an immediate solution to the Namibian question stems completely from the support that it receives from its allies, whose anachronistic views underlie the calculated delays which prevent the implementation of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations.

67. Furthermore, armed aggression, political pressure on neighbouring independent African States and the complicity of several Member States from which South Africa benefits have led to a dialogue of the deaf and a deadlock, making it possible for the *apartheid* régime to repress the South African people from within by force of arms.

68. The enemies of African freedom count on others being lulled by the continuation of this dangerous situation so that they may prevent the exercise by the Namibian people of its inalienable right to independence, a right admirably defended by the valiant freedom fighters of SWAPO.

69. Given the tragedy of Namibia, the United Nations cannot afford to be the passive instrument of base individual interests without losing its credibility in the eyes of public opinion. It must demand that all its Members strictly respect its decisions so as to induce racist South Africa to accept the complete implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which is the only way of leading the Namibian people to self-determination and national independence.

70. In the past, in the present and in the future, the Republic of Guinea opposed, opposes and will continue to oppose with increasing energy, resolve and determination the manoeuvres of those who want to link the freedom of the fraternal people of Namibia to problems relating to the sovereignty of an independent African State, Angola.

71. Our delegation wishes once again to take this opportunity to reaffirm to SWAPO, its valiant leadership and its freedom fighters, the unconditional support of the people of Guinea.

72. Our delegation once again assures the African National Congress of South Africa [*ANC*] and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania of the unconditional support and active solidarity of the Government of the Republic of Guinea in their liberation struggle, as well as the considerable efforts made by the front-line States.

73. The explosive situation prevailing in southern Africa is unfortunately not the sole concern of the delegation of Guinea. Our continent has other hotbeds of tension, the two principal ones being Chad and Western Sahara. There again, the destructive effects of a serious deterioration of international relations and the prevalence of individual selfish interests have fueled the flames of division and paralysed the efforts of our continental organization, the OAU. For the sake of the credibility of that organization, we must strictly respect its resolutions and implement them to the letter. It therefore seems to us essential that conditions be created for the implementation of resolution AHG/Res. 104 (XIX) on Western Sahara,[5] adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its nineteenth ordinary session, held at Addis Ababa from 6 to 12 June 1983.

74. With respect to Chad, our delegation is pleased at the new developments in that situation and strongly affirms that it is for the people of Chad and for them alone to find a solution to their problems. Of course, all the efforts of the international community should focus on helping the people of Chad to recover national peace and unity in a sovereign Chad whose internal security and territorial integrity will be definitively guaranteed. In this respect, we welcome the efforts being made to gather together around the same table all the representatives of the sons of that martyred nation.

75. The Republic of Guinea makes an urgent appeal from this rostrum to the international community to give its complete support to the OAU in its delicate search for a peaceful and lasting solution to all the conflicts which confront the continent, seriously imperil the survival of its organic unity and dangerously curb the harmonious and balanced development of each of the African nations.

76. Our delegation sincerely deplores the steady worsening of the situation in the Middle East, as well as the inadmissible fact that it has been impossible to find appropriate ways and means of putting an end to the pointless bloodshed and massive destruction of the property of the peoples of that region.

77. It must be recognized that the main factor of instability in the region is Israel, whose responsibility in prolonging and exacerbating tension is unquestionable. By persisting in its policy of occupying Arab lands, by using force to establish and maintain its domination in the region, by adopting an attitude of superiority bordering on disdain and arrogance, Israel is hardly working towards the establishment of peace, a *sine qua non* for peaceful coexistence and fruitful co-operation between Jews and Arabs.

78. We are firmly convinced that nothing solid, lasting and effective can be accomplished towards solving the problem of the Middle East unless account is taken of the fact of the Palestinian nation and unless Israel recognizes the inalienable and imprescritible right of the Palestinian people to establish an independent State under the leadership of the PLO, its sole and authentic representative.

79. I repeat that the Government of Guinea has no quarrel with the existence of the Israeli State. We have said that what we cannot accept is the acquisition by force of the territory of another State. History has taught us that what is acquired by force will be lost by force, and that two wrongs do not make a right.

80. With regard to the painful conflict between two brother Muslim countries, Iran and Iraq, the Republic of Guinea believes that this terrible war, in which all means of destruction are being used, thus endangering economies that had good prospects, has lasted too long. It is high time for the leaders of those two fraternal countries to listen to the voices that everywhere clamour for an end to the hostilities, an end to the nightmare that has cost hundreds of thousands of human lives and led to the destruction of a number of towns and very important industrial installations. It is time for genuine negotiations leading to peace and reconciliation. It is high time to stop an escalation that would inevitably result in an extension of the zone of conflict and thus to an internationalization of hostilities whose devastating effects on the region and the rest of the world would be difficult to contain.

81. Our delegation welcomes the agreement reached by the two belligerents under the auspices of the Secretary-General to protect the civilian populations against indiscriminate bombing. In the hope that that small and very fragile step may be respected and strengthened and lead to a genuine cease-fire—an indispensable prelude to any peace negotiations—our delegation reaffirms to the two parties its complete readiness to continue within the Islamic Peace Committee its mission of friendship and reconciliation so that at last peace and solidarity may prevail in the relations of those two fraternal countries, which history, geography and religious faith have determined must live together.

82. Since the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly, the problem of Cyprus has developed considerably in dangerous ways. Today, the country's independence, national unity and territorial integrity seem to be threatened. The Government of the Republic of Guinea encourages and supports all efforts to bring about national reconciliation through direct dialogue between the Turkish and Greek communities of the island, aimed at respect for the unity of the Cypriot people and the maintenance of the country's territorial integrity.

83. In the Korean peninsula, as in many other parts of Asia, peace remains precarious. The Government of Guinea reiterates its appeal to the international community and to all people of goodwill to support the sincere efforts of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to begin a constructive dialogue between the peoples of the north and the south of the Korean nation with a view to creating a confederal republic. The Korean people, whether of the north or of the south, aspire only to peace and the reunification of their homeland. The international community must support its efforts to attain that objective by expressing its support for the final withdrawal of all foreign forces and the transformation of the armistice agreement into a peace agreement.

84. Our delegation is also still concerned about the situation in Afghanistan and Kampuchea. We believe that it is for the Afghan and Kampuchean peoples themselves, and for them alone, freely to decide their political direction in domestic and foreign policy, without foreign pressure or interference.

85. As for the crises shaking Latin America and the Caribbean, we favour respect for the territorial integrity and security of all the States of the region and non-interference in their internal affairs.

86. With this survey, incomplete as it is, of some of the problems relating to world peace and stability, it is only right to observe that the General Assembly is unfortunately again meeting against the background of an alarming deterioration in the international situation, characterized by confrontation, military intervention, foreign occupation, an acceleration of the arms race and economic stagnation.

87. When it is estimated that world military expenditure in one week is equivalent to the yearly financial effort needed for the complete recovery of the economic situation of the least developed countries, we can only conclude that there is a pressing need to put an end to the dangerous paradox of the arms race.

88. We believe that during this Second Disarmament Decade, the international community must ensure the effective implementation of the Programme of Action adopted at the tenth special session of the General Assembly [*resolution S-10/2, sect. III*] and resolutely prevent any action that might change its objectives and imperil its results.

89. The deterioration in the international political situation is, unfortunately, reflected in international economic relations, where the situation does not inspire optimism. The crisis in international economic relations and the ever-widening gap between the developing countries and the industrialized countries threaten the stability and independence of our States.

90. The imbalance designed and maintained by the rich countries tends to continue, to the detriment of our nations, thus creating a basically anachronistic situation in which the rich become richer and the poor become poorer.

91. It is therefore fitting to stress the injustice of the present international economic system, which brutally affects the developing countries, obstructing all their attempts to escape the tragic situation in which they are struggling.

92. Initiatives aimed at getting the rich countries to participate in negotiations on the global development of all the present problems—raw materials, energy and trade, money, finances and industrial and agricultural development—have been met with reluctance by some developed countries. Yet, the many discussions between the North and the South, the various agreements and the adoption of General Assembly resolution 34/138 had given a glimmer of hope to some.

93. For years now, a point has been made in all international forums of the importance of North-South co-operation. It is a theme which has merely caused a great deal of ink to flow.

94. That is why it is desirable that today the international community should make a reality of that co-operation, so that our peoples, which are facing a distressing economic situation, may at last benefit from the fruits of their labour, thanks to our receiving a just return for our products.

95. A global programme aimed at international co-operation, with the participation of all countries, is urgently needed in the present international economic situation.

96. Furthermore, concrete measures must be taken, measures which reflect a political will to establish a new world system which ensures for all mankind a fair share of the accumulated wealth and the fruits of scientific and technological progress.

97. In May 1974, the General Assembly, meeting in its sixth special session, concluded that the system of international economic relations was incompatible with the historic changes that had taken place and with the economic and social development needs of peoples. It therefore proclaimed the need for us to work together to establish a new international economic order [*resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)*].

98. And what have the developing countries seen happening since then? A deterioration in their terms of trade, an inability to achieve self-sufficiency in food or to increase their participation in world industrial production, enormous difficulties in gaining access to technology, and an alarming increase in their foreign debt.

99. Our delegation is convinced that the only possible way to restore equal opportunities in North-South co-operation is to establish fruitful relations of co-operation based on justice and mutual interests, with the United Nations as a framework for the negotiations.

100. In addition to economic difficulties, in some cases our countries are facing natural disasters; this remains the sorry plight of the third-world countries.

101. In a grim world situation, fraught with crisis, it should be mentioned, among other things, that more than half of the African countries are afflicted by drought. A rapidly increasing population growth contrasts with the vertical drop in food production. In these conditions, it can easily be understood why, on our continent, about 150 million persons are victims of famine, according to FAO estimates.

102. That is why my delegation believes that by giving massive assistance to put into effect the programme to combat desertification in Africa, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 34/184, the international community can fulfil one of its duties of solidarity, in the framework of international co-operation.

103. The solution to the complex problems facing our world today requires, more than ever before, the consolidation of the role that the United Nations must play in the maintenance and strengthening of international peace and security and in the promotion of respect for international law in inter-State relations. The United Nations must become a dynamic and effective forum so that major international problems can be tackled from the global point of view and so that thereby the most complex problems of the world can be settled. If those objectives are to be attained, an assessment of United Nations activities is necessary in order to increase its effectiveness and to adapt its structures to the international community's present-day and future requirements and realities. It is also important that, in its international conduct, every State should respect the norms of law and of ethics.

104. In conclusion, my delegation repeats from this rostrum that the Government of the Republic of Guinea is ready to co-operate closely with all other Governments in the quest for the most appropriate ways to achieve all our objectives, so that, by its results, this session of the Assembly may live up to the important responsibilities of the United Nations in regard to the attainment of the noble and legitimate aspirations of all peoples to peace and progress, in the framework of balanced, sincere and fruitful co-operation.

105. Mr. OSMAN (Sudan) (*interpretation from Arabic*): It gives me great pleasure, in the name of the people and Government of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan, to extend to you, Sir, our warmest congratulations on your election as President of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. We are happy to see a distinguished African and a seasoned diplomat presiding over the deliberations of this important forum at a time when international relations are passing through a critical and difficult phase. We are confident that, with your well-known wisdom and tact, you will lead our deliberations in the way best suited to the achievement of our aspirations.

106. Our deepest gratitude and appreciation also go to your predecessor, Mr. Jorge Illueca, for the excellent and successful manner in which he conducted the work of the thirty-eighth session.

107. We also congratulate Brunei Darussalam on its accession to membership of the United Nations. We are convinced that, with its rich historic and cultural heritage, Brunei Darussalam will contribute in a most positive manner to the enhancement of our efforts to ensure peace, prosperity and stability.

108. For a long time following our independence, we continued to be captive to an alien culture and civilization far removed from our heritage and spiritual and cultural values. Then, on 25 May 1969, came the revolution that emancipated the will of the nation and gradually took the country back to its cultural heritage, through the Islamic way of life. The Sudan, by choosing the Islamic way of life, is a proponent of unity and fraternity for all its citizens, Muslims as well as adherents to other religions. The Islamic way of life in our country means conciliation and love, with no violence and no imposition. It means rule by democracy and rationalization. It is rule that interacts with human civilization, openmindedly and in a spirit of compromise.

109. President Nemery, in his address to the nation on 1 January this year, said:

> "We shall not allow anybody to lead us to conflict and disunity in the name of religion. Sudan, under the shadow and by virtue of Islam, will be a model of the peaceful coexistence of different cultures, beliefs and religions. God willing, Sudan will be a model for a real Islamic awakening, uplifted by the values of Islam and renewed by its teachings. We shall not be a nucleus for embattlement but will, rather, remain a model admired by all."

110. The Islamic way of life in our country is an expression of the will of the Sudanese people to determine their national goals and ultimately create a just and caring society. It is a way of life that respects human rights in their totality, including the rights of non-Muslims, enabling them to practice their beliefs and cultural activities.

111. All these values were embodied in a wonderful national consensus when the Sudanese people joined in vociferous processions commemorating the first anniversary of the application of Islamic law and the holding of the International Islamic Conference, in which hundreds of Islamic leaders and scholars participated. The Sudanese people have thus confirmed their unswerving commitment to the application of Islamic law. They have provided an adequate reply to all campaigns launched by those who wanted us to remain captive to alien values and cultures. Through those processions, the Sudanese people reaffirmed their determination to stand steadfast against all who intend to threaten our national unity, in contravention of regional and international charters and in defiance of sound international conduct.

112. The Islamic way of life in Sudan rests on the principles of the Charter of the United Nations which stipulate the right of each State to choose its own political, economic and social system. This rebirth in Sudan will be a driving force, encouraging us to meet our national, continental and international commitments. In the League of Arab States, we shall continue to be faithful to the Palestinian cause. In the OAU, we shall spearhead the struggle against colonialism and racism. My country contributes effectively to the work of the Organization of the Islamic Conference towards fulfilment of the hopes of the Islamic peoples. As a founding member of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, we reaffirm our commitment to its principles and we shall endeavour to steer it away from big-Power axes and struggles.

113. On the regional level, we work to promote political and economic co-operation with our Arab and African neighbours through bilateral and multilateral channels. We have therefore established joint ministerial commissions and bodies concerned with co-operation and integration, as called for at the Lagos economic summit, in order to utilize our countries' capabilities in construction and development. One of the main manifestations of that co-operation is the common efforts of the Central African Republic, Sudan, Egypt, Uganda and Zaire towards that end. In addition, I must mention the integration of Sudan and brother Egypt, which provides a successful model for the ideal pattern of co-operation between two neighbouring States.

114. The serious international economic crisis is still at the top of the international agenda. The United Nations system is particularly concerned about that crisis, owing to its negative impact on all aspects of international relations, in particular the widening gap between developing and developed countries and the lack of progress towards the dialogue and co-operation between those countries that is necessary if the structural problems affecting the world economy are to be addressed.

115. The critical economic situation in Africa, by virtue of its depth, severity, scope and duration, poses a direct threat to the lives of millions of Africans throughout the continent. In addition to the impact of the international economic crisis, Africa has had to endure severe natural disasters. Persistent drought and creeping desertification are wiping out agricultural land and livestock. This has exacerbated the situation to such an extent that all projections indicate that Africa will continue to suffer the impact of the current crisis even if there is a marked recovery in the international economy.

116. The impact of the international situation on Africa is reflected in declining export earnings as a result of the continuous decline in commodity prices, steep rises in the cost of imported capital goods, services and agricultural inputs and a drying up of the financial resources so necessary for investment. In addition to all this, the debt-servicing burden has ballooned to surpass export earnings. The combined impact of these factors has resulted, in the short term, in suffering and sacrifices and, in the long term, would undermine and halt our development efforts.

117. Sudan, together with many other African countries, is now facing the impact of the current economic crisis, coupled with the impact of devastating climatic conditions. For three years, Sudan has been hit by a persistent drought, which was most severely felt in the Kurdufan and Darfur regions in the west and in the eastern region. The affected area is approximately equal to half the area of Western Europe. We are particularly alarmed at the drought because the affected areas include important agricultural and livestock production centres. The devastating impact of drought on the economy of the affected areas and on the economy of Sudan as a whole needs no elaboration.

118. Despite these difficulties, Sudan remains a refuge for over a million refugees from neighbouring countries. We are sheltering the increasing numbers of refugees out of respect for and commitment to the relevant international conventions. Our doors are never closed in the faces of these refugees. We continue to share with them the limited resources and services at our disposal. Caring for refugees, however, is a heavy burden for any individual country; it is a common international responsibility. In this context, we welcome the results of the Second International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa, held at Geneva from 9 to 11 July 1984, and hope that the international community, and especially the donor countries, will mobilize the resources necessary for the implementation of the projects prepared by the host countries. Most of those projects, despite good and thorough preparation, await the necessary financing.

119. This is only a small part of what Africa is experiencing as a result of the severe crisis. International attention and additional resources must be focused on support for the efforts of the African countries to face the crisis. The initiative of the Secretary-General earlier this year was a most valuable catalyst in focusing world attention on what is happening in Africa and in urging the international community to step up its assistance to meet both the urgent needs, particularly serious food shortages, and the medium- and long-term needs for the rehabilitation of agriculture, industry and infrastructure, thus making possible the resumption of endeavours towards economic and social development.

120. We fully recognize that dealing with the current crisis is the primary responsibility of the African countries themselves. However, the scope and nature of the crisis make it necessary that the international community, in a spirit of co-operation and mutual interest, assume a basic responsibility in supporting the African efforts.

121. We believe that the World Bank's plan for Africa will be very useful in securing the necessary financial resources to help the African countries meet the crisis. However, we regret that the latest World Bank meeting did not achieve a clear international commitment to provide the necessary economic resources for Africa, despite statements of support and sympathy from all the donor countries. We hope that the responsible officials of the World Bank will continue their efforts to achieve that end. We also hope that bilateral and multilateral channels, and particularly the United Nations and its programmes, will be used to provide the necessary resources to support the efforts of the African countries.

122. Africa is facing this serious economic crisis while also facing other serious political challenges posed by the deteriorating situation in southern Africa. There, the Pretoria racist régime continues to practise its inhuman *apartheid* policy and to deny the African majority its legitimate rights. It maintains its illegal occupation of Namibia and continues to pose a serious threat to southern African countries and to Africa as a whole.

123. This year, the Pretoria régime came up with yet another plot in a series of plots to entrench its *apartheid* system. This is the so-called constitutional reform, which grants the Coloureds and those of Asian origin separate chambers in the Parliament. These "reforms" appear to enable those minorities to participate in government, but in reality they attempt to precipitate a conflict between those groups and the black majority, which is denied even this sham participation. However, despite these attempts to entrench *apartheid* and perpetuate the suffering of the black majority, the sinister efforts of the white minority régime were frustrated at both the national and the international level. At the national level, the groups that the so-called reforms were designed to appease boycotted the elections and participated in the popular uprising against the "reforms". That uprising reconfirmed the unity of the peoples of South Africa against the tyranny of the white racist minority. Repression and new Sharpeville and Soweto massacres could not stifle the uprising.

124. At the level of the international community, which the white minority attempted to appease by a façade of moderation and gradual reform, the so-called constitutional reforms elicited only rejection and contempt. The international community understood the real objective of those "reforms" and rejected them, as it had earlier rejected the bantustans. The resolution adopted by the General Assembly last Friday [*resolution 39/2*] and the similar Security Council resolution [*resolution 554 (1984)*] reaffirm that international rejection. We hope that this clear international consensus will mean the continuance of international pressure and action to eradiate the abominable *apartheid* system.

125. One hundred years have passed since the foreign domination and occupation of Namibia began. The Namibian people is still struggling to achieve self-determination and independence. However, there is no sign of an imminent solution to this problem. The situation poses a basic challenge to the ability of the United Nations to expedite the achievement of Namibian independence in conformity with the peace plan endorsed by the Security Council in resolution 435 (1978). It is imperative here to denounce and reject South Africa's attempts to use Namibia's independence to serve its own interests and to link it to extraneous issues that are not part of the peace plan. The settlement of the question of Namibia necessitates, therefore, continued and serious international action to achieve independence for

Namibia and continued material and moral support for SWAPO, the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people.

126. Sudan has always paid particular attention to developments in neighbouring Chad. What takes place there directly affects us because of the close links of blood, common history and geography. We continue to call for respect for Chad's security, territorial integrity and unity. We have insisted that the Chadians should be left to solve Chad's problems and achieve national reconciliation without any foreign involvement or interference. Indeed, my country has made tireless efforts towards that objective, but continuous foreign interference and intervention have exacerbated the problem and undermined efforts to facilitate the achievement of a Chadian solution by the Chadians themselves.

127. In the light of the serious situation in Chad, Sudan calls upon the international community to continue efforts in support of the legitimate Government of Chad, under the presidency of Hissène Habré, and in support of its efforts to achieve national reconciliation and safeguard Chad's independence, unity and territorial integrity.

128. We have no doubt whatsoever that a settlement of the question of Chad can be achieved only by the Chadians themselves, free from any foreign pressures or interference. Efforts or arrangements related to the question of Chad must not be at the expense of the independence of Chad, its unity or its territorial integrity.

129. While the development of events in the Middle East and the tragedies encountered by the Palestinian people have continued to endanger peace and security in the region and the world at large, they also represent a real challenge to the credibility of the United Nations and its responsibility to confront the aggressor and restore justice and legitimacy.

130. The situation in the Middle East is rapidly deteriorating as a result of Israel's intransigence, its policy of aggression and expansion, its denial of the inalienable and legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, its annexation of Arab land and its establishment of illegal settlements, together with its persistent criminal practices aimed at stifling the voice of right and justice and at eliminating the Palestinian problem, which is recognized by the international community as the core and essence of the Middle East question. The international community has also demonstrated its consensus in various forums, and most recently at the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, held at Geneva from 29 August to 7 September 1983, to the effect that no just and lasting peace can be established in the Middle East without the total and unconditional Israeli withdrawal from all Palestinian territories occupied since 1967, including the Holy City of Jerusalem, and the exercise by the Palestinian people, under its sole legitimate representative, the PLO, of its rights to self-determination, to return to its homeland and to recover its possessions and its right to establish its own independent and sovereign State on its territory. In this connection, the implementation of the recommendations of the Geneva Conference,[6] adopted by the General Assembly last year [*resolution 38/58 C*], remains an urgent priority if the international community is to fulfil its responsibility for achieving peace and security on the basis of right, justice and international legitimacy.

131. In the absence of a deterrent against the aggressive Israeli practices, Israel will continue to be encouraged to defy the will of the international community and to continue its irresponsible practices unabated. The Israeli invasion of Lebanon has demonstrated once more that the situation in that region will continue to be riddled with imminent dangers unless Israel is forced to abandon its policy of aggression and expansion. The whole world has witnessed its genocidal practices in Lebanon, a continuation of its cruel and repressive policies in the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, the Holy City of Jerusalem and the Golan Heights, in defiance of the Charter of the United Nations and the principles of international law. In strongly condemning the Israeli policies and practices, the international community should force Israel to withdraw totally from Lebanon, in conformity with relevant Security Council resolutions, to enable Lebanon to regain its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

132. As we reconvene in an atmosphere of international instability, hotbeds of tension, foreign intervention in the internal affairs of others, economic crisis and natural calamities, there is no option but to follow the path of peace and stability through the adherence of Member States to the principles of the Charter and the implementation of collective security arrangements provided for in the Charter.

133. There is no doubt that technological advances and the resulting interdependence of States make any set-back in the peace process in any region a threat to the peace and security of others. In this connection, the Sudan has shown heightened concern *vis-à-vis* recent events in the Red Sea which culminated in the deployment of mines in that strategic waterway. This concern is but a continuation of previous efforts and an initiative undertaken by the Sudan leading to the Quadripartite Summit Conference, held at Taiz in 1977, which was aimed at declaring the Red Sea a zone of peace, free from big-Power struggles and hegemony. Recent events have reconfirmed the need for concerted action by the littoral States in order to secure freedom of navigation in the Red Sea. That is why we have again called for a meeting at Khartoum of the Foreign Ministers of the littoral States. We hope that current consultations between the States concerned may lead shortly to the desired goals. This will consolidate the current efforts aimed at transforming the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace, particularly as the Red Sea is one of its most important natural extensions.

134. The Iraq-Iran war is entering its fifth year. We in the Sudan are closely following developments and feel great sorrow at the continuation of this war between two countries which are linked by bonds of religion and geographical proximity. What really arouses sorrow is Iran's defiance of all appeals and international efforts emanating from the United Nations and from regional bodies with a view to halting this prolonged war, which may extend to all the other countries of the region. From this rostrum, we wish to commend the conciliatory attitude of Iraq and its efforts aimed at putting an end to this war and its aftermath. On the other hand, we call on Iran once again to be reasonable and accept these peace initiatives in order to stop the waste of human and material resources.

135. The Sudan firmly rejects the use of force in solving conflicts and appeals for the settlement of differences through dialogue and negotiation. Guided

by that principle, we call once again for the withdrawal of foreign forces from Afghanistan and Kampuchea so as to enable the two peoples to exercise their right to self-determination freely and without any external intervention or pressures.

136. We also call for a peaceful settlement in Cyprus, in accordance with United Nations resolutions and the ongoing efforts of the Secretary-General. It is our hope too that the conflict in Korea will be solved peacefully, in accordance with the aspirations and wishes of the Korean people, in a manner that will enable them to exercise their free will without any foreign intervention and to contribute positively to international efforts to achieve international peace and co-operation.

137. Our world faces many problems and many dangerous conflicts. The greatest of these problems is the arms race and, in particular, its nuclear dimension, now extending to outer space. We express our profound concern that no tangible progress has yet been achieved in disarmament, a situation which may lead to a confrontation between the two super-Powers. This horrible danger which threatens the very existence of mankind makes it imperative that the great Powers overcome all the difficulties preventing total and comprehensive disarmament. The astronomical figure of $1,000 billion spent on armaments should be channelled towards developmental efforts and international economic co-operation.

138. In conclusion, allow me to express our appreciation of the Secretary-General's continuous efforts, as described in his report on the work of the Organization [*A/39/1*], outlining the main issues facing the United Nations and the future of international economic co-operation. Now that we are on the threshold of the fortieth anniversary of the establishment of this august body, we hope that the report will be the basis for our discussions during this session and in the interim so that we may reassert the achievements of the United Nations and seek ways and means to avoid any shortcomings. By so doing, the United Nations will be able to mobilize the aspirations of the people of the world.

139. May I take this opportunity to reaffirm our unflinching support for the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and our continuous efforts to bring about the noble goals enshrined therein.

140. Mr. WOLDE (Ethiopia): On behalf of the Ethiopian delegation and on my own behalf, Sir, I should like to congratulate you on your unanimous election as President of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. Your election is not only a recognition of your personal qualities as a seasoned diplomat, but also a fitting tribute to the positive role your country, Zambia, and your distinguished Head of State, President Kenneth Kaunda, play in international affairs. While wishing you every success in the discharge of your weighty responsibilities, I should like to assure you of the full co-operation of the Ethiopian delegation in your endeavours.

141. I should like also to take this opportunity to express Ethiopia's appreciation of the wise and effective leadership provided by your distinguished predecessor, Mr. Jorge Illueca, President of Panama.

142. We also welcome Brunei Darussalam into this family of nations.

143. The quest for peace, progress and justice has been the most constant factor in human history. Neither the stage of development attained by societies nor their cultural idiosyncrasies could permanently alter this immutable yearning which springs from the very depths of man's conscience. Indeed, this nobility of spirit still continues to animate the thoughts and actions of the great majority of mankind.

144. Yet history has never been one-dimensional. The pursuit of the lofty objectives of peace, progress and justice by the preponderant majority of the peoples of the world has throughout history been opposed by a minority which single-mindedly pursues the policy of domination, oppression and plunder. This minority considers aggression, intervention and war as legitimate instruments to realize its obnoxious policy. Indeed, the history of the world has been and continues to be, in large measure, a reflection of the struggle between these two opposing forces.

145. The victory over fascism and militarism in 1945 stands as a brilliant landmark in this continuing process of the struggle between good and evil. The founding of the United Nations in the same year symbolizes not only the unity of purpose, which was unmistakably manifested through the joint efforts of mankind against fascism and militarism, but also the universality of the hopes and aspirations of peoples throughout the world for peace, progress and justice.

146. It is this universality of man's cherished values that we have committed ourselves to protect and promote when, in the Preamble of the Charter of the United Nations, "We the peoples of the United Nations" unequivocally expressed our determination to put an end to war, to preserve the dignity of the human person, to maintain justice and to promote social progress. The United Nations has thus become the repository of the nobler instincts of mankind and the sole representative of its collective conscience.

147. In this connection, and on the eve of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, therefore, I feel duty-bound to affirm once again Ethiopia's unswerving commitment to the purposes and principles of the Charter and to the goal of further strengthening the United Nations as the only universal forum for the harmonization of the actions of nations in the attainment of the fundamental objectives of peace, progress and justice.

148. In reviewing the current international situation, we find that the world of 1984 for the most part is still confronted by the same problems with which the United Nations has been seized for decades. The arms race, international economic problems, the challenges posed by racism and *apartheid*, the question of Namibia's independence, the problems of the Middle East—to name just a few—are still with us. That these and other international problems have remained unsolved for so long cannot be attributed, as some might claim, to the shortcomings of the United Nations. They are due in large measure to the breakdown in the international legal and political order, as evidenced by the behaviour of some Member States which increasingly violate the rules and norms of international law and frequently disregard the United Nations as the universal forum for the resolution of international problems.

149. The problem in southern Africa, which has its genesis in the baser instincts of a few to dominate the many and which has been gnawing at the conscience of humanity for so long, is a case in point. The racist Pretoria régime, aided and abetted by its imperialist

allies, intransigently persists in its illegal occupation of Namibia, and the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia, as endorsed by the Security Council in resolution 435 (1978), so far remains a dead letter. To our utter dismay and frustration, the *apartheid* régime and its allies, in particular the United States Government, while intensifying their plunder of the human and material resources of Namibia, continue to raise extraneous issues in order to delay further the exercise by the Namibian people of their inalienable right to self-determination and national independence. At the same time, they leave no stone unturned in their search for a group of puppets which could ensure the perpetuation of their dominant role in the affairs of post-independence Namibia.

150. There is no doubt that such futile attempts by racists, colonialists and neo-colonialists will be foiled by the heroic people of Namibia, under their sole and legitimate representative, SWAPO.

151. Within the Republic of South Africa itself, the racist régime is doing everything in its power to consolidate the obnoxious system of *apartheid*. While continuing to deny the African masses their fundamental human rights and freedoms, the *apartheid* régime is attempting to entice the Coloured and Asian population with "constitutional" subterfuge and meaningless "political reforms". Ethiopia is convinced that this age-old imperialist stratagem of "divide and rule", to which the preponderant majority of the population of South Africa, including the Coloureds and those of Asian origin, are opposed, will, like all the other evil designs of the *apartheid* régime, be totally rejected by the international community.

152. Not content with the repressive measures continuously meted out to the African population of Namibia and South Africa, the Pretoria régime, with the full support of its imperialist allies, has carried out with impunity repeated acts of armed aggression against the front-line States, in particular Angola and Mozambique. Those same States have also been victims of subversion and destabilization by the Pretoria régime, which has infiltrated into their territories mercenaries, fifth-columnists and agents to cause death and destruction.

153. In the warped logic of Pretoria and its friends, the armed aggression against and destabilization of the front-line States are justified as a genuine search for regional peace and stability. The international community is, however, cognizant of the fact that the objective of that policy on the part of the *apartheid* régime and its allies is but to buy time for Pretoria and to gain a respite from the armed struggle so gallantly waged by SWAPO in Namibia and the liberation movements, in particular the ANC, in southern Africa.

154. As the Final Communiqué of the Summit Meeting of the Front-line States, which was held at Arusha on 29 April 1984, so eloquently stated:

> "Peace is incompatible with racism and colonialism. . . . Neither military might nor devious political machinations . . . can defeat the idea of freedom and racial equality."[7]

We in Ethiopia earnestly hope that this self-evident and historic truth will be heeded by those few countries which consider that fortress of *apartheid* as a natural ally and a bastion of Western civilization. It is, however, gratifying to note that the international community continues to consider *apartheid* as a crime against humanity and to reject the illegal occupation of Namibia and institutionalized racism in South Africa.

155. While pledging to redouble their efforts to render moral and material assistance to both SWAPO and the liberation movements in South Africa and the ANC, the Government and people of Ethiopia appeal to all nations of goodwill to do likewise until the torch of freedom and racial equality is fully ablaze in both Namibia and South Africa. The United Nations also cannot continue indefinitely to be satisfied with condemnatory declarations; it must adopt and enforce mandatory sanctions against the racist régime until the United Nations plan is implemented in Namibia and *apartheid* is dismantled in South Africa. At the same time, the front-line States should be given all-round assistance to reconstruct their economies and better to defend their sovereignty and territorial integrity.

Mr. Adjoyi (Togo), Vice-President, took the Chair.

156. It is also our hope that those countries which recently hosted Mr. Botha in their capitals with a view to helping Pretoria break out of its isolation will realize that no amount of public relations and diplomatic charades can alter the true nature of the pernicious system of *apartheid*.

157. We also hope that the United States Administration will abandon its policy of linking the implementation of the United Nations plan for Namibia with the withdrawal of Cuban internationalists from Angola. This policy has been instrumental in delaying the independence of Namibia. It must be realized that, as far as the Namibian people are concerned, independence delayed is independence denied.

158. In addition to the intractable problems in southern Africa, there are other serious challenges, such as the question of Western Sahara and the conflict in Chad, with which Africa is concerned today. Despite the complex and delicate nature of these problems, the search for solutions by the current Chairman of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity and other African leaders still continues. However, so far progress has not been achieved towards resolving the question of Western Sahara as a result of the difficulties encountered in implementing in their entirety the provisions of resolution AHG/Res.104 (XIX),[5] adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its nineteenth ordinary session, held at Addis Ababa from 6 to 12 June 1983. It is Ethiopia's expectation that the forthcoming session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity will break the impasse and resolve this problem.

159. As regards the situation in Chad, I welcome the agreement recently signed by France and Libya and call upon our Chadian brothers and sisters to take advantage of this opportunity to bring about national reconciliation, peace and prosperity to their country.

160. The difficulties Africa is facing in the political arena are more than matched by the alarming economic and social condition in which it currently finds itself. Africa's present sorry situation is not a sudden phenomenon but, rather, the result of the cumulative impact of a number of adverse factors that have plagued the region. The wounds that

colonialism inflicted on African countries and the ravages of neo-colonialism in its many guises have adversely affected prospects for socio-economic development in Africa.

161. Today, Africa suffers, on the one hand, from serious internal and external structural deficiencies, including, in particular, slow economic growth and global economic rigidities, and, on the other, from the devastating effects of natural disasters such as persistent droughts, recurrent cyclones, earthquakes and floods. The current social and economic crisis of the continent, therefore, encompasses two important dimensions—namely, the emergency situation that constitutes an immediate threat to human survival, and the deep-rooted domestic and international structural problems that have hitherto thwarted and continue to thwart Africa's development efforts.

162. A cursory perusal of international economic and social data reveals that the nations of Africa are suffering the full brunt of the world economic downturn. The recession that has engulfed the international economy during the last few years has had a reverberating effect on African economies. Its attendant evils, such as the collapse of commodity prices, increased protectionism, unfavourable terms of trade, balance-of-payments deficits, decline of official development assistance and mounting external debt, have negatively affected both the present well-being and the prospects for the future development of the peoples of Africa. As a result, the average growth rate of gross national domestic product has declined by almost 300 per cent, from 4.4 per cent in 1980 to 1.1 per cent in 1982, which, I must underline, is far below the population growth rate. Per capita output in 1983 declined by 10 per cent as compared to that of 1980.

163. Africa's performance in the international trade sector also leaves much to be desired. The collapse of the prices of our principal export commodities has drastically reduced our foreign-exchange earnings. Export values in 1983 declined by 32 per cent below those of 1980. Africa lost over $2 billion from its export of five primary commodities alone during the period 1979–1981 as a result of the continuous decline in the prices of raw materials. This phenomenon has aggravated the balance-of-payments deficit, which stood at $2.7 billion in 1982 for Africa as a whole.

164. The sad fact is that this constant deterioration of foreign-exchange earnings, coupled with stagnant flow of official development assistance, has left Africa in a situation where it cannot generate additional income sufficient enough even to cover debt-servicing, let alone undertake new development programmes. Indeed, the outstanding external debt balance of African countries rose from $143 billion in 1982 to $150 billion at the end of 1983. This sum represents 180 per cent of the value of goods and services exported by the continent for the same year. External debt servicing also rose to 22.4 per cent of export of goods and services, compared to 10 per cent in 1980.

165. Worse still is the sharp decline of net capital inflow, from $14.2 billion in 1982 to $7.8 billion in 1983, forcing African countries to resort to commercial borrowing at high interest rates.

166. As I have intimated earlier, one of the major factors that accounts for the current economic problems of Africa is the legacy of the economic structure that the continent inherited from colonialism. African countries, after the attainment of political independence, were forced to continue the pre-independence economic development patterns which were based predominantly on production and export of a small range of agricultural and mineral products. This narrow economic base and dependency on foreign markets has left the level of development of the required capabilities of infrastructures and other factor inputs at a rudimentary stage in the majority of our countries.

167. Thus, the growing malaise in the economies of African countries is far from being a result of a simple cyclical phenomenon emanating from the current global recession. I submit it is rather a result of the underlying structural maladjustment inherited from colonialism.

168. Any remedy to redress the immediate and pressing problems of the continent, therefore, calls for measures that deal with the underlying causes. Such measures, in our view, should not be limited to the containment of immediate crises through stopgap measures of a reactive character, but should seek to overcome them by creating conditions for robust growth.

169. Over and above the critical economic crises, Africa is at present facing the spectre of drought and desertification. The drought, which in the early 1970s was localized in a few Sudano-Sahelian countries, has now spread to other regions of Africa, afflicting more than half the member States of the OAU. This persistent and widespread drought has led to environmental degradation and progressive desertification. Millions of hectares of productive and fertile land of yesteryear today lie waste through desertification.

170. As a result, most African countries which were once self-sufficient are now net importers of food, with 25 per cent of all the concessional aid that flows into the continent being spent on the purchase of food. Should the present trend persist, food-import bills will continue to rise, claiming perhaps as much as 60 to 70 per cent of all concessional aid and loans and leading to further curtailment of development activities. Indeed, the situation has become so critical that most or almost all of our socio-economic development projects have to be shelved for the moment. Indeed, this prolonged drought, besides retarding our development efforts, poses a long-term threat to the very survival of the African peoples and their civilization.

171. As is well known, Ethiopia is one of those that has been hit by the current drought. I need not take much of the precious time of the Assembly in explaining the prevailing grim situation in which more than 5 million of my compatriots are facing the threat of famine and starvation as a result of the prolonged and persistent drought that has afflicted the country since the early 1970s. My Government has all along tried to keep members of the Assembly—and, indeed, the international community at large—fully informed of the plight of the drought victims in Ethiopia. At this point, I should only like to underline the fact that the current situation is so serious and the cumulative effect of past droughts so devastating that the Ethiopian people need urgent and massive international assistance.

172. In this connection, I should also like to express the sincere gratitude of the people and Government

of Ethiopia to all donor Governments, specialized agencies and other United Nations organs, as well as voluntary agencies, for their humanitarian concern and relief assistance.

173. I should like at this juncture to pay a special tribute to the Secretary-General for his initiatives to focus the attention of the international community on the critical situation in Africa and for his efforts to bring an integrated and coherent approach to the solution of the crisis.

174. Ethiopia is also gratified by the report of the Secretary-General on the critical economic situation in Africa [*A/39/594*], which gives a vivid and detailed account of the African situation, including a precise assessment of the emergency needs in the most seriously affected countries within an integrated framework of African development. We hope that, in the course of the deliberations of the Assembly at this session, that document will receive the attention it so much deserves and, more important, the necessary response of the entire international community in terms of concrete measures.

175. We in Africa have spared no efforts to respond to the crisis, using all the means and resources at our disposal. This, of course, is as it should be, for we recognize that the primary responsibility for the development of our region rests with us. But because of the magnitude and complexity of the problems, Africa could not realistically be expected to cope with the situation single-handed. In some cases, certain aspects of Africa's crisis lie beyond the capacity and possibilities of the African countries individually or collectively, and many of the basic elements of our crisis are either under the control of nature or in the arena of international economic relations. In both cases, Africa's capacity to influence or change decisively the direction of events is obviously very limited.

176. Nevertheless, we have not failed to try to find solutions. Indeed, not only did the fortieth ordinary session of the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity, held at Addis Ababa from 27 February to 5 March 1984, address itself fully to the crisis but, as a follow-up to the resolution adopted at that session [*see A/39/207, resolution CM/Res.928 (XL)*], the Conference of Ministers of the Economic Commission for Africa, at its tenth meeting, held at Addis Ababa from 24 to 28 May 1984, adopted a Special Memorandum on Africa's Economic and Social Crisis.[8] That Memorandum was submitted to the Economic and Social Council at its second regular session in 1984 with the conviction that its consideration would lead to concrete action by the international community. In that Memorandum, as well as in the Addis Ababa Declaration on Africa's External Indebtedness, adopted by the African Ministers of Finance,[9] Africa has stated its well-considered and collective opinion on the crisis, with specific recommendations as to what role it expects the international community to play.

177. Regrettably, however, the debate in the Economic and Social Council, although it showed an understanding of and sympathy for the African crisis, ended without any agreed declaration. It is my fervent hope, therefore, that, at this session, the General Assembly will succeed where the Economic and Social Council has failed and come out with a declaration pledging the full support of the international community in solving Africa's economic crisis on the basis of the proposals contained in the Special Memorandum of the Economic Commission for Africa. It is also my hope that the international community will demonstrate once and for all its real commitment to complement the efforts of the African countries in facing both the struggle for survival and the challenge for development. The needs of the countries in terms of emergency and development assistance are well known. What is needed is a concrete framework for meeting such needs.

178. However, one cannot fail to ask whether this framework can be evolved in the prevailing unjust international economic system, which itself is gripped in a pervasive and perilous crisis. Indeed, the present international economic system continues to be a cause of profound concern, not only because of its devastating impact on the economic and social life of the peoples of the developing countries, but also because of the tension it generates among nations, thus negatively affecting global peace and security.

179. While the gravity of the crisis demands bold vision and constructive dialogue, as well as innovative and collective efforts, the absence of political will on the part of developed countries has so far impeded the necessary common endeavours to seek solutions to global economic problems. Instead, the developed world seems to have resigned itself to doubts, mistrust and, most damaging of all, inward-looking tendencies.

180. For almost three decades now, the developing countries have made a continuous appeal for common prosperity. They have persistently and earnestly advocated the restructuring of the present lopsided and inequitable international economic order. Nevertheless, all efforts to seek structural adjustment in the system and to adopt measures required to alleviate the conditions of the developing countries have met with stubborn resistance from some developed countries.

181. This failure to act in concert to deal adequately with the alarming global situation has, in turn, further aggravated the international economic climate. In this connection, it must be realized that each time the international community fails to take measures commensurate with the seriousness of the problem, not only the poor but also the rich are bound to be affected.

182. Ethiopia will therefore continue to urge the international community to take bold and concrete measures with a view to establishing the new international economic order. The interdependence of nations makes it imperative that this global challenge be met with a global response. We earnestly hope that the economic power centres concerned will reassess their present situation, bearing in mind that only effective and imaginative measures will create positive opportunities for fruitful co-operation, outweighing the short-term advantage of predominance.

183. While the overwhelming majority of mankind is languishing in untold misery and squalor, billions of dollars and millions of man-hours are recklessly wasted each day on the production, testing and stockpiling of weapons of mass destruction. Clearly, nothing demonstrates better than this stark fact that the world has lost its moral compass.

184. The united opposition of the vast majority of mankind to the nuclear-arms race notwithstanding, new, more deadly and more accurate nuclear-weapon systems are being produced and stationed in several

parts of the world with the objective of attaining nuclear superiority and, in fact, first-strike superiority, thus further increasing the risks of war.

185. Last year more than in the previous year, this year more than last year, the macabre march towards apocalyptic nuclear confrontation has been gathering momentum. Indeed, the nuclear noose around the neck of humanity is further tightened with each passing day. The quest for peace and disarmament has therefore become the leading item on the agenda of mankind today. But peace cannot be manufactured. It is a product of creative thinking, reasoned discourse and statesmanship which aims at the humanization of man and the preservation of his civilization.

186. On behalf of the people and the Government of Ethiopia, therefore, I appeal once again to the nobler instincts and the common sense of all those concerned to halt, and indeed reverse, this blind rush into nuclear catastrophe and, instead, join the rest of humanity in a common search for a better tomorrow.

187. Over and above this nuclear threat, the further militarization of outer space and of the hitherto peaceful regions of the globe is a source of anxiety to most of us. We in Ethiopia are particularly concerned at the intensification of military activities in the Indian Ocean region. Numerous declarations and resolutions by the United Nations and the non-aligned countries notwithstanding, the Indian Ocean region is far from being a zone of peace. Indeed, it is increasingly becoming a military zone.

188. The presence of military forces, the establishment of imperialist military bases and the acquisition of military facilities, the setting up of new military command posts and structures and the show of military power through so-called military exercises not only pose a threat to the security of the littoral and hinterland States but also aggravate relations among nations both within and outside the region, endangering international peace and security. We believe that this dangerous trend of the militarization of the region must be stopped and reversed. In this connection, Ethiopia is convinced that the convening at Colombo of the long-awaited international Conference on the Indian Ocean can make a positive contribution towards this objective.

189. The paradox that the absence of war does not constitute peace is more obvious today than at any time in the past, a glaring example of which is the situation in the Middle East. The quiet that pervades the Middle East today is more apparent than real, for the fundamental cause of all the conflicts in the region still remains unattended to. It is Ethiopia's long-standing position that no solution can be viable and long-lasting unless and until it addresses itself to the legitimate right of the Palestinian people to establish an independent State in their territory.

190. Ethiopia is compelled, therefore, to reiterate its call for the exercise by the Palestinian people of its right to self-determination, and to this end expresses its support for the holding of an international peace conference on the Middle East in which the PLO, the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, will participate on an equal footing with all the other parties concerned.

191. As in the Middle East, the quiet in Cyprus, in the Korean peninsula and elsewhere is deceptive. Cyprus is still divided. Since recent developments give no cause for optimism, we again call on all Cypriots to work towards a united Cyprus, with that country's independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-aligned status fully respected. In this connection, we note with appreciation the efforts of the Secretary-General, which we support and encourage.

192. Unlike in Cyprus, recent developments in Lebanon have been encouraging. We welcome the establishment of a Government of national reconciliation in Lebanon and wish the people of that friendly country unity, peace and prosperity.

193. As regards the situation in the Korean peninsula, Ethiopia reaffirms its support for the peaceful reunification of the Korean people without any foreign interference. In this connection, we find the proposed tripartite talks most useful and the need for the withdrawal of all foreign forces from the area most urgent.

194. No less urgent is the need to put an end to the Iran-Iraq war, in which the world has witnessed the atrocities and cruelties of war for the last four years. Both parties must put a halt to all hostilities and seek a peaceful solution to their differences.

195. As regards the serious situation obtaining in Central America, the South Atlantic and South-West and South-East Asia, my Government's position is well known. However, I cannot but express Ethiopia's utmost concern and indignation at the situation in Central America, where the sister State of Nicaragua is being subjected to aggression from without and subversion from within, with the open assistance of the Government of the United States.

196. In expressing Ethiopia's support for and solidarity with the fraternal and gallant people of Nicaragua and its Government, I once again call upon the United States Administration to abandon its hostility towards the Sandinist revolution and instead join the peace process initiated and pursued with so much wisdom and perserverance by the Contadora Group.

197. Before I conclude my statement, please permit me briefly to apprise the Assembly of recent developments in my own country. As all members will recall, it is now 10 years since the Ethiopian revolution ushered in fundamental changes in the political, economic and social system of the nation. Most of these eventful years, however, were not years of tranquillity in which we were able to devote all our energies solely to the realization of our cherished goals of economic and social development. Those were years which, parallel to the restructuring of our society, were spent, to a large degree, in the defence of the gains of our revolution and the territorial integrity of our motherland. These preoccupations notwithstanding, appreciable advances have, however, been made to strengthen the social infrastructures of the country and to ameliorate the well-being of the masses.

198. The achievements of the last 10 years in eradicating from Ethiopia the age-old enemies of mankind—namely, ignorance, disease and poverty—are a source of particular satisfaction to the Ethiopian people. Today, the scourge of illiteracy is fast disappearing from the face of our nation. The drive to expand formal education and primary health care is gaining momentum. Agricultural and industrial development is accorded high priority in order to provide our people not only with the basic necessities of life but also a higher level of material and spiritual

well-being to realize fully their human potential. Indeed, this is the corner-stone of the 10-year development plan, which was adopted only a month ago by the Founding Congress of the Workers Party of Ethiopia.

199. In today's Ethiopia, the basic human rights of every citizen are fully guaranteed. These rights are not only safeguarded by political and legal instruments but are also solidly reinforced by structural set-ups in which our people are organized and mobilized for effective participation in the national life of the country. Grass-roots democracy, unknown in the past, is now the moving force of our social, economic and political activities, enabling the masses to guide their own destiny in a manner that fulfils their needs and responds to their aspirations. As both a culmination and crowning achievement of this process of national organization, our people have now established the Workers Party of Ethiopia to guide the revolution and the destiny of the nation.

200. We are convinced that the establishment of this Party and the adoption of its programme reinforce, more than ever before, Ethiopia's commitment to the Charter of the United Nations and of the Organization of African Unity and to the policies and principles of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. We will continue to be guided by the basic principles of sovereign equality of States, respect for the unity and territorial integrity of States, the inviolability of State frontiers, non-interference in the internal affairs of other States, and peaceful settlement of international disputes.

201. The failure of some States to observe these basic rules of international relations and their policy of irredentism and expansionism, subversion and terrorism, exploitation of natural disasters for self-serving and short-sighted political ends, malicious propaganda and aggressive wars have been the primary causes for conflict and tension in our part of the world.

202. For peace, stability and co-operation among States to thrive in our region, it is imperative that irrational hostility must give way to reason. Intransigence must be replaced by compliance with regional consensus. The Charter of the United Nations and of the Organization of African Unity and international treaties must be fully respected.

203. With our revolution 10 years old, we in Ethiopia face the future with increased confidence and optimism. We look forward to working with even more determination to attain our cherished foreign policy objectives. Our glorious history of struggle against colonialism and imperialism will be reinforced by our determined quest for peace, co-operation and understanding both within our region and beyond.

204. All those who entertain vain territorial ambition, and those who see their own strength only in a weakened Ethiopia, will never find us wanting in our determination to pay any price in the defence of our historic unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity. But all those who want to reciprocate our policy of peaceful co-operation and good-neighbourliness will always find us willing partners.

205. The struggle continues.

206. Mr. OWINY (Uganda): It is a source of pride and pleasure for my delegation that a distinguished son of Zambia, a fraternal African country, presides over the work of the Organization. We warmly congratulate Mr. Lusaka on his election to the presidency of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. His personal qualities, vast experience in public life and skills as a diplomat make him eminently qualified to guide our deliberations. Zambia, and Mr. Lusaka personally, have been at the forefront of Africa's struggle for freedom, independence and human dignity. We wish him great success in the discharge of his heavy responsibilities.

207. We take this opportunity also to pay a well-deserved tribute to his predecessor, the President of Panama, Mr. Jorge Illueca, for his dynamic and wise leadership during the course of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly.

208. We would also like to express our deep gratitude to the Secretary-General for his untiring efforts in the service of the United Nations. In the past year he once again played an active role in the search for solutions to numerous world problems.

209. My delegation also takes great pleasure in welcoming the new State of Brunei Darussalam into the community of free and independent nations. Its presence in the General Assembly signifies once again the continued realization of one of the prime objectives for which the United Nations was created, namely, the elimination of colonialism. It also brings the United Nations closer to the goal of universality.

210. Namibia, for a century, has had and still continues to endure colonial domination, first by imperial Germany and now by *apartheid* South Africa. The situation prevailing in Namibia is well known to us all. It is a situation arising from South Africa's colonialism and illegal occupation. It is painful to the Namibian people who endure it and are fighting for their independence under the leadership of SWAPO, their sole and authentic representative. It is also painful to the front-line States which, because of their support for the liberation struggle, are victims of South Africa's aggression and destabilization.

211. The Security Council, by its resolution 435 (1978), endorsed the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia. It was hoped then that Namibia would be independent within a year. For the last six years, the fulfilment of that hope has eluded us. Since the adoption of the plan, the hopes of the international community have been raised time and again, only to be dashed by the premeditated obstruction of Pretoria and its allies.

212. The latest example of that obstruction is the injection of the extraneous issue of linkage between Namibian independence and the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola in the negotiations by South Africa, supported by the United States. We cannot accept that the future of Namibians should be sacrificed on account of East-West confrontation. The trading of a people's freedom and national independence is not only reprehensible, but immoral. I wish to reiterate Uganda's position of total rejection of that linkage.

213. The racist régime has embarked on a fresh diplomatic offensive whose immediate aim is to disarm SWAPO and to deny it external support. Ultimately, they think they can make it impossible for the people of Namibia, under the leadership of SWAPO, to win power. That manoeuvre is also directed at winning international legitimacy and recognition for Pretoria's stooges—the so-called Multi-Party Conference in Namibia.

214. Another clear objective of that design is to delay Namibian independence by imposing so-called regional or internal solutions to what are otherwise the concerns of the international community. There are now efforts aimed at distancing the United Nations as far as possible from the negotiation process. In furtherance of that strategy, South Africa is trying every trick to wriggle out of the decisions of the United Nations, particularly Security Council resolution 435 (1978). The Organization has an obligation to ensure that this does not happen.

215. Meanwhile, under the leadership of SWAPO, their sole and authentic representative, the Namibian people are waging an heroic struggle to rid themselves of the colonial yoke. History is on their side. I wish to take this opportunity to reaffirm my country's unequivocal support for Namibia's struggle for freedom and national independence.

216. The situation in South Africa remains very explosive. Each passing day brings the sad news of fresh acts of repression, imprisonment of trade union leaders, brutal torture or death in detention, and death sentences imposed on the patriots opposing *apartheid*. The policy of "bantustanization" is being vigorously and mercilessly implemented.

217. Recently, one racist South African minister was reported as having advocated measures to reduce the black population in South Africa. The call was made by the racist Minister of Environmental Affairs and Fisheries, Mr. Sarel Hayward, on 22 May of this year, when he stated that "If we do not achieve a reduction in the population growth of blacks in this country, we are heading for catastrophe. The statistics show that we must drastically cut the population growth—otherwise we are all going to die of thirst."

218. The people of South Africa, faced with this type of barbaric policy, have been waging a relentless struggle to dismantle the *apartheid* system. The progress they have registered in mobilizing their people to support the struggle and the dent they have made in the South African war machine has sent shock waves and fear among the oppressors. Unable to cow them and to force them to submit to injustice, the Pretoria régime has unleashed a campaign to undermine the network of solidarity and support which the liberation movements enjoy beyond the frontiers of South Africa. The front-line States became victims of constant acts of aggression, destabilization and interference in their internal affairs at the hands of the racist régime.

219. There have been attempts to portray the recent fraudulent constitutional changes implemented last July as positive developments that give cause for optimism. Those so-called changes should be exposed for what they are. They are clearly designed to divide the ranks of the oppressed communities and to get them to join the racists in their criminal enterprise of perpetuating the *apartheid* power structure. Rather than addressing the central issue of enfranchising the vast majority of the people, the so-called changes have compounded their problem by entrenching provisions which deny them citizenship in their own country.

220. With the clear purpose of extricating South Africa from international isolation, the racist Prime Minister earlier this year visited several Western countries during which he posed as a statesman and peace-broker. It is a matter of deep regret that the visit was allowed to take place, in spite of protests by African and other peace-loving countries. No amount of sophistry on the part of anyone can disguise the true nature and intent of the racist régime. We categorically reject any efforts aimed at rehabilitating it.

221. Neither the destabilization of neighbouring States nor the introduction of fraudulent constitutional schemes will save South Africa from the time of reckoning, which is fast approaching. The only way to prevent that otherwise inevitable eventuality is to dismantle the *apartheid* structures.

222. The liberation struggle is being waged and led by the people of South Africa themselves and in their own country. It is incumbent upon Africa and the international community to continue to render them both moral and material support until victory. In this connection, we express our appreciation to the front-line States, which, despite enormous odds, have made supreme sacrifices for the cause of the liberation of southern Africa.

223. Uganda is concerned that the international situation continues to deteriorate, giving rise to pessimism and despair. The old hotbeds of tension remain, while new crisis points emerge.

224. In the Middle East, Israel has intensified its aggressive policies against its neighbours, the indigenous inhabitants of the occupied Arab lands and the Palestinians everywhere. The question of Palestine is at the core of the Middle East problem. The crisis in the Middle East stems from Israel's persistent and flagrant denial of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. There can be no lasting settlement unless the Palestinians can exercise their legitimate rights. These include the right to return to their homeland and the right to self-determination in a State of their own, under the leadership of the PLO. We support the convening of an International Peace Conference on the Middle East in which the Soviet Union, the United States and all the parties concerned, including the PLO, would participate, as called for by the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, held at Geneva last year. We appeal to all concerned to co-operate and assist the Secretary-General in his efforts in this regard.

225. We are concerned at the tensions, instability and acts of destabilization in Central America. We believe that the people of the region should be left to solve their problems and determine their own destinies freely, without any outside interference. In this regard, Uganda supports the efforts of the Contadora Group to find a peaceful solution to the problems of Central America. We especially welcome the conclusion of the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America, of 7 September 1984 [*A/39/562, annex*], as a positive avenue for peace.

226. The Korean peninsula is another focal point of tension. Uganda will continue to support the aspirations of the Korean people to the peaceful reunification of the Korean peninsula. We welcome the positive efforts of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to this end. We believe that the withdrawal of foreign troops from the area would create a positive atmosphere for negotiations.

227. With regard to Cyprus, I reaffirm Uganda's support for its territorial integrity, unity and non-aligned character, as expressed in the Political Declaration of the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi from 7 to 12 March 1983.[10] The fate of the two

communities is linked. They should, therefore, through the medium of international talks, be assisted to find a solution within the framework of a united Cyprus.

228. We continue to be gravely concerned about the war between Iran and Iraq. Once again, we appeal to the two non-aligned countries to bring to an end this tragic and wasteful war.

229. I take this opportunity to reaffirm Uganda's support for the struggle of the Saharan people for self-determination, in accordance with the framework formulated by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its nineteenth ordinary session, held at Addis Ababa in June 1983.

230. The current crisis in international relations derives to a large extent from the prevailing state of relations between the two super-Powers. Disarmament talks have been paralysed and the arms race has been stepped up. There is an urgent need today, more than ever, for a constructive dialogue between the two super-Powers.

231. The international arms race involves a colossal misappropriation of human and material resources for destructive purposes, thus consuming enormous resources badly needed to meet the economic and social challenges of our time—in particular, the urgent need to narrow the gap between developed and developing countries.

232. The vast stockpiles and tremendous buildup of arms and armed forces and the competition for the qualitative refinement of weapons of all kinds, to which scientific resources and technological advances are diverted, pose an incalculable threat to peace. Disarmament is an imperative and most urgent task facing the international community. We cannot but be disheartened by the total absence of concrete negotiated results in that direction. My delegation therefore calls for the resumption of the intermediate-range and strategic weapons talks between the Soviet Union and the United States, a total ban on the development, production, stockpiling and deployment of chemical weapons, the urgent conclusion of a treaty prohibiting an arms race in outer space and speedy progress towards general and complete disarmament.

233. The continuing deterioration of the world economic situation remains a matter of grave concern to my delegation. Since the beginning of the decade, the world economy has been afflicted by acute recession and unsteady monetary and financial conditions. International trade and economic growth, particularly in the developing world, continue to experience sharp declines. Primary-commodity prices have declined, and the terms of trade for developing countries, like my own, have deteriorated drastically. High interest rates, soaring inflation and unemployment, compounded by heavy debt-service obligations, have mounted. This has precipitated acute difficulties in our countries.

234. We remain convinced that the only viable solution that can deliver the impoverished nations from this economic situation lies in the qualitative restructuring of the unequal economic relations between the developed and developing countries.

235. Uganda remains committed to the legitimate demand of the Group of 77 for a new international economic order based on equality and justice. Global negotiations that envisage just, equitable economic relations based on mutual respect among nations must be launched without any further delay. It is our earnest hope that, given the political will and the realization that there is no cordiality between affluence and poverty, the next year will bring nations to the negotiating table in order to find durable solutions.

236. The alarming and significant deterioration in the economic and social conditions of most African countries has produced a crisis of development in Africa. The immediate causes of the crisis are widespread, severe and persistent drought and the rapidly deteriorating global economic environment. These have combined to generate a crisis of unprecedented dimensions whose solution is beyond the capability of many African countries.

237. The current drought, which has now spread to 34 countries, is the most severe in this century. Prolonged drought has created serious food shortages, which in turn have triggered famine, malnutrition and related diseases and loss of human lives and livestock. The food situation in Africa has deteriorated so drastically that most African countries are today in the tragic position of being unable to feed their peoples. Africa is today relying on food imports and food aid to feed a large percentage of its population. The present crisis is further undermining the weak economies of African countries and poses a serious threat to the well-being of the people of Africa.

238. Africa recognizes that the primary responsibility for the development of African economies rests with the Governments and peoples of African States. We have taken the necessary measures to grapple with the crisis. It is for this reason that African Ministers responsible for economic development and planning made an urgent appeal for massive assistance from the international community, in a Special Memorandum on Africa's Economic and Social Crisis,[8] addressed to the second regular session of the Economic and Social Council in 1984, to complement and supplement the individual and collective efforts of African States.

239. The initiative and interest which the Secretary-General took in this matter early this year were very timely and deeply appreciated by the Governments and people of Africa. The response of the international community, particularly the developed countries, has, however, been very disappointing. The failure of the Economic and Social Council to reach a consensus on measures to assist Africa to avert the impending catastrophe is a source of deep concern to my delegation. It is our earnest hope that at this session the General Assembly will adopt the necessary measures to assist Africa in its current economic difficulties.

240. Within its lifespan, the United Nations has achieved much. Notwithstanding this, many problems remain. Colonialism, racism, foreign occupation and domination still persist in southern Africa, the Middle East and elsewhere. Poverty and attendant injustice are still prevalent in the world. In its constant search for solutions to the problems of world peace and the well-being of peoples, the United Nations must have the support of all its Member States.

241. In conclusion, I wish, on behalf of the Government and people of Uganda, to reaffirm our faith in and commitment to the United Nations.

242. Mr. UMBA DI LUTETE (Zaire) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation is pleased to join preceding speakers in congratulating Mr. Paul Lusaka on his very well deserved election to the presidency of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. We welcome this election on more than one count: first, because of the personal relations of friendship that we always had when he was still in his country, carrying out ministerial duties; secondly, because of the blood relations that exist between Zaire and Zambia; thirdly, because he represents Africa, our continent; and, finally, because he has always served the United Nations with great competence and dedication. Is there anyone who is not aware of the stubborn determination with which he has presided over the United Nations Council for Namibia? Is there anyone who is not aware of the outstanding way in which he served as representative of Zambia to the United Nations for many years? Thus, his election to the presidency of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly is a felicitous recognition of his qualities of heart and mind. It cannot but be a guarantee of the success of our work.

243. We congratulate also the other officers of the Assembly. The outstanding talents of each of them will be of valuable assistance to the President in the successful conduct of our deliberations.

244. We take this opportunity also to thank the outgoing President, Mr. Jorge E. Illueca, of Panama. His deep knowledge of the ins and outs of the Organization made it possible for the work of the thirty-eighth session to reach a happy conclusion. Indeed, all the Members of the United Nations remember the gloomy and unhealthy circumstances surrounding the opening and development of the work of the thirty-eighth session.

245. Before going into the substance of its statement, my delegation wishes to express its wholehearted appreciation to the Secretary-General. We could not, in fact, fail to mention all his qualities—not least, his discretion, his courage, his dedication and his readiness to serve the United Nations. Every time an important problem has faced the world and the Organization, the Secretary-General has tackled it with the clear-mindedness, the competence, the thoroughness and the skill so necessary for his lofty and delicate task. We assure him of our support as he serves the Organization.

246. And, speaking of the Organization, we think it is time for us to dwell on some aspects of its functioning and its methods, and in particular its role and its effectiveness.

247. Apart from the work done by its specialized agencies, which have been entrusted with tasks that are more sectoral and operational, the only function in which the United Nations can still take pride is that of being, as it were, the conscience of the world. But even in that respect, the claim to universality is dented when one considers the omnipotent role of the veto exercised by the great Powers in the Security Council.

248. Be that as it may, the essential function of preventing hostilities and maintaining peace is carried out only in the rare cases when the great Powers, or simply the rich, are not involved. In a word, the Organization, especially at the level of the Security Council, is floundering. Consequently, the Security Council has obviously lost its prestige and the General Assembly has become a machine turning out resolutions, often automatically.

249. On another level, the Organization must abandon this unfortunate trend of establishing more and more committees and subsidiary bodies—*ad infinitum*—without prior co-ordination with the Secretary-General. Such bodies raise issues of competence *vis-à-vis* the Secretary-General, to whom the Charter of the United Nations entrusts the task of administering all the staff of the Organization. And I am not even speaking of the fact that the establishment of these committees raises budgetary problems, since the expenses involved in their activities are not foreseen at the time when the budget is drawn up.

250. It is therefore imperative for the General Assembly, and not committees of experts, to study carefully the new directions that should be given to our methods. The Organization will commemorate its fortieth anniversary next year. That will be a very good opportunity for us to establish these new directions and methods to make United Nations actions more credible.

251. Similarly, in regard to the recruitment and promotion of personnel, the principle of balance seems to be becoming a dead letter. It is not fair for a single nation to hoard as many as six posts of Under-Secretary-General and Assistant-Secretary-General. That cannot be called universality.

252. Despite the continued existence of hotbeds of tension in many parts of the world, this session of the General Assembly is opening in more auspicious circumstances than its predecessor. Let us not be pessimists or prophets of gloom. Let us rejoice at this trend and express the hope that, far from being weakened, it will be confirmed.

253. It is true that, contrary to common sense, the Iraq-Iran war continues, causing ruin and destruction. But that war was already raging in 1983. Indeed, for the very reason that the belligerents are stubborn and deaf to the pleas of the world, this war, despite the ferociousness with which it is waged, would have been forgotten by now if it did not pose such grave threats to the oil routes and sources of supply.

254. It is true, too, that there has been not the slightest progress in settling the thorny Middle East question, which is almost as old as the United Nations itself. But that failure to find a solution is not the result of any lack of imagination, perseverance or interest on the part of the international community. It seems to us that everything has been said about this human and political tragedy, as heart-rending as it is complex. But frameworks and plans for settlement do exist. They are not perfect, but they constitute the least of the evils when compared with the extremist solutions some have proposed.

255. If the entire problem is still with us, it is because of incomprehension and intransigence—we would even be tempted to say the political blindness and arrogance of one side or another. However that may be, this problem is still a very burning one and it has all the elements of a quagmire. That is undoubtedly very unfortunate because of the high stakes.

256. With regard to the Lebanese tragedy, it could be said that in some way there has been positive development. The Government of National Unity is taking increasing control, even if it is doing so slowly. And it seems to be confirmed that certain foreign occupation troops could be withdrawn; if that were to

happen, the risks of a major confrontation would also be reduced.

257. Nor can it be said that Central America, the object of so much covetousness and so many threats of intervention, has become a haven of peace. There are still confrontations, and they are not engaged in with kid gloves. Nevertheless, it cannot be said that during these months of September and October there has been any dramatic development one way or the other.

258. These cases suffice to indicate that tensions and conflicts still exist. The demons of suspicion and confrontation are not dead—far from it. But, compared to 1983, at the same time of the year, the climate seems to us to be less fraught with fear. We hope that this is not merely the calm before the storm, but it does seem that the confusion, the shock and the fear raised in 1983 by the destruction of the South Korean aircraft and the assassination at Rangoon of some members of the South Korean Government are now only bad memories, even if we must recognize that the consequences of those acts cannot be erased so quickly.

259. Whatever the case, we must look towards a better future and calmer skies.

Mr. Lusaka (Zambia) resumed the Chair.

260. We note, first, that Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko, who was not in New York in 1983, was indeed here in 1984. Even better—whereas there was no Soviet-United States dialogue for several years, attempts should not be made to conceal the approaches currently being made. No, the Soviet Union and the United States are not the only two countries in the world. But things being what they are, everyone will agree that détente between the two super-Powers would greatly help matters. Whether their current approaches are dictated by internal considerations or not, the fact remains that dialogue is the only hope. For our part—and this seems to be the desire of the peace-loving nations—we express the wish that these contacts will lead to an understanding and a relaxation in international relations and not to a conspiracy based on dividing up the planet.

261. In Chad, which was considered the very prototype of the strategy of tension, the recent Franco-Libyan agreement for withdrawal of their respective troops seems to confirm the impression of reduced tension.

262. Whatever scepticism may be shown by certain observers with respect to the viability of such an agreement, Zaire applauded the announcement of a withdrawal. There is no reason to believe indefinitely in the falseness or the fickleness of a head of State who solemnly commits his country before the world. Nor can we believe that the foreign troops that are in Chad for various reasons intended to stay there for long. Once we have preserved and guaranteed the identity, independence and territorial integrity of Chad, we must make the Chadians face up to their own responsibilities. Only they are in charge of their destiny. Our role is to help them. Even if, as has been said, victory comes from the mouth of a gun, it is still a matter of common sense that in this case the ideal solution can be found in national consensus and a legitimate government.

263. As regards the Zairian troops in Chad, Zaire, which was not involved in the Franco-Libyan agreement, will settle this question independently with N'Djamena. Its troops are in Chad at the request of N'Djamena, and a minimum of courtesy requires at least some prior consultation. We do not intend to stay in Chad for ever, especially since new factors are involved. We are for peace, dialogue and concord.

264. In the same vein, we hope that henceforth the Western Sahara conflict, which has long divided the OAU, will meet with a peaceful solution as a result of the recent developments shaping up in northern Africa. For our part, we have always regarded the Frente POLISARIO[11] as a liberation movement and not a government. Those who wished, under the cover of principle, to use the Western Sahara issue to settle personal or national questions must now come out into the open and defend their rights, if they have any. That is more worthy and more courageous.

265. If the impression of quiet and relaxation of tension is right, tensions would have to come down a notch. And if tensions come down, there will be less suspicion and thus there should be a slow-down in the arms race and increased co-operation and solidarity.

266. I shall first speak about the problem of the arms race and then about solidarity and international mutual assistance.

267. The problem of over-armament is crucial because it raises questions that involve the very survival of mankind. Whether we consider the question in its deadly and devastating aspects or in the way in which it diverts major resources from the development of less wealthy peoples, the conclusion is the same. The Conference on Disarmament, meeting at Geneva, has studied this problem in great depth. The Secretary-General and others aware of the problem have often drawn the attention of those responsible for over-armament to the dangers they are placing before mankind. But anyway, those responsible are in a better position than anyone to know about that. Our planet is already saturated with weapons, but their production continues and their devastating power is refined. It would appear that our world was prey to collective indifference and folly. If those weapons could strike only their inventors we could perhaps shrug our shoulders and sleep in peace, thinking that after all they will get only what they deserve. But no, we are all concerned by the holocaust. Disarmament or arms reduction must concern all the protagonists. It is meaningless to claim or demand unilateral disarmament. That would smack of naivety and manipulation and would mean the reign of blackmail.

268. In the final analysis, it would be better to tolerate a certain balance of terror if we know and proclaim our rejection of any kind of world condominium.

269. The Charter of the United Nations expressly prohibits interference in the internal affairs of other States. World despotism would lead to a huge empire in which we would be swallowed up and where we would lose our own personality and identity.

270. Each State must be able to organize itself as it wishes without a would-be godfather or protector.

271. Therefore, as regards the problem of Korea, for example, we have always affirmed that we should aid the North and the South to achieve their great design, following their respective wishes, in negotiation and in dialogue. It is not for other States to tell the Koreans what they should do. Nor does this concern only the North or only the South. The real

wishes of the Koreans themselves must be brought into the foreground. This is not a taboo subject. If one of the two Koreas submitted its candidacy for admission to the United Nations, Zaire would not oppose it. Perhaps, in the final analysis, this would contribute to reducing tension in the area. After all, the two Germanies are Members of the United Nations today. That does not mean they are abandoning their unity.

272. To conclude our consideration of the problem of the arms race, it is obvious that an effort in this field would open the way to increased exchanges and would free resources for development and for the fight against ignorance and disease.

273. The distinction and the dichotomy between rich and poor nations is an undeniable fact. We do not intend to determine how and why some are rich and others poor. Let us merely state the fact and try to organize ourselves in a spirit of justice and equity, all the more so because rich and poor are interdependent. I could not better describe that interdependence than with reference to the author of *Le Défi mondial*, who quotes a report drawn up in the Federal Republic of Germany. I shall spare representatives the text, but, to sum up, this report, which was commissioned by Chancellor Schmidt,

> "calculates at several million the number of jobs that would be lost in the steel industry, the automobile industry and the aeronautical and shipping industry if the supply of just five minerals that Germany imports from southern Africa was suddenly to be cut off.
>
> "These are: chrome, irreplaceable in the production of special steels; molybdenum, for the production of refractory alloys used in the building of jet engines; vanadium, essential for the sheathing of nuclear fuel rods; asbestos, for insulation in space vessels and also for brake shoes, battery covers and oil pipelines; and manganese, used in metallurgy for all aluminium alloys."

The same report estimates that

> "a 30 per cent reduction in chrome imports for just one year would bring to a standstill the activities that depend on it and result in a 25 per cent fall in the gross national product."

It also states that:

> "If just one of the five producer countries cut off its supply of manganese—Gabon, South Africa, Australia, India and Brazil—this would create 'major troubles for the Western economy', according to another report commissioned by the British Government at the request of the Industry Minister."

The same author continues:

> "The industrial world is discovering that its survival depends on the third world just as much as that of the third world depends on it. It is the third world that has supplied it with the material means for its unprecedented expansion in the third quarter of the century, the fruits of which it could not share. While its living standard has doubled and its average per capita income went up by 100 per cent, that of the third world went up by three dollars a year per capita."[12]

274. However, despite this interdependence, in present circumstances the poor countries are too weak to hope to bring lasting and effective pressure to bear on the rich countries. The case of the oil-exporting countries exposes their weakness and precariousness. But is this a reason to go on crushing the weak? However rich one is and perhaps because one is rich, one should not be exonerated of his duties of solidarity and assistance. In this connection, President Mitterrand's statement here at the Assembly's thirty-eighth session [*9th meeting*] can from certain points of view be considered as a hymn to solidarity with and assistance to the least favoured countries.

275. Apart from several examples of structured multilateral co-operation—such is the case with the European Economic Community—and apart from some cases of bilateral co-operation varying as bilateral interests vary, assistance for co-operation is generally lagging. In most cases, it barely amounts to 0.7 per cent of gross national product, far short of the 1 per cent target which was considered a worthy objective.

276. These figures deserve to be brought out. In this concern for solidarity, special mention should be made of the Scandinavian countries, such as Norway, Sweden and Finland. My country, while not among the fortunate beneficiaries of the generosity of those three countries, must still recognize their gesture and their efforts.

277. While the prices of raw material are arbitrarily fixed by the rich consumer countries in a precarious manner, the financial market offered to us is equally precarious, for our countries are obliged to borrow in order to acquire the goods needed for their small industries and their development. The conditions offered us, which we have to accept no matter what we wish to do, are such that the non-oil-exporting developing countries are often in no position to pay. Yet they must pay, in justice and equity.

278. Zaire, for its part, has undertaken a rigorous policy of honouring its commitments to its creditors, which have shown confidence in it. My country is thus rigorously adhering to the programme established by the IMF. We will continue with that rigorous policy because it is a sound one and we are reaping its fruits. It would be wrong to decide unilaterally that we would no longer pay our debts. The world knows that this is not a sinecure.

279. The creditors must understand the difficulties of the debtor countries, for goodwill alone does not always suffice. Clearly what would be ideal would be to pay on time; but even after scheduling and rescheduling, these countries will not be able to continue to meet their commitments unless they are given a minimum of flexibility, allowing them breathing space so as to begin minimal recovery. Otherwise those countries will be bled dry and ruined, and they will not be able to pay back their debts, which of course will benefit neither the debtors nor the creditors. There is a popular saying in my country to the effect that if a hernia kills a person it should not feel any satisfaction, for it will accompany that person to the grave. This, we think, shows the situation of the creditor countries and the debtor countries and how they are in the final analysis linked.

280. No sound and genuine co-operation or solidarity is possible in relationships of subjection. Such co-operation can be conceived of only if the partners involved are free. When they are not, even when there is some kind of understanding on the part of the master, it is not solidarity but mere condescension.

281. Since the adoption by the General Assembly of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [*resolution 1514 (XV)*], no nation on earth should be deprived of its freedom and sovereignty any longer. Indeed, the colonial phenomenon, in principle at least, has disappeared from the world, except, of course, in Africa, which is still marked by poverty, disease, misery and underdevelopment. Must it, in addition to all this, continue to be humiliated by an inhuman régime whose philosophy of power has been declared by world conscience to be a crime against humanity?

282. To maintain itself in power, South Africa has adopted, towards its neighbours, a policy of terror and aggression. When there was talk of glimpses of peace in southern Africa, we were sceptical. Nevertheless, Zaire has not condemned Pretoria's approaches a priori because it felt that everything should be tried, even at the price of an alliance with the devil, to speed the liberation of the African majority and of Namibia. After all, lions and tigers, fierce as they are, can sometimes be tamed, but we must always remember that they remain lions and tigers.

283. Thus, on condition that these initiatives and these peace pacts do not harm the rights of the black majority, we have taken note of them.

284. The present developments in South Africa and Namibia confirm our fears, however, because in the final analysis no neighbour of South Africa has ever committed aggression against the Pretoria régime, lacking the means to do so. Therefore, it should suffice for South Africa to make a unilateral declaration that it would no longer commit aggression against the neighbouring countries, which are, after all, defenceless.

285. In fact, what South Africa has always tried to obtain through these agreements is a blank cheque to enable it to carry on its policy of oppression and humiliation of blacks in South Africa itself and in Namibia.

286. Let us hear nothing about interference on the part of neighbouring countries in the internal affairs of South Africa. Helping the black majority to achieve liberation is not interference. Fighting crime is not interference, for *apartheid* is an international crime. This is legitimate self-defence. As far as Namibia is concerned, everyone knows that South Africa is remaining there illegally.

287. There is a category of citizens whose situation is sometimes as terrible and precarious as that of dependent peoples—namely, refugees. Whatever the causes of these mass exoduses—war, political or religious intolerance, natural catastrophes, over-population and so on—this phenomenon must not be encouraged.

288. Fortunately, the international community is sensitive to the situation and is dealing with it by taking the necessary measures, as it has just proved through the Second International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa, held at Geneva in July of this year. However, the best remedy remains to ensure that there are as few refugees as possible and, in fact, that there are no more refugees. It is always best to be in one's own home.

289. Zaire, true to its traditions and its policy of solidarity, has on its territory more than half a million refugees, with whom it shares without discrimination the few resources it has available—hospitals, schools, food and so forth. One can easily measure the sacrifices that this entails. As much as possible, when the refugees agree to do so, we encourage them to return to their home countries.

290. In dealing with disarmament, international co-operation, decolonization or the refugee question, we cannot forget that, whether we are white, yellow, black or red, rich or poor, we are on the same earth for the same purpose, namely, to live together harmoniously and in happiness. As a great British thinker has said: "Only those who act together can act successfully; only those who have trust in one another can work together in harmony; those who are not bound by common affection and common interests cannot act successfully." I note with pleasure that we all have common interests. To be successful, let us work together and with trust in one another, for the good of all mankind.

291. Mr. INCE (Trinidad and Tobago): The delegation of the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago extends its heartfelt congratulations to you, Sir, on your unanimous election to preside over the General Assembly at its thirty-ninth session. The historical and cultural ties which have for so long existed between the Caribbean region and the great continent of Africa make your election to that high office a source of particular pride, delight and satisfaction to the delegation of Trinidad and Tobago. Your presidency over this world body is yet another manifestation of the contribution that small States and developing countries can and do make to the direction of the work of the United Nations. We are confident that your boundless diplomatic skill, wisdom and experience will contribute immensely to the success of the work that lies before this session of the Assembly.

292. My delegation pays tribute to the previous President of the General Assembly, Mr. Jorge Illueca, of Panama, for his capable leadership throughout the thirty-eighth session, which has been successfully concluded.

293. The delegation of Trinidad and Tobago takes pleasure in congratulating Brunei Darussalam upon its admission as the 159th member of the United Nations. It is very gratifying to welcome to this family of nations yet another sovereign country, which marks an important step towards the universality of this body. We are confident that Brunei Darussalam, a sister island developing country, will make a significant contribution towards the fulfilment of the purposes and principles of the Organization.

294. It is already 22 years since the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago was welcomed into the United Nations. As a small and fledgling State emerging into an international environment of such complexity and beset by many conflicts, Trinidad and Tobago drew then, even as it draws now, great comfort from the system of collective security that is enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. Collective security was one of the main considerations which impelled us to seek entry into the Organization immediately upon our attainment of independence.

295. Trinidad and Tobago is guided by the conviction that resort to massive military expenditure, even where the financial and other means permit, is no guarantee of national security. By logical extension, such activity cannot promote international security. Security, national and international, in our view

must derive from active co-operation by members of this world body. It must also be sustained by respect for the sovereignty of its individual Members, freedom and opportunity for members of the world community to pursue their socio-economic and political paths without external interference and full respect by all States for the fundamental rights of their citizenry. It follows, therefore, that each State, large or small, has a role to play in the overall question of security, from which these stated principles derive.

296. The Charter of the United Nations explicitly and implicitly asserts these principles and promotes these objectives. For us, these objectives resolve into three essential elements: first, the maintenance of international peace and security; secondly, the achievement of international co-operation; and, thirdly, the resolution of international economic and social problems.

297. The attainment of these objectives constitutes for us fundamental imperatives and can be realized only by the full involvement and meaningful participation of all States as they bring to bear the particularities of their individual systems on the general thrust towards world stability. The role of small States in pursuit of this goal is particularly crucial. For too long, the rights and interests of small States have occupied a secondary position in the determination of international problems which at times involve their very existence. Small States must be heard; small States must be encouraged to make themselves heard; and small States must be allowed full opportunity to contribute to the resolution of all questions that affect their vital interests and to the achievement of the objectives of the United Nations.

298. In the field of international peace and security, the United Nations has avoided global conflagration, but has not achieved world peace; we have limited the spread of nuclear weaponry, but have not eliminated it. Through our continued efforts, we have sensitized the international community to the lethal consequences of more sophisticated armaments and mobilized world consciousness against their use. Developing countries, dwarfed in the power struggle of sophisticated weaponry, have raised their voices against the development of destructive arms, including chemical weapons, and condemned their use because of the dangers they pose to mankind. The voices of developing countries and small States have sustained a moral force against the use and proliferation of nuclear and other armaments. Without the co-operation and commitment of developed countries, however, we cannot succeed.

299. The achievements of the Organization in the maintenance of international peace and security in other areas appear more encouraging. The process of decolonization is almost complete, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV); the rights of the people of Palestine have been recognized; the choice of a means for settlement of the outstanding border question between Guyana and Venezuela has been referred to the Secretary-General in recognition of the central role of the United Nations in the peaceful settlement of disputes among nations; *apartheid* has been unequivocally condemned and must now be eradicated and excised from human memory; Namibia's right to independence and sovereignty has been recognized in spite of the ill-founded refusal of South Africa to abandon its illegal occupation of that Territory. The adoption in 1982 of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea[13] has been described as the most significant achievement in treaty-making by the United Nations since its inception. The Convention provides for peace and order in the management of the "Ocean Commons".

300. The origins of many of these achievements can be attributed to the initiatives by developing countries and small States. In the case of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, a single small State evoked the awareness of the international community concerning the need for order, collective security and co-operation in the global commons of the ocean. The recent history of the United Nations reveals that small States and developing countries have contributed importantly in shaping the perspectives of the Organization in the continuous process of its dynamic evolution.

301. However, a more careful scrutiny of the international scene reveals that peace and security as global objectives continue to elude us.

302. Trinidad and Tobago has witnessed with grave concern the developments which have taken place in southern Africa over the last year, for they represent a new stage in Pretoria's entrenchment of *apartheid* within its borders and the extension of its sinister influence beyond them. We emphatically reject Pretoria's attempt to hoodwink the international community into believing that the tricameral constitution introduced last month represents a reform and relaxation of *apartheid*. The new constitution is clearly an attempt to divide the dispossessed non-white majority and refine and entrench the *apartheid* system. My delegation reiterates that *apartheid* cannot be reformed; it must be entirely dismantled.

303. The situation in occupied and exploited Namibia remains another source of deep concern. The Territory's formerly abundant natural resources are being rapidly dissipated, in contravention of Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia,[14] enacted by the United Nations Council for Namibia on 27 September 1974; and the United Nations plan for Namibian independence, endorsed by the Security Council in resolution 435 (1978), remains unimplemented. Indeed, my delegation has taken note of Pretoria's latest moves to bypass the plan and impose its own independence plan on Namibia by means of its protegé, the Multi-Party Conference.

304. It is time for the Organization to put an end to the ceaseless machinations and prevarications of that repugnant régime and determine to deal with it in an effective and unequivocal manner in accordance with the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

305. The international scene continues to be strewn with obstacles, and certain enigmatic events challenge the very fabric of established and accepted Charter principles. Profligate expenditure by some States on armaments continues. The Middle East is in turmoil, and a potentially explosive war persists in Central America in spite of the worthy efforts of the Contadora Group; the situation in Afghanistan is still not resolved; the efforts of several groups to achieve a political settlement in Kampuchea have yet to bear success; and the problem of Cyprus remains unsettled. My Government is of the view that a just and lasting settlement of this question can come only through meaningful talks between the representatives

of the two Cypriot communities, under the auspices of the Secretary-General and on the basis of the relevant United Nations resolutions. More recently, the sanctity of sovereignty has again been violated.

306. The Government of the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago continues to reject unequivocally the threat or use of force as a means of settling disputes among States. The right to security, which, in our understanding subsumes the logical implication of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and inalienable rights of States to self-determination, has always and indeed remains the corner-stone of our foreign policy.

307. The refusal of some Member States to renounce and denounce recourse to war as the "ultimate arbitration", the related infringement of the territorial integrity and independence of States in defiance of Charter principles, and the all too frequent disregard for mechanisms aimed at the pacific settlement of disputes continue to give rise to an increasing number of events of crisis proportions. Moreover, the limited progress made in disarmament and the seemingly applied proposition that negotiation can proceed only from a position of strength is a zero-sum approach which guarantees only instability and increased political tension.

308. It is essential that a means be found to strengthen international peace and security and reduce international tension and great-Power rivalry so as to create a climate conducive to the birth of new international trust and confidence. Trinidad and Tobago calls on all States of this international community to assist in creating such a climate.

309. Concomitant with the political obstacles to the achievement of international peace are the systematic dysfunctional economic forces which pervade the international environment and frustrate the objective of international co-operation. We identify these forces as follows: the stagnation in the global negotiations; the inconclusive outcome of the North-South dialogue; the increasing protectionist measures adopted by States; the debt burden of the developing countries; the constraints encountered by small States and developing countries to participate more fully in the determination of necessary monetary and international economic reforms; and the adverse effects of these constraints on the efforts by developing countries towards economic and technical co-operation.

310. The age of high technology has brought new threats to the sovereignty of nations, not solely by means of weapons of war, but through technology that can be diverted from peaceful uses. The development of space technology is undoubtedly a manifestation of the genius of mankind. However, while there are clear benefits for the development of nations in so far as natural resources are concerned, the technological gap between developed nations, as well as between developed and developing nations, can not only lead to dissatisfaction and conflict but can also undermine the sovereignty and security of developing nations. This is an area in which the international community must remain vigilant.

311. It is not that the world's resources are not adequate to support the needs of its peoples, but rather that these are unjustly distributed. It is not that independent developing countries themselves are not endowed with considerable natural resources and potential wealth, but rather that their utilization of these resources is manipulated by external influences over which they have no control.

312. There is dire need for the international community to eschew the new arrogance and indifference that has emerged and to seize the opportunity to rededicate itself to the principles and objectives which gave rise to the noble experiments in international co-operation that followed the tragedy of the Second World War. International co-operation in our view is a *sine qua non* for the resolution of national and international economic and social problems. International peace cannot be achieved or sustained without socio-economic development. No Member State can deny, therefore, that any measure or combination of measures which erodes the well-being of citizens of the international community presents a threat to the achievement and maintenance of peace, inherently diminishes the role of co-operation and stultifies efforts at economic and social development.

313. The world economy, which has been in the grip of recession for the last few years, has shown some signs of recovery in some of the major Western industrialized countries. However, the recovery has not yet effected a wide-ranging influence on the world economy, and especially in the developing countries taken as a group. While some regions have been able to sustain growth, others, in particular Latin America and Africa, have found that conflicting influences at work within the system retard their attempts to achieve meaningful growth and development. In essence, the recovery has not succeeded in eliminating for developing countries the legacy of difficulties which has its genesis in the recession and in the outmoded structure of the international financial and trading systems.

314. The international economic history of the last decade has seen the emergence of a heightened appreciation of the relationship of interdependence which characterizes all inter-State behaviour. Whether or not we continue to argue about the precise dynamics of this relationship, the fact is that the world economy constitutes a single entity. The Government of Trinidad and Tobago therefore challenges and rejects the new mercantilism of increased protectionism and urges all States to abandon any search for economic national security that leads exclusively in that direction. We hold the view that the resolution of the economic difficulties with which international society is at present confronted requires—nay, demands—a resort to co-operative and complementary measures and mechanisms.

315. During the last decade, the General Assembly called for the establishment of a new international economic order. That decision by the Assembly [*resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)*] emanated from the limited successes of policies based on trade versus aid, import substitution, the establishment of regional integration movements and development decades—all designed to resolve the development problems facing the international community. The call for a new international economic order is even more urgent today.

316. Among the central proposals for the creation of this new international economic order is the need to reformulate both the activities and the management structure of IMF and the World Bank. The fact is that the relative order and predictability that characterize the operation of an international system based on fixed exchange rates have fallen prey to the

dynamics of the system itself. In addition, balance-of-payments disequilibria no longer typify only the temporary or deviant cases but have assumed a more permanent and entrenched aspect of today's economy. In a word, the structural dynamics of the international financial system have changed. We believe, therefore, that it is essential that the responses of those institutions which are the effective managers of that system accord with current realities. It is in this context that appeals for a new international economic order become more readily understood; and it is in this context also that the need for new management techniques and criteria should be developed and implemented.

317. My delegation would like at this time to present three observations with respect to IMF and its operations. We refer first of all to the apparent retreat by that body from the position of lender of early recourse to that of lender almost of last resort; secondly, to the burdens imposed by the demands of conditionality in return for assistance; and, thirdly, to the need to emphasize and ensure a strong developmental role for that institution, on whose functioning the prosperity of the international economy as a whole depends.

318. Implicit in the danger of what I term the retreat by the Fund to the position of lender of last resort is the additional stress that is placed on would-be debtor countries—typically, though not exclusively, the developing countries. Invariably, interest rates charged by the private international capital market are anything but concessional, and there is the danger in this practice of having the economies of debtor developing countries mortgaged to private financial institutions—and that is only one of the dangers we see.

319. The burdens of conditionality imposed by IMF, in the form of required currency devaluations, the decrease or removal of welfare payments and subsidies, or whatever forms they assume, constitute sources of additional economic, social and political stresses which further inhibit the capacity of individual States to pursue their development objectives.

320. With respect to the World Bank—the other pillar of the international financial establishment—my delegation notes that that institution, as a result of the prevailing favourable interest rate structure, has amassed an excess of income over expenditure mounting to some $600 million in the course of its 1983 operations. Does that signal both quantitative and qualitative increases in the assistance to be granted in future to developing countries by that agency? We look forward to a more flexible and diversified pattern of assistance to developing countries on terms which are effectively concessional, which take into account the low level of prices for their primary products and which will reduce the volume of the net capital flows away from less endowed countries to the World Bank and the already developed countries.

321. It is in the context of this severe picture of international co-operation and socio-economic development that the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago fully supports the attempts made by countries members of the Group of 77 to establish a "South Bank" in the nature of a development bank to be responsive to the particular needs of developing countries.

322. The proposed establishment of a "South Bank" draws attention to the capital-deficient status of the countries of the third world. In our time, the problem of the international indebtedness of developing countries imposes a burden and an immense constraint on the pursuit of objectives aimed at economic and social development. The plight of some members of our region in terms of the amortization of their accumulated international financial obligations gives rise to the gravest concern. The combination of this factor with the effects of protectionism, the ravages of, for the most part, imported inflation and the fluctuation and essential deterioration of international commodity prices threatens to condemn those countries to a state of penury and to a degrading and burdensome subjection within the international community. Such a situation ill supports the aims and purposes of the United Nations. My delegation therefore expresses the hope that appropriate measures will be adopted by the community of nations to eliminate this obvious danger to international peace, co-operation and development.

323. The search for a new international economic order has led to initiatives in the areas of food, population, trade and a host of other concerns which have plagued the international community for decades. Almost invariably the quest for solutions to these problems or problem areas took the form of an international conference generally sponsored by the United Nations.

324. Today, with members' permission, I should like to confine my remarks in this general area to a clear and unmistakable trend which has emerged in the management of global resources in the context of a new international economic order. The signing by the overwhelming majority of States of the 1982 United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea[13]—the Montego Bay Convention, as it is more generally known—is evidence of the general endorsement by the community of nations of a new international economic order.

325. Part XI of the Montego Bay Convention deals with the "Area", which is the term applied to the sea-bed and subsoil beyond the limits of national jurisdiction, and, in article 136 of the Convention, the Area and its resources are stated to be "the common heritage of mankind". In article 157, the Convention vests the organization and control of activities in the Area in an International Sea-Bed Authority, particularly with a view to administering the resources of the Area. My delegation considers the consolidation of the common heritage as enshrined in the Convention a matter of absolute necessity. The Government of Trinidad and Tobago would condemn any action which was calculated to subvert or in any way frustrate the spirit or the letter of the 1982 United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea.

326. This overview of the international scenario brings into relief three major issues. The first points to the need to renew, redouble or redesign international initiatives aimed at the resolution of the problems related to the achievement of peace, co-operation and development. The second—necessarily related to the first—is the need to revitalize, if not refurbish, the machinery at our disposal for the attainment of these tasks. The third has as its main thrust the need to incorporate more fully the participation of developing States and of small developing countries in particular, for which the activities of the United Nations have the greatest relevance, in the decision-making process and in the general manage-

ment of the pursuit of peace, security and development.

327. This is particularly relevant to us as members of a world body which has proclaimed 1986 the International Year of Peace. Peace for us implies more than a cessation of conflict and a dismantling of armament. Peace for us involves respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms and the equality of States, large and small. Above all, peace for us means removal and eradication of structural violence, the causes of which are rooted in the social ills of discrimination and the developmental ills of poverty, misery, ill health, hunger and frustrated socio-economic aspirations. Let us target these essential goals in a combined effort towards the achievement of true peace through international co-operation.

328. In this combined effort towards the achievement of peace, my country aspires to make a more effective contribution. My delegation is of the view that there is an important role to be played by small States in the revitalization of the United Nations and in the securing of peace and economic prosperity and welfare through co-operation. Small States cannot harbour pretensions to power and military might, even if these were desirable goals. Thus, in our interaction with other members of the international community, we rely on the force of international law and of international morality.

329. For Trinidad and Tobago, non-alignment is a cardinal principle of our foreign policy. We have pursued its tenets in our actions in the regional bodies to which we belong—the Caribbean Community, the Commonwealth, the Organization of American States—and in the wider international forums. Trinidad and Tobago holds firmly to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and sees as one of its major objectives the strengthening and enhancing of the role of the Organization the better to serve the interests of Member States. The Republic of Trinidad and Tobago seeks to be allowed to participate more fully in efforts to establish and maintain international peace and security and a general climate in which international development can flourish.

330. We appeal to all other Members of the United Nations to work together in this quest for peace and, in so doing, bequeath to succeeding generations a legacy that is worthy of the dignity of man. Trinidad and Tobago stands ready to serve.

331. The PRESIDENT: I give the floor to the representative of Iraq, who has asked to speak in exercise of his right of reply.

332. Mr. AL-QAYSI (Iraq): I crave your indulgence, Sir, and that of my colleagues for exercising my right of reply at this late hour in order to set the record straight in connection with the statement made by the Foreign Minister of Iran on 1 October 1984 [*15th meeting*]. I shall deal with only a few of the points covered by the Foreign Minister of Iran in that statement.

333. First, it seemed somewhat strange that the Foreign Minister of Iran expressed concern about the people of the region and even more strange that he should believe that the conclusion of the people of the region was that it is because of the aggressiveness, expanionism and adventurism of Iraq that they are worried about peace. Yet I think all Member States recognize the fact that all those countries of the region that have spoken here in the General Assembly have expressed their desire for peace and their conviction that peace is not present in the area because of the policy of the Iranian Government, which is to prolong the war with Iraq.

334. Secondly, I can very well understand the reason for Iranian rhetoric slandering the Security Council and the United Nations in general and accusing the Council of being one-sided. If that is the case, it is also true that the Charter of the United Nations makes the Security Council the organ with primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. It is also a fact that Iran is a Member of the Organization, that Iran is bound by the provisions of Article 25 of the Charter of the United Nations and that Iran is violating the provisions of that Article because it is boycotting the Security Council and not presenting its case before it.

335. Thirdly, the Foreign Minister of Iran has the audacity to accuse my country of aggression. I shall not labour that point. For over three years now, Iraq has on numerous occasions made it clear that it is ready to submit the question of who started the war to third-party, neutral arbitration. I challenge the Foreign Minister of Iran or any Iranian representative to take the floor in the Assembly and accept that offer.

336. Fourthly, the Foreign Minister of Iran accuses my country of harbouring territorial ambitions in Iran or of a political quest to topple that country's Government. Again, I challenge the Foreign Minister of Iran, or any Iranian representative for that matter, to come up with one official statement by an Iraqi official saying what he claimed to be the case. Yet I can produce thousands of statements from Khomeini down the line to the official representatives of the Islamic Republic of Iran to the effect that through their action against Iraq they want to topple the Iraqi Government.

337. Again, if the Foreign Minister of Iran is worried about the Gulf and the security of navigation, the freedom of navigation and the principles of international law in that maritime area, why did Iran not accept Security Council resolution 540 (1983), which centres on the protection of freedom of navigation in the interests of the international community and in the interests of the peace, stability and welfare not only of the region but of the world as a whole?

338. He talked about violations on the part of Iraq, about how Iraq is attacking shipping in the Gulf. I think that, for those of us who have some notion of international law, it is quite clear that international law permits a party in an armed conflict to declare a war zone of maritime operations and, that in that zone, there are certain rights which a belligerent can exercise.

339. He talked about chemical weapons, and he centred the whole framework of his statement, more or less, on that particular question. There is a forum for tackling that question, the Assembly's First Committee. I have absolutely no doubt that it is going to be dealt with there, and we are ready. I remind him, however, that the position of the Iraqi Government is clearly stated in its letter of 27 March 1984, addressed to the Secretary-General,[15] in which the Iraqi Government categorically stated that it had never used chemical weapons. Regarding prisoners of war, I challenge the Foreign Minister of Iran and any Iranian representative to declare here in the Assem-

bly the agreement of the Government of Iran to an investigation to be carried out by the General Assembly, or by the International Committee of the Red Cross for that matter, into the conditions of prisoners of war in both countries and to submit a report for discussion.

340. Those who preach virtue should first exercise it. Those who are at war with their own people cannot come to the General Assembly and teach us lessons. I shall conclude by quoting to the Foreign Minister of Iran the very Koranic verse he quoted in his statement:

> The Unbelievers spend their wealth
> To hinder (men) from the path
> Of God, and so will they
> Continue to spend; but
> In the end they will have
> (Only) regrets and sighs;
> At length they will be overcome;
> And the Unbelievers will be
> Gathered together to Hell;" [*Koran* 8:36].

The meeting rose at 7.40 p.m.

NOTES

---

[1] See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-seventh Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1982*, document S/15510, annex.

[2] See *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* (Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1982), vol. 18, No. 35, p. 1081.

[3] See A/36/534, annex II, resolution AHG/Res.103 (XVIII).

[4] See A/10112, chap. IV.

[5] For the text, see resolution 38/40, para. 1.

[6] See *Report of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.83.I.21), chap. I, sect. B.

[7] See A/AC.115/L.611, p. 4.

[8] E/1984/110, annex.

[9] E/1984/110/Add.1.

[10] See A/38/132 and Corr. 1 and 2, annex, sect. I, chap. XX.

[11] Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y de Río de Oro.

[12] Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber, *Le Défi mondial* (Librairie Arthème Fayard, 1980), pp. 193 and 194.

[13] *Official Records of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea*, vol. XVII (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.84.V.3), document A/CONF.62/122.

[14] *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 24*, vol. I, annex II.

[15] *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-ninth Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1984*, document S/16438.

United Nations
GENERAL ASSEMBLY
THIRTY-NINTH SESSION
Official Records

22nd
PLENARY MEETING

Friday, 5 October 1984,
at 10.30 a.m.

NEW YORK

President: Mr. Paul J. F. LUSAKA (Zambia).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. JORGE (Angola) (*interpretation from French*): A few days ago, we had the legitimate satisfaction of learning that the international community had elected to the presidency of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly a remarkable African diplomat and worthy representative of Zambia. Mr. President, while this choice testifies to the recognition of your merits and is a just reward for the untiring efforts you have made, in particular in defence of the right of peoples to liberty and independence, it also constitutes a tribute to your country, which is known for its commitment to noble ideals and causes and with which the People's Republic of Angola has excellent relations of friendship, solidarity and co-operation. Hence, on behalf of the Government of the People's Republic of Angola, we are very pleased to join in the warm congratulations addressed to you, Sir, and to wish you the greatest success in carrying out such lofty responsibilities.

2. Allow us to take this opportunity to express to your predecessor, Mr. Jorge Illueca, our deep appreciation and admiration for the worthy and far-sighted way in which he carried out his mandate and our best wishes for success in his presidential functions and for the prosperity of the Panamanian people.

3. We should also like to repeat to the Secretary-General our deepest gratitude for his clarity and exemplary seriousness in the defence of the fundamental principles of the United Nations, as well as the laudable action he has undertaken for lessening tensions and settling numerous conflicts, in spite of the glaring lack of resources made available to him.

4. The United Nations family has just admitted a new Member, Brunei Darussalam. The Angolan Government joins all those who have welcomed that country and wished it a prosperous future.

5. In the hope that sooner or later a growing number of States Members of the United Nations, and not just some, will equally and duly be taken seriously when they address the General Assembly, we are obliged to repeat what we have already said, to the extent that no significant or positive change has taken place which would counteract the progressive deterioration in the international situation during these last four years.

6. At each session of the General Assembly, all of us come to reaffirm our adherence to the noble purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and to repeat our commitment to the cause of freedom, peace, justice, democracy, solidarity, development and co-operation.

7. At the beginning of each statement, almost invariably it is emphasized that the session of the General Assembly is taking place at a very critical moment, even as the international situation has worsened to the point where it seriously threatens the survival of mankind.

8. But between the fine words or the best of intentions and respecting them or carrying them out, it cannot be denied that there is a gap which becomes wider at each session. And all we do each year is repeat ourselves, thus testing the spirit of tolerance or resistance of those who have to do the listening and the credibility of those who are addressing the Assembly.

9. Several times from this very rostrum we have expressed the deep concern of the Government of the People's Republic of Angola over the impotence, the resignation or the abdication of the competent international bodies with regard to facing up to the proliferation of hotbeds of tension, fomented directly or indirectly by the imperialist Powers.

10. No one here should be unaware of the causes and agents responsible for such a dark international picture. We repeat the question: how long will the peoples and Governments that cherish peace and justice have to wait for the adequate bodies existing within the United Nations truly to meet their responsibilities and firmly take the most effective measures—which, by the way, are available to them—with regard to those who violate the fundamental principles of the Charter; carry out colonial wars and foment aggression of every kind, directly or indirectly, against States which take independent and progressive positions; practise economic plundering in the underdeveloped countries and persist in preventing the gradual bridging of the gap between the wealthy or developed countries and the poor or underdeveloped countries; deliberately hinder the serious efforts made by the socialist countries and the progressive and democratic forces to achieve détente, general and complete disarmament, a comprehensive ban on the manufacture and use of weapons of mass destruction, especially nuclear weapons; encourage the arms race, thus assuring fantastic profits for their military consortia and leading to growing increases in military budgets and expenditures; multiply the carrying out of huge military manoeuvres intended to intimidate or even to commit aggression against certain peoples or States; do not respect the relevant resolutions or decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the Organization of African Unity [*OAU*]; undermine the authority and the efforts of

the Secretary-General in carrying out his lofty responsibilities by failing to provide him with the necessary means; threaten international peace and security by military intervention and illegal occupation of territories, by interference in the internal affairs of other States and by not respecting the principle of non-recourse to force and of the settlement of disputes by negotiations?

11. All these aspects, but especially the unbridled arms race with its spectre of a nuclear war, involve a phenomenal increase in expenditures, which in turn increases inflation, causing huge budgetary deficits and further reducing the already shrinking volume of economic assistance provided to the underdeveloped countries, a factor which in itself has greatly contributed to the present economic crisis, one which can be solved only by taking measures to establish a new international economic order, a measure already advocated several years ago by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

12. Given this alarming situation, which clearly endangers the future of peoples, and faced with the growing tragedy that is being experienced by millions of human beings who are still deprived of their freedom and their right to choose their own destiny and who do not possess the ways and means to counteract slavery and humiliation, tyranny and poverty, famine, ignorance and disease, it is imperative that at this session the General Assembly commit itself to the search for effective ways and means to solve the problems which afflict mankind.

13. In looking at the problems that face the African continent, we feel once again that the current situation in southern Africa must be given very special attention at this session of the General Assembly, since we are confronted by a type of deadlock in the development of the independence process for Namibia. No one is unaware that the Namibian question was broadly discussed last year in the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, in the Security Council and in the General Assembly and that, subsequently, diplomatic efforts were undertaken by the interested parties in order to secure, in accordance with the Lusaka understanding of 16 February 1984, the unilateral disengagement of South African troops from Angolan territory and to create adequate conditions for negotiations between the South West Africa People's Organization [*SWAPO*] and the Pretoria régime, under the auspices of the United Nations, in order to implement Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

14. In spite of the serious commitment by the Angolan side and SWAPO, the South African military disengagement, which was planned to take place within 30 days, has not been completed. A series of pretexts have systematically been presented by the Pretoria régime during the seven months that have already passed. It is becoming clear that there is a lack of seriousness on the part of South Africa, which is deliberately trying to delay or prevent the independence process of Namibia by attempting now to establish a double linkage, that is to say, to subordinate the completion of the withdrawal of its troops to the results of the negotiations under way with SWAPO, on the one hand, and to make the implementation of resolution 435 (1978) conditional upon the withdrawal of the Cuban internationalist forces from the People's Republic of Angola, on the other.

15. In this regard, we feel that it would be useful to recall a passage from the joint declaration of the Angolan and Cuban Governments made on 19 March 1984:

> "In the context of this peace effort on the part of Angola, the joint declaration of 4 February [1982] remains in full force and constitutes a basis of principle for any negotiated situation that will eliminate the current tension and ensure peace and full independence for the nations of this region.
>
> "Having strict regard to what is laid down in the above-mentioned joint declaration, the Governments of Cuba and Angola reiterate that they will reinitiate, by their own decision and in exercise of their sovereignty, the execution of the gradual withdrawal of the Cuban internationalist military contingent as soon as the following requirements are met:
>
> "1. Unilateral withdrawal of the racist troops of South Africa from Angolan territory;
>
> "2. Strict implementation of resolution 435 (1978) of the United Nations Security Council, the accession of Namibia to true independence and the total withdrawal of the South African troops which are illegally occupying that country;
>
> "3. Cessation of any act of direct aggression or threat of aggression against the People's Republic of Angola on the part of South Africa, the United States of America and their allies."
>
> "4. Cessation of all aid to the counter-revolutionary organization UNITA and any other puppet group from South Africa, the United States of America and their allies . . .
>
> "Satisfaction of these demands would mean respect for the rules of international law and of the Charter of the United Nations and observance of the many resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly of the United Nations, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the Organization of African Unity." [See *A/39/138, annex.*]

16. It is therefore clear that the Angolan and Cuban Governments have never questioned the principle, as such, of the withdrawal of the Cuban internationalist forces. It is also clear that the Angolan Government has always taken a flexible attitude as long as doing so does not call into question the guiding principles of its foreign policy and its national interests. Angola has put forward constructive proposals on several occasions. We therefore reject any responsibility for the present deadlock which we find in the independence process for Namibia. Such responsibility lies fully with South Africa and the United States.

17. It seems useful for us to emphasize once again that Namibia is a trust territory of the United Nations and has been one for more than 30 years. This means that every State Member of the United Nations has direct responsibilities with regard to the independence process of that Territory. Unfortunately, it seems that a large number of States Members of the United Nations have forgotten those responsibilities, for when they leave this heavy burden on the shoulders of the Angolan Government they do not act in accordance with the mandate.

18. Furthermore, in 1967 the General Assembly adopted a resolution by which it decided to establish or constitute the United Nations Council for Namibia and to define its mandate [*resolution 2248 (S-V)*].

19. Thus, the following questions arise. Who has prevented the United Nations Council for Namibia from fulfilling its mandate and for what reason? Since 1967, numerous resolutions have been adopted with regard to Namibia's accession to independence and the illegality of its occupation by South Africa. Why did Namibia not accede to independence before November 1975? Was it the fault of the Angolans, who were not even independent, or of the Cubans, who were not even in Angola? How can the responsibility for the delay in the Namibian independence process now be put on the Angolan Government by evoking its alleged intransigence? Has the Security Council nothing to say about the failure to ensure the implementation of its own resolution 435 (1978)?

20. As has been emphasized by the President of the People's Republic of Angola,

> "This process, which is unfolding very slowly, is linked to the recent failure of the negotiations on the cease-fire between SWAPO and the Pretoria régime and this makes it difficult to preserve the present atmosphere of détente on the border between Angola and Namibia. It is therefore essential to increase the pressure of international public opinion on South Africa to respect its commitments, establish a cease-fire agreement with SWAPO and announce the date for the implementation of resolution 435 (1978)."

Nevertheless, as also stated by President José Eduardo dos Santos,

> "In the southern part of our continent, the People's Republic of Angola continues to be the main target of the global strategy of the imperialist Powers, which are trying to destabilize and paralyse the legitimate nationalist Governments of African countries which are fighting to affirm their identity, independence and national sovereignty."

21. On the other hand, everyone is aware of the progressive deterioration of the internal situation in South Africa, as the contradictions within the hateful *apartheid* régime increase. The valiant fighters of the African National Congress of South Africa [*ANC*] persist heroically in their political and military actions, the fundamental rights of the overwhelming majority of the South African people continue to be trampled upon and the brutality and arbitrary detentions escalate. All this could be seen just before and after the adoption of the so-called constitutional reforms.

22. Thus, the time is now propitious for each State Member of the United Nations to fulfil its responsibilities and its commitments—if only in the interest of the credibility of this international body—and consequently for each State Member that is able to do so to give assistance of various kinds to SWAPO and the ANC; to provide, individually or collectively, as a matter of urgency, all possible material and financial assistance to the People's Republic of Angola; to begin, at the international and national levels, an intensive, permanent campaign demanding the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of South African troops from Angolan territory; and to exert every form of pressure on the Pretoria régime and also on its "friends and allies", including comprehensive mandatory sanctions—so often advocated but so far prevented by certain Western Powers from being applied—with the object of bringing to an end the illegal occupation of Namibia and ensuring the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) without any further delay and without any absurd pre-conditions.

23. We should like now to state or reiterate the position of the Government of the People's Republic of Angola on a number of specific political questions which continue to disturb international relations and threaten world peace and security.

24. With regard to the situation prevailing in Chad, we feel that it is for the Chadian people to resolve their own problems without any foreign military interference or intervention. We believe that the representatives of that country should be able to decide their own future through negotiations, seated around a table, without constraint or hindrance, in conformity with the efforts and resolutions of the OAU.

25. We reiterate our conviction that the resolution of the conflict between the Frente POLISARIO[1] and the Kingdom of Morocco is to be found in the implementation of resolution AHG/Res. 104 (XIX)[2] on Western Sahara, adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its nineteenth ordinary session, held at Addis Ababa from 6 to 12 June 1983. It is to be regretted that the Kingdom of Morocco obstinately refuses to embark upon direct negotiations, which indicates insolent disdain for the sovereign decision of the Heads of State and Government of independent Africa. We reaffirm our militant solidarity with the heroic people of the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic and particularly with the valiant fighters of the Frente POLISARIO.

26. We reaffirm our unshakeable solidarity with the heroic Palestinian people and their legitimate representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization [*PLO*], in their continuing struggle to regain their homeland, usurped by the Zionist entity, and to establish an independent State. Furthermore, we reaffirm our dedication to the Geneva Declaration on Palestine and the Programme of Action for the Achievement of Palestinian Rights, adopted by the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, which was held at Geneva from 29 August to 7 September 1983.[3] We demand once again the unconditional withdrawal of Israel from the occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem, and we salute the efforts of the Lebanese people to ensure their unity, their sovereignty and their territorial integrity. In this context, we are in favour of a Middle East peace conference under the auspices of the United Nations, with the participation, on a basis of equality, of all the parties concerned or interested.

27. With regard to the tragedy which has befallen the people of East Timor because of the occupation by Indonesian armed forces, it is time for the international community seriously and unambiguously to commit itself to a search for a lasting solution to the problem, which has been dragging on for nine years.

28. Thousands of patriots have been and continue to be imprisoned and tortured. Others have died in armed confrontations or been summarily shot. Yet others die of hunger. The International Committee of the Red Cross is forbidden from entering East Timor in spite of its purely humanitarian mission. As part of the framework of the solution of the conflict through negotiations and in keeping with General Assembly resolutions 1514 (XV) and 1541 (XV), the leaders of the Democratic Republic of East Timor have pro-

posed a peace plan, including direct or indirect talks between Portugal, Indonesia and FRETILIN,[4] under the auspices of the United Nations, in order to debate the establishment of a multinational United Nations force to ensure the operation of a transitional administration, the implementation of adequate provisions for the stationing of belligerent forces, the organization of free and democratic consultations of the Maubere people and the setting of a date for the transfer of sovereignty.

29. It is regrettable that the Portuguese Government is not clearly and firmly meeting its historical, political and legal responsibilities for East Timor and that the Indonesian Government is turning a deaf ear to the peace proposals already presented by FRETILIN, which deserve the unreserved support of the international community.

30. None the less, it is comforting to note the concerns expressed by United States congressmen and senators and also by Pope John Paul II over the genocide of the Maubere people, as well as the positions taken by the workers' parties of Australia and New Zealand.

31. We urge the Secretary-General to continue his efforts until a definitive solution to this situation is found, and we appeal to the member States of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries to identify themselves with and support the struggle of the valiant people of East Timor.

32. Central America has been undergoing extremely alarming developments as a result of the threats and military intervention of the United States Administration, notably in Nicaragua and El Salvador. What is needed in this region is a search for peace through a negotiated political solution. For this purpose, we support the courageous positions taken by the Government of Nicaragua as well as the efforts of the Contadora Group, reflected in the contents of the revised version of the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America [*A/39/562, annex*].

33. In order for peace to prevail in Central America, there must be peace in El Salvador and an end to the aggression committed against Nicaragua and El Salvador. We reaffirm our militant solidarity with the Frente Farabundo Marti para la Liberación Nacional and the Frente Democrático Revolucionario, which are the only legitimate representatives of the Salvadorian people.

34. We renew our unfailing support for the Cuban revolution and denounce the aggressions and threats against the Cuban people. We reiterate our feelings of solidarity with the peoples of Panama, Grenada, Chile, Uruguay, Bolivia and Puerto Rico in their just struggles for their national interests, their independence and their national sovereignty and territorial integrity.

35. We reaffirm our support for the efforts to have the dispute over the borderlines between Guyana and Venezuela resolved through bilateral negotiations. On the other hand, and in keeping with General Assembly resolutions, we register our hope that there be, in the immediate future, a start of negotiations between the United Kingdom and Argentina with a view to restoring to Argentina the Malvinas Islands, South Georgia and the South Sandwich Islands.

36. We also reaffirm our support for the efforts of the Indo-Chinese countries to ensure peace and stability in South-East Asia without any foreign intervention, and for a constructive dialogue among the parties to the conflict. None the less, we regret and consider it inconceivable that the Kampuchean people are still not represented in the United Nations by the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. This is an injustice that must be remedied.

37. We reiterate our solidarity with the just cause of the people of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to achieve the peaceful reunification of their country without any foreign interference and with the call for the withdrawal of the American troops from the southern part of Korean territory. To this end, we support the proposal concerning the holding of tripartite negotiations and the adoption of a peace agreement as a substitute for the Armistice Agreement.

38. We also reaffirm our support for the position and efforts made by the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan in the search for the normalization, through negotiations, of the situation in that country.

39. We reiterate also our full solidarity with the people and Government of Cyprus and support their efforts to maintain their independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and non-alignment.

40. Once again we make an urgent appeal to the Governments of Iraq and Iran to put an end to the war and find a negotiated solution to the dispute that separates them.

41. It is unpleasant to note that the Angolan Government once again finds itself forced to devote the greatest part of its human and material resources to the defence of its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. The undeclared war that has been imposed upon us by the racist and Fascist South African régime must stop.

42. The Angolan people dearly wish for peace. They have never committed aggression nor do they wish to commit aggression against anyone. They want only to live in peace and work to build a future of progress and happiness in a just society that they have freely chosen.

43. The struggle continues! Victory is certain!

44. The PRESIDENT: I have great pleasure in welcoming the Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Lebanese Republic, Mr. Rachid Karamé, and inviting him to address the General Assembly.

45. Mr. KARAMÉ (Lebanon) (*interpretation from Arabic*): On behalf of Lebanon and on my own behalf, allow me at the outset, Sir, to associate myself with those delegations that have preceded me in congratulating you on your election to the presidency of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. I am confident that your wisdom, wide experience and ability will enable you to conduct the work of this session with success.

46. I wish also to express appreciation to your predecessor, Mr. Jorge Illueca, for the able manner in which he conducted the work of the thirty-eighth session. My own appreciation and that of my country also go to the Secretary-General for his laudable efforts and for his report on the work of the Organization [*A/39/1*].

47. I welcome to the United Nations the newest Member, Brunei Darussalam; we wish its delegation all success in representing its country and defending its rights.

48. Lebanon witnessed the founding of the United Nations and contributed to the elaboration of many of its principles and methods. It attaches paramount importance to the future of the Organization and to the need to secure its objectives and develop its machinery and institutions so that it may become the haven envisaged by the authors of the Charter of the United Nations and the framework in which the world can look towards a better future and permanent peace.

49. The United Nations has acquired a universal character, but at present it finds itself threatened by less and less compliance with its resolutions; indeed, there is increasing defiance of those resolutions. My wounded country knows that, to the extent that the United Nations recovers its ability to solve world problems, so will Lebanon be able to recover its potential to solve its own problems. Hence, Lebanon attaches paramount importance to the process leading to the immediate implementation of the resolutions concerning Lebanon, particularly Security Council resolutions 508 (1982) and 509 (1982). Through that process, our confidence and world confidence in the Organization will be restored.

50. Lebanon brings before the Assembly today its concerns and preoccupations because, to a large extent, they are an expression of so many of the concerns and preoccupations of today's world.

51. The tragedies that have befallen our people have not prevented it from looking optimistically towards a better future. For the Lebanese optimism has never meant wishful thinking but has always been an expression of genuine possibilities and an effective will. The people of Lebanon, which has experienced the most difficult challenges and faced the worst attacks and acts of aggression, has never given in to despair or despondency and never considered its situation inevitable. Instead, the will of our people has crystallized in the restoration of our cohesion and unity among the various factions of the Lebanese people. This will has resulted in the Government of National Unity, over which I have the honour to preside.

52. The Government of National Unity, which includes all the essential and effective forces in the Lebanese arena, came into existence after much suffering and labour, almost unparalleled in contemporary history. It has renewed hope in closing ranks to pursue the objectives it announced in its ministerial communiqué. These objectives are: security, liberation, political reform and reconstruction. Our Government is determined to deal with the root causes of past events and to reveal to the whole world the will for reform inherent in Lebanon, as were revealed the weaknesses of the past decade. Once our Government has restored confidence in the unity of our country as an essential path to ending conflicts and disputes, it will go on to tackle directly everyday problems with effectiveness and seriousness so that Lebanon's prolonged suffering may be brought to an end, thus leading the country to an oasis of hope, safeguarding stability and gradually restoring normalcy.

53. I am referring to the circumstances surrounding the emergence of the Government of National Unity because that Government has been entrusted not only with the tasks that any Government is usually entrusted with but, in addition to striving to maintain the unity of the Lebanese and restoring security and stability in Lebanon, it must also endeavour to secure conditions of stability, security and peace in the whole region.

54. Hence, we are conscious of the historical responsibility that we have to bear at this particular juncture, in view of the fact that the tasks entrusted to our Government in the present circumstances affect the situation in the region and are affected by it as well. Therefore, while we are well aware of our energies and potentials, we are also well aware that those potentials have limitations. Consequently, we see that the realities of the Lebanese question are at one and the same time separate from and connected with the basic issues of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

55. The Lebanese crisis is passing through a very delicate and crucial stage in its arduous course. Lebanon has started to overcome various contradictions which emerged violently a few years ago and to take measures necessary to secure the withdrawal of occupation forces from its territory. It is on the threshold of solving its problems by peaceful means. I find it imperative to focus in my statement on those positive developments, in view of their importance and of the fact that they have a direct bearing upon our destiny and upon the whole region.

56. The immediate priority goals for our Government are: security, liberation, political reform and reconstruction. Obviously, these goals have to be attained as soon as possible, by the most peaceful means and with the assistance of the United Nations.

57. With regard to security, the Government has already drawn up and completed a comprehensive security plan that has led to the extension of the territory under the control of the State. It succeeded quickly in unifying the capital, Beirut, without bloodshed. It has also put heavy weapons under control and forbidden people who are carrying weapons to take to the streets. The Lebanese army and internal security forces have taken on the responsibility of maintaining security in Beirut. Both the harbour and the airport in Beirut have been reopened. The Government is striving to implement the next stage of its security plan, which is aimed at opening the international routes, consolidating security and stabilizing the economy.

58. There is no doubt that a new awareness has started to govern the political conduct of the Lebanese and to guide them in their practices. This awareness has been forged by successive disasters and pain. The Lebanese have come to realize that they have to face their accumulating problems by themselves and that the responsibility of saving their country and restoring peace and stability is, in the first place, that of the country's people and leaders. They have already embarked upon the course designed to overcome their country's plight and have succeeded in laying the solid and practical foundations that should enable them to establish a new social, political and legal infrastructure on the basis of which they can live and work in the future. However, their patient efforts are still obstructed by extraneous elements beyond their will and control. Undoubtedly, the continued Israeli occupation of Lebanese territories is the most prominent and dangerous of those elements.

59. I turn now to the question of liberation. The continued Israeli occupation of part of my country is of a unique and tragic nature that transcends the

magnitude of any regional or border dispute experienced by the Middle East for decades.

60. The magnitude of the invasion to which a small country like Lebanon has been subjected, its disastrous effects on innocent civilians, the massive destruction that has struck the whole country have made of this invasion a very serious and violent phenomenon that has to be tackled separately and brought to an end as soon as possible.

61. The continued Israeli occupation of parts of my country threatens its existence and jeopardizes the possibility of restoring its unity and cohesion in the foreseeable future, because Israel is occupying one third of Lebanon and directly controlling one fourth of its population.

62. The question, then, is not one of borders that have to be drawn or posts that have to be controlled. If that were the case, it would be easier to reach an understanding, because the legal background is clear and the principles and texts that confirm the rights of Lebanon in all these fields are available. What is at stake now is the future and existence of an independent State that is a Member of the United Nations, indeed, one of its founders. A country threatened by division and the fragmentation of one of its parts remains under occupation. Therefore, and in order to find the means to eliminate the consequences of the occupation in my country—an occupation that has claimed thousands of lives and caused enormous damage, displacement and agony—I find it necessary to put before the Organization the basic principles of my Government's policy on this vital matter.

63. First, Lebanon is determined to regain control over all its occupied territories within a limited time. It considers that total Israeli withdrawal beyond internationally recognized boundaries is urgently necessary and has absolute priority.

64. Secondly, the people and the leadership of Lebanon fully realize that the continuance of the occupation of a large part of their country by Israel jeopardizes their very existence. They agree on the need for the State to use all the means available and make every possible effort to end that occupation. Those that focus on certain alleged differences and on the failure of some people to contribute to the task of liberation that must be carried out by them show a tragic ignorance of the realities of the present political situation in Lebanon and of the unswerving determination of the whole Lebanese nation, of all factions, to regain its rights and reunify its homeland.

65. Thirdly, the Israeli practices in southern Lebanon constitute a daily violation of most of the principles of the United Nations and the provisions of international conventions which Israel claims to respect. The population of the occupied territories is being subjected to every form of oppression and persecution. This has been verified by several impartial bodies and dealt with in detail in clear and precise reports of organizations whose credibility cannot be questioned. Those practices have also been the subject of numerous complaints submitted by Lebanon as official documents of the General Assembly. The latest of these complaints was that submitted to the Security Council[5]—a complaint whose fate is only too well known to all. The suffering is still continuing in physical, moral, economic and military forms that affect the daily lives of our citizens. Hundreds of innocent people are still in detention camps, held without charge, endlessly awaiting trial. Measures aimed at isolating the occupied territories from the rest of the homeland have become so severe and arbitrary that the members of a family must wait for long weeks before they receive a permit enabling them to pass through the narrow gates which the occupation forces condescend to open every now and then. The process of destroying the economy of the south is in full swing and includes the well-known projects for exploiting the waters and other resources of that part of the country. All these inhuman practices are a flagrant violation of the provisions of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949.[6] Lebanon, while awaiting the total withdrawal, calls once again upon all States members of the Security Council to review its complaint in this context in a spirit of justice and right and to make it possible for the Council to take effective measures aimed at putting an end to all those practices.

66. It was natural that these excesses should lead to the formation of a national movement of armed resistance against the occupation. That resistance is irrefutable proof of the vitality and dignity of the Lebanese people. It is an expression of their determination to regain their rights, sovereignty and freedom. Lebanon is proud of this resistance; it sees in it a pure, shining reflection of the faith of the Lebanese people in their homeland, and the exercise of a legitimate right recognized and achieved by all States and peoples throughout history that have been subjected to occupation and invasion.

67. The attempt to depict Lebanon as a centre of terrorism is a distortion of the facts; it is a way of maintaining the occupation, domination, and interference. Such reasoning is rejected both in form and in content.

68. Lebanon is suffering from acts of atrocity as widespread as the atrocity of occupation, which leads to oppression and the denial of rights. Israel's occupation of the south, western Bekaa and Rachaya and the continuous inhuman practices accompanying that occupation carry with them the seeds of instability and violence. We undoubtedly have to differentiate between the legitimate, heroic resistance in the south and the individual actions of those who, as individuals, resort to violence as an expression of their despair. Surely, resistance is the noblest means of opposing occupation. As for the retaliatory measures, they are but private, suicidal actions taken for personal reasons; they happen in every society, including that of Israel itself.

69. The whole world should know that independent Lebanon is the master of its decisions. Those who challenge this fact are also those who attack its sovereignty and whose aim is to compromise its unity.

70. Sovereign Lebanon's relations with its Arab brothers have always been and will continue to be the central point on the wider spectrum of its relations with the world as a whole. These relations, besides being historical, cultural and traditional, are also connected with our destiny—to the extent that that word has any meaning.

71. If these relations are the distinctive mark of our relations with all the Arabs, what would one expect our relations to be like with a sister country and a neighbour, Syria, with whom we have distinctive ties uniting us in all fields?

72. Such is the situation of sovereign Lebanon, which belongs to its Arab environment, and such is the nature of the reciprocal responsibilities between it and all the other Arab States.

73. Fourthly, Lebanon considers that the General Armistice Agreement concluded between Lebanon and Israel on 23 March 1949,[7] and endorsed by the Security Council in its resolution 73 (1949) of 11 August 1949, is the legal basis for Israeli-Lebanese relations. Israel's claim that this Agreement is no longer in force as a consequence of the Arab-Israeli war of 1967 is false. As the United Nations is well aware, in 1967 Lebanon did not take part in the hostilities against Israel, nor did it declare war against Israel. The Armistice Agreement has remained in force, and in compliance with it, there were meetings of military personnel long after 1967, which confirms the fact that it still remains in force. The Lebanese Government considers that the Armistice Agreement has a permanent character and that it will remain in force until it is officially and explicitly amended by the two signatories under the supervision of the United Nations.

74. Fifthly, Lebanon considers that Security Council resolutions 508 (1982) and 509 (1982) constitute the sound legal basis for the process of Israeli withdrawal from Lebanese territories. It is noteworthy that those two resolutions provide for immediate and unconditional withdrawal. Israel, as a Member of the United Nations, must implement those two resolutions and must cease to ignore them. The international community—especially the Security Council and its members—assumes a heavy responsibility towards the people of Lebanon and the inhabitants of the south, western Bekaa and Rachaya and must take the necessary practical steps to put an end to Israel's disregard of those resolutions.

75. Sixthly, the Lebanese Government is willing to take all the military and administrative measures necessary to ensure the safety of the population in southern Lebanon. It has prepared an integrated plan for the deployment of the army at the border areas in the wake of the withdrawal of Israeli forces. Lebanon welcomes any mediation effort or assistance, whatever the source, with a view to reaching an agreement on the security arrangements to be implemented in the south.

76. Seventhly, Lebanon regards the role of the international forces in the south as central and of paramount importance in supporting the Lebanese army upon the withdrawal of the Israeli forces. Their contribution in this respect is indispensable during the first phases of the Lebanese army's deployment. Therefore, Lebanon calls for measures to support those forces by increasing their number, widening the area of their deployment and reinforcing their effectiveness—in other words, to enable the Lebanese State to re-establish its legitimate authority over those territories extending to the internationally recognized borders.

77. I wish to refer here to the relevant proposals of the Secretary-General, as contained in his report of 9 April 1984,[8] since they form a solid basis for formulating an integrated programme to support those forces, which have played an effective and positive role. Those units have performed their task in very difficult conditions and with limited capacity. Lebanon wishes to pay a tribute to UNIFIL, hoping that it will persevere in the performance of its noble task. It reaffirms its gratitude to the Governments that have contributed and are still contributing to those forces, despite the difficulties they face.

78. While we reaffirm our commitment to assign to those forces an appropriate role, we state our willingness to define the new tasks that will enable them to shoulder greater responsibilities, whether at the border or inside the camps, even in monitoring the withdrawal and helping the Lebanese army to extend its authority to all the occupied territories.

79. Eighthly, Lebanon is prepared to contribute to any political initiative designed to resolve the whole Arab-Israeli conflict. It subscribes to the proposal to convene an international peace conference on the Middle East, pursuant to General Assembly resolution 38/58 C. However, Lebanon maintains that its cause requires immediate and separate consideration because of its urgency and the highly destructive impact it has on Lebanon's political and social fabric.

80. Ninthly, any security arrangements must respect Lebanon's sovereignty and its rights. They should confirm its solid constituent elements as a sovereign State with inviolable rights and frontiers. Proceeding from this premise, Lebanon will not accept the presence of any military force on the territory of south Lebanon except the forces of the Lebanese army under the legitimate Lebanese authority. Israel's pretext that it does not trust the legitimate Lebanese army and its reliance on illegitimate forces for the maintenance of security there are refutable. If those small groups have proved ineffectual even under the Israeli occupation, what would the situation be if they remained alone to confront the genuine national wrath that is on the increase?

81. Loyalty to Lebanon must take the form of loyalty to the State of Lebanon. The Lebanese leaders and people alike will not recognize any other allegiance. Lebanon considers that the only military force that is entitled to join it in the maintenance of security at the border areas is the international force whose role, activity and deployment are governed by clear and detailed international agreements and resolutions that have a time-limit, with the explicit agreement of Lebanon.

82. On the whole, Lebanon considers that any security agreement to be concluded must of necessity confirm the principle of respect for Lebanon's sovereignty and frontiers. If Israel cannot tolerate the violation of its borders and territorial integrity, Lebanon, which has suffered from the violation of its sovereignty, is equally concerned over the inviolability of its territory and its sovereignty.

83. I have attempted here to explain the position of the Lebanese Government *vis-à-vis* the issue of Israel's occupation of a part of the territory of Lebanon and its refusal to withdraw despite its repeated declarations in this respect. I am confident that stressing the principles to be respected will render the negotiating process easier and more effective. We are awaiting the results of the ongoing endeavours, whether on the part of the Secretary-General or of the United States or other friendly countries, and we call upon them to make all possible efforts so that Lebanon may find a way out of its present ordeal.

84. I have already referred to the new spirit inspiring the Lebanese people in their efforts to resolve their problems by themselves. In the mean time, we appreciate the assistance rendered by our numerous

friends, who have extended help and counsel as well as moral support in the most difficult circumstances. However, the Lebanese people realize that the difficulties they face in certain areas make it incumbent upon them to appeal to those friends to continue their assistance and intensify their efforts, particularly as concerns economic assistance.

85. All these years of crisis have caused a great deal of destruction and weakened the economy in both the public and private sectors. These years were severely detrimental to the infrastructure, which was the fruit of hard work throughout the last decade. Preliminary estimates indicate that the damage exceeds $20 billion, a matter which makes reconstruction an enormous process far exceeding the modest resources of Lebanon at the present time.

86. The Lebanese Government and its competent organs have drawn up many projects, some of which have already been launched according to their priorities. The high priority given to reconstruction and rehabilitation on the part of the Government of National Unity is due to our conviction that such reconstruction is not to be achieved after security has been maintained; rather, it is a tool for maintaining security. If it is acknowledged that security has precedence over reconstruction, then the turning-point that now confronts Lebanon makes it imperative for Lebanon to regard reconstruction as a means for ensuring security. To invest in reconstruction will create confidence in the future success of the security scheme and will lend impetus and vitality to it.

87. The reconstruction policy that we pursue aims essentially at lifting Lebanon from its tragic situation and turning it into a dynamic workshop of building and reconstruction.

88. This is in fact a large-scale process that requires the assistance of all friendly countries, international organizations and specialized agencies that appreciate the difficulties facing Lebanon and are willing to help it overcome its ordeal so that reconstruction takes the place of destruction. While Lebanon expresses its thanks to those countries and organizations, it appeals to them to take part in the enormous efforts required for this process in the near future. Lebanon is quite confident that its Arab brethren will set an example for other countries.

89. We have so far attempted to give an outline of the policies we pursue, as well as our national and international commitments. We strive to ensure that these commitments will conform to the provisions of international legitimacy and to the resolutions and the Charter of the United Nations. Indeed, Lebanon's desire is to see that the United Nations remains the focus of serious attention and that its organs are reinforced. This would be conducive to greater objectivity and deeper understanding in relations among States as well as to a stronger resolve to face problems and overcome persistent or potential crises.

90. Lebanon has always been a meeting-point of intellectual and cultural interaction. Therefore, Lebanon has always been at the forefront, playing an effective role throughout contemporary history; this role should be resumed, especially in view of its sufferings throughout the last decade, which make it recognize that violence breeds violence and that man can ensure his rights through dialogue but wastes them through violence. The Lebanese people has endured untold sufferings. As a result, it has become more determined today than ever before to overcome the crisis which has placed such a drain on its energies. It has come to the conclusion that diversity enriches its national unity, provides a creative impetus and must never be allowed to lead to dismemberment.

91. It has never occurred to us to abandon our hope that Lebanon will recover its strength and resume its mission, even in the dimmest of conditions. We have never lost sight of the light at the end of the tunnel. Thus, the glimmer of hope has become a reality and our vision has become truth. This has always been and will always be the goal of Lebanon. We have inherited Lebanon as a haven of freedom for humanity. This is our cherished legacy to be handed over to succeeding generations.

92. At the close of my statement, I wish to appeal to you because of the heavy responsibilities you bear and because you are the source of hope for all the oppressed in this world: do not disappoint the hopes of those peoples. Lebanon is the testing-ground and will witness what you do. May God give you success.

93. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Lebanese Republic for the important statement he has just made.

94. Mr. FISCHER (German Democratic Republic):[*] Mr. President, I wish to congratulate you warmly on your election to your responsible office. I am pleased to greet you as the representative of an African country with which the German Democratic Republic maintains friendly relations.

95. I wish you, Mr. President, and the Secretary-General success in your activities.

96. The President of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly, Mr. Illueca, deserves our gratitude for his work.

97. The German Democratic Republic congratulates Brunei Darussalam on its admission to membership of the United Nations.

98. I must note with concern that a change for a healthier state of world affairs is not in sight. On the contrary, the danger of nuclear holocaust is greater than ever before. The arms race is assuming dimensions which exceed all previously known extremes. As recent developments show, the arms buildup is intended to extend even into outer space. Terms like "star wars" can give us only a vague idea of the threats to which mankind and the planet earth are exposed.

99. This situation has come about neither suddenly nor unnoticed. It is the dire result of imperialist politics seeking military superiority and domination regardless of the cost. Nuclear war and nuclear blackmail are part and parcel of those politics.

100. There was a straight line from the arms buildup decision taken by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [*NATO*] in 1978 to the deployment of new nuclear first-strike weapons in Western Europe. The peoples have not forgotten that this fateful decision was taken in Washington at the same time when, here in New York, the General Assembly, in the Final Document of its Tenth Special Session [*resolution S-1012*], which was devoted to disarmament, expressed hopes for peace and a cessation of the arms race. From this rostrum, the socialist States—and definitely not they alone—cautioned

---

[*] Mr. Fischer spoke in German. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

against the ominous consequences of the arms buildup. They left no doubt that the stationing of United States intermediate-range missiles on Western European soil would inevitably change the situation in the world and entail a new round of the arms race, for that move was, in fact, the initial step towards a destruction of the approximate military balance existing between the Soviet Union and the United States, between the Warsaw Treaty Organization and NATO. It was bound to be clear to everyone that the socialist States could not tolerate that. For their part, they had to take adequate countermeasures in order to preserve the foundation on which peace rests in the nuclear age.

101. It is primarily due to this strategic military equilibrium that Europe can now, for the first time in this century, look back to almost 40 years of peace. The history of the United Nations and preceding events show that attempts at military superiority, world-wide domination and diktat are bound to result in war. Anybody who negates this experience assumes a heavy responsibility and proves to be opposed to détente and peaceful coexistence.

102. The repeated warnings of the socialist States have unfortunately proved to be justified. The deployment of first-strike nuclear weapons poisons the atmosphere for negotiations on the basic issues of international affairs, disarmament and arms limitation. The danger of war has increased, and it is accompanied by immeasurable political damage, because confidence cannot possibly grow in the shadow of nuclear missiles that are aimed at the Soviet Union and the other socialist States. A heavy strain is thus put on peaceful international co-operation, which was, in particular in the 1970s, so hopefully advanced and of real benefit to East and West.

103. On the eve of the fortieth anniversary of victory in the anti-Fascist struggle for liberation, the peoples are hoping, first and foremost, that a nuclear catastrophe can be averted and peace in the world again be placed on a more secure foundation. The accumulation of ever more destructive types of weapons can and must be halted, and international developments must return to a state of tranquillity and predictability.

104. Firm action to achieve this aim is expected from the United Nations, which undertook in its Charter to do everything "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war".

105. We share the view expressed by the Secretary-General that all States are obligated to co-operate when peace is in jeopardy. We also subscribe to his perception that the Charter of the United Nations is irreplaceable. Its principles are as valid as ever; they are and will remain mandatory norms of international life.

106. When all States act in conformity with those principles, force and aggression can be removed from international affairs and conflicts between States resolved peacefully.

107. As a representative of the German Democratic Republic, which on 7 October will celebrate the thirty-fifth anniversary of its foundation and which, like the United Nations, emerged as a result of the victory of the anti-Hitler coalition in the Second World War, I reaffirm on this occasion its commitment to the noble purposes of the United Nations. As it has done so far, the German Democratic Republic will employ and facilitate all possibilities to pursue international dialogue at this assembly of States and to contribute to effective steps in the effort to achieve a secure peace, arms limitation and disarmament.

108. The dangerous evolution of the international situation can and must be checked. What is essential is the joint and determined action of all those interested in peace. As regards the position of the German Democratic Republic in this matter, the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and Chairman of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic, Erich Honecker, stated when he recently met with representatives of the peace movement:

> "In order to avoid a nuclear catastrophe we will join forces with all who are aware that there is no reasonable alternative to peaceful coexistence between States having different social systems. Anyone of sincere heart and goodwill who seeks feasible means to secure peace will always find the German Democratic Republic a reliable, constructive partner, whatever the ideological or political camp to which he or she owes allegiance."

Should not all of those who are vested with responsibility let themselves be guided by such a principle?

109. The history of two world wars tells us that we must fight the threat of war before the weapons speak. War must be checked before it breaks out.

110. Arms buildup, territorial claims and chauvinism have always gone hand in hand when wars of aggression were being prepared. That is why we come out strongly against all revanchist and neo-Fascist tendencies wherever they appear, wherever they are tolerated or even encouraged. That is why any attack against the accords of the anti-Hitler coalition or the post-war order in Europe, that is, at the *status quo*, must be met with resolve, since any such attack is an attempt to revise the existing balance of forces, which has been the guarantor of peace.

111. We want the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act[9] to be strictly observed; their signature by the authorized representatives of the States participating in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe about 10 years ago was a reaffirmation of the existing post-war order in Europe.

112. With the same firmness, the German Democratic Republic speaks out against the cancellation of provisions which, in conformity with Allied post-war agreements, imposed arms restrictions on some countries.

113. With the Political Declaration of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty, adopted at Prague on 5 January 1983,[10] the joint statement of leading representatives of those States, issued in Moscow on 28 June 1983,[11] and the Declaration of the member States of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, issued in June of this year [*see A/39/323, annex II*], the socialist countries have presented a comprehensive programme for the restoration of a healthier international atmosphere. That programme respects equality and equal security, as well as the legitimate security interests of all parties, and is therefore a realistic basis for concerted action. It combines political steps, which are suited to create the necessary climate of confidence, with proposals for arms limitation and disarmament, which would restrict the material potential for military confrontation. Consequently, it is a programme of material and political guarantees of peace.

114. The prevention of a nuclear inferno remains the key issue. The key itself is the renunciation of attempts to achieve military superiority, and this presupposes an immediate end to the deployment of new United States missiles on European soil and the dismantling of the systems already installed. That would make the countermeasures taken by the socialist countries superfluous; the way would be opened for the resumption of negotiations on ridding Europe of intermediate-range nuclear forces as well as operational tactical nuclear weapons.

115. The recent Soviet proposals which Mr. Andrei A. Gromyko outlined last week before the Assembly [*10th meeting*] not only confirm the Soviet Union's readiness for serious negotiations, but also contain an urgent call for the holding of such negotiations. Those proposals are fully supported by the German Democratic Republic. We are similarly convinced of the necessity and usefulness of political dialogue, particularly in times of tension and danger.

116. Political dialogue can create confidence and in that way produce results to the extent that the parties mutually respect each other's legitimate security interests. Mere declarations of willingness to negotiate cannot calm the international situation. The desire for peace and willingness to disarm can be measured by concrete deeds. What is essential in this context is the will to take practical steps for the prevention of nuclear war.

117. In this regard, an agreement on certain norms to govern relations between the nuclear-weapon States would be of particular importance. Such norms should include: first, a treaty obligation upon all nuclear-weapon States not to be the first to use nuclear weapons—a commitment the Soviet Union has been the first to undertake—because that would reduce the nuclear threat and pave the way to disarmament; secondly, a general and complete prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests, because that would restrain the development of new types of nuclear weapons; thirdly, an end to the qualitative arms race in the nuclear field and, especially, the prohibition of the neutron weapon, because that would put a stop to the nuclear arms buildup; fourthly, agreement on a programme for nuclear disarmament and proscription of aggressive doctrines of "limited" or "winnable" nuclear war, because that would point the way for joint steps to reduce the nuclear threat; and, fifthly, the conclusion finally, to complement these measures reducing the nuclear dangers, of a treaty on the mutual renunciation of the use of military force and on the maintenance of peaceful relations, which would be a true confidence-building measure.

118. The establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones or corridors would be of great importance. The German Democratic Republic reaffirms its offer to make its entire territory available for inclusion in such a zone, provided that the Federal Republic of Germany is prepared to do the same, in keeping with the principle of equality and equal security. The German Democratic Republic regards the Joint Declaration of six Heads of State or Government from four continents, issued on 22 May 1984 [*see A/39/277*], as a constructive move, because it is aimed at preventing nuclear war. Its insistence on a nuclear-arms freeze as an initial step towards a further reduction of the nuclear forces is dictated by reason.

119. In the face of the incalculable risks that would arise from an extension of the arms race into outer space, the German Democratic Republic supports immediate action that would prevent the militarization of space and would place States under the obligation to use outer space exclusively for peaceful purposes, as suggested by the Soviet initiative.

120. The elimination of chemical weapons is a task in which the German Democratic Republic is co-operating without reservation. This applies both to a world-wide ban and to supportive regional measures.

121. Arms buildup policies place heavy strains on economic development in the world. Many States, especially the developing countries, have to pay. The high-interest policy of big business to finance immense military expenditures deprives the developing countries of thousands of millions practically overnight. It is only legitimate that resistance to that policy should be growing in all regions of the world, for the tremendous social problems such as backwardness, hunger, poverty and disease can be mitigated and finally eliminated only in a healthy international climate. The reduction of arms budgets is indispensable for that purpose. This is what the Warsaw Treaty States proposed in concrete terms in an appeal to the member States of NATO on 5 March 1984.[12] We also hold that there is no obstacle that would prevent States which are not members of those military and political groupings from being parties to the proposed measures.

122. The socialist countries are working for broad, mutually advantageous co-operation and calling for a normalization of international economic relations. They support the early commencement of global negotiations within the United Nations framework on the crucial international economic problems.

123. In conformity with its foreign policy principles, the German Democratic Republic continues to assist developing countries as much as ever, even though it also has to carry great economic and political burdens because of the imperialist policies of threat and extortion and the continuing impact of crisis developments in the capitalist part of the world.

124. Thanks to greater efforts by its working population, the German Democratic Republic even increased its assistance to developing countries by five per cent in 1983 alone. We strongly demand implementation of the principles contained in the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [*resolution 3281 (XXIX)*] and in the Declaration and the Programme of Action for the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [*resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)*]. Though adopted 10 years ago, these documents are now more topical than ever.

125. There is no reasonable alternative to the peaceful coexistence and co-operation of States on an equal footing, irrespective of their system of society, geographical position and territorial size. The German Democratic Republic calls for prudent action to remove acute sources of conflict, scale down tensions and prevent the emergence of new conflicts. It rejects with the utmost firmness the imperialist policies consisting in direct and indirect interference and overt acts of aggression, such as are practised in particular against non-aligned nations in various regions. The German Democratic Republic strongly supports the proposal by the Soviet Union [*A/39/244*] for the General Assembly to consider the

"inadmissibility of the policy of State terrorism and any actions by States aimed at undermining the socio-political system in other sovereign States" as an important and urgent matter.

126. The people of Grenada fell victim to naked aggression in 1983. Today they are subjected to brutal occupation and their social achievements are being destroyed.

127. The undeclared war against Nicaragua is being carried on through massive political and military aid for the Somoza mercenaries and through secret-service operations. The mining of ports was condemned world-wide as a terrorist act of violence and a gross violation of democratic international law.

128. The German Democratic Republic reaffirms its solidarity with the peoples of Central America. It supports Nicaragua's initiatives, as well as the efforts of the States of the Contadora Group to settle existing problems by peaceful means and without outside interference or even threat, on the basis of the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America [*A/39/562, annex*].

129. The subsisting volatile situation in the Middle East is giving all peoples cause for deep concern. Any comprehensive, just and hence durable solution of the Middle East conflict presupposes recognition of the rights of the peoples and States of that region, including the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to establish an independent State. Therefore, the German Democratic Republic urges the early convening of an international conference on the Middle East, with the participation of the PLO, the only legitimate representative of the Arab people of Palestine.

130. The German Democratic Republic aligns itself with sorely afflicted Lebanon in its quest for sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity.

131. Israel must immediately withdraw from all the territories occupied since 1967. Hegemonist intervention in the region must be ended. Only in this way can peace, security and development be ensured.

132. We support Cyprus in its struggle for national independence and for a peaceful, just and enduring solution to the Cyprus problem based on the relevant United Nations resolutions.

133. The German Democratic Republic condemns the continuing aggressive policy pursued by the South African racist régime with the backing of other imperialist circles. The German Democratic Republic is aligned on the side of all independent African States and of the ANC and SWAPO in the battle against racism, racial discrimination and *apartheid* and to organize their own lives in peace, security and independence.

Mr. Benjelloun (Morocco), Vice-President, took the Chair.

134. We demand the settlement of the question of Namibia strictly on the basis of United Nations decisions in their entirety, including Security Council resolution 435 (1978). This resolution allows of no "ifs" and "buts" and no linkage whatsoever.

135. We sympathize with the efforts of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan to find a political solution to the situation in the region, but such a solution requires first of all an immediate end to the policy of interference in Afghan affairs which imperialist forces have been pursuing and to the warlike action which they have been instigating and directing against the Afghan people.

136. The German Democratic Republic supports the endeavour of the Indo-Chinese States to establish lasting peace and stability in South-East Asia through dialogue and co-operation among all countries of the region, to reject any external interference and to concentrate all resources on resolving the urgent problems of their countries, as stated again at the Conference of Foreign Ministers held in Vientiane last July. The efforts made by the Lao People's Democratic Republic to achieve a peaceful settlement of the situation at the Lao-Thai border deserve United Nations support.

137. The German Democratic Republic continues to support all efforts to convert the Indian Ocean region into a zone of peace. The Conference on the Indian Ocean to be held for this purpose must no longer be delayed.

138. We regard as fully legitimate the insistence of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on the withdrawal of United States troops from South Korea and its efforts to bring about the peaceful and democratic unification of the country without interference from outside. The same holds good for the proposal to hold negotiations between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the United States and South Korea with a view to converting the Armistice Agreement of 1953 into a peace treaty between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the United States and achieving a declaration of non-aggression by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and South Korea.

139. Both the precarious international situation and the forthcoming fortieth anniversary of the victory over fascism should give all States Members of the United Nations cause for redoubling their efforts to strengthen international security.

140. The people of the German Democratic Republic, who live at the dividing line between the two biggest military coalitions and know the meaning of war from their own painful historical experience, have a vital interest in the achievement of that objective.

141. Having risen from the ruins of the Second World War, the German Democratic Republic has grown since its inception 35 years ago to become a State of high political stability and great economic, scientific and cultural achievements. Neither the peaceful construction work of our own people nor that of other peoples must be allowed to be destroyed in a world-wide nuclear conflagration. Hence, the preservation of peace remains the overriding concern of the socialist German State. It is therefore the central issue of our relationship with the Federal Republic of Germany. Over the past three and a half decades, it has been the socialist State's peace policy and stability that have proved to be an important factor in ensuring that movements towards détente in Europe and to living together in peace have originated on German soil.

142. It is only natural that we—and not only we—are worried when those in certain quarters, in spite of accepted obligations of international law, question the results of the Second World War and, in the upcurrent created by the deployment of United States first-strike weapons, harp increasingly on an allegedly open German question and talk of "reunification".

143. To make it perfectly clear, let me say that there is nothing open, nor can there be "reunification". The people of the German Democratic Republic have irrevocably opted for socialism. The socialist German Democratic Republic and the capitalist Federal Republic of Germany—which furthermore belong to opposite military alliances—cannot be merged, let alone reunited. It is as impossible as bringing together fire and water. Between the two States there can be relations only on the basis of international law and of peaceful coexistence. There is no peaceful alternative.

144. This is why we fully understand those politicians who orient themselves on facts established by treaties and are worried about and warn against action to the contrary.

145. True service to the cause of peace resides in helping ensure that the situation that existed before the deployment of nuclear first-strike weapons in Western Europe is restored; that the series of European treaties—the Final Act of Helsinki, the treaties of Moscow, Warsaw, Prague and Berlin, and the Quadripartite Agreement—are strictly observed and revitalized; and that post-war realities in Europe are, as a matter of course, made the basis for all action. Merely to call into question the relevant agreements would be to risk war.

146. The United Nations has proclaimed 1986 the International Year of Peace. Let us, the Member States, begin now to create the best conditions for making it indeed the beginning of a turn towards lasting peace the world over. The German Democratic Republic pledges its active co-operation in that endeavour.

147. Mr. MAESO (Uruguay) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I should like first to congratulate Mr. Paul Lusaka, of Zambia, on his unanimous election as President of the General Assembly. I am confident that under his leadership the work of the thirty-ninth session will produce positive results. His election constitutes, to our great satisfaction, a further reflection of the outstanding role played by the Group of African States in the United Nations and its active contribution to the international community.

148. At this session we have taken another step towards the universality of the United Nations with the admission of the 159th Member, Brunei Darussalam, to which Uruguay extends a most cordial and friendly welcome and offers its full co-operation.

149. In the annual consideration of our agenda, we are faced with a full range of serious problems arising as a consequence of the world economic crisis and the continued existence of a large number of situations brought about by political tension and even by open conflict.

150. In recent years, our world has not become safer, more peaceful or more just: quite the contrary.

151. I should like to refer specifically to some of the questions that are particularly important to my Government.

152. On the occasion of the opening of the twenty-fifth annual meeting of the Board of Governors of the Inter-American Development Bank, at Punta del Este in March of this year, President Alvarez underlined the fact that the opening of the session coincided with "the most painful crisis of the world economic system". He said:

"Latin America is undergoing the deepest crisis of the last half century. Growth has stagnated. The standard of living of every citizen has worsened in the whole region, thus bringing about the inevitable social and political consequences. This situation of unforeseen regional and world-wide consequences is reflected in an unprecedented debt, the servicing and repayment of which constitute a very high percentage of the export revenue, if not all of it.

"In these conditions—and we emphasize this—the problem cannot be solved. Even if we recognize that the work of reconstruction is a responsibility falling on all the members of the community who wish to make progress, it becomes essential that credit institutions and developed countries accept their responsibilities, taking into account their own capabilities and political and financial interests. Their own growth and stability depend in the end on the economic and social well-being of our countries."

He continued:

"The time has come to abandon sterile diagnoses and to undertake co-ordinated action. The terms of payment of our debt must be rescheduled, reducing interest rates in such a way that the debt may be serviced while we keep a level of revenue-producing exports that can safeguard the social conditions of our peoples. In order for Latin America to continue its development and generate wealth—and this seems to be everyone's goal—we should be able to draw on sufficient external financing while at the same time increasing our exports."

153. Nevertheless, it must be said that, in assuming the responsibility of meeting our obligations and carrying out the relevant negotiations in a sovereign manner, the Latin American countries have found in their adverse situation a source of unity and co-operation.

154. In meetings at Quito, Lima, Cartagena and Mar del Plata, we have produced important documents which clearly articulate our strong and responsible common position, on the basis of which we are ready for a constructive dialogue. We have firmly put forward just and realistic guidelines for the repayment of the debt, taking into account the unavoidable and equitable sacrifices that such adjustment entails for all parties concerned.

155. In this context, we once again strongly support the provisions of paragraph 23 of the Cartagena Consensus, signed on 22 June 1984. On that occasion, the majority of the Latin American countries expressed their readiness "to hold a meeting with the Governments of industrialized countries in order to examine jointly the many aspects, and the economic, social and political implications, of the indebtedness of Latin America" [*A/39/331, annex, para. 23*].

156. The present situation, in all its gravity, confirms once more the wisdom of our long-standing position concerning the need to eliminate restrictions to trade which seriously affect the developing countries. As exemplified by the present situation, one can claim the validity of the equation encompassing external debt and trade, but one must also accept, as has always been the case, the relationship between trade and development.

157. In this perspective, the protectionism of the industrialized countries and their intervention in international markets with subsidized products con-

stitute a very serious development, which adversely affects the developing countries not only at the economic level but also in the social context.

158. It must be clearly stated that those countries which practise such conduct in matters so vital for the life of peoples and the regulation of their relationships have no moral legitimacy in passing judgement on other aspects of relationships among men, nor do they have the authority to question the political, social and economic consequences brought about by their actions.

159. The crisis produced by the external debt has also underlined the weaknesses of the international financial system, which are greatly increased by the relationship among all the factors.

160. It is obvious that these problems affect not only Latin America: in varying degrees, they affect all the developing countries and are added to the critical food situation, especially in Africa. We have not reached the goal of food security. We must continue our efforts to that end.

161. It is sad to observe that the various multilateral mechanisms have not been able to deal with these issues—as they have not been able to deal with financial and monetary questions—in the depth that the situation requires or with the practical efficiency required. We have not made any progress in the global negotiations, in the revision of the development strategy or in the adoption of immediate remedies. We are facing an acute crisis in international co-operation to a degree which threatens not only the vitality of the multilateral mechanisms themselves but their very existence. We are witnessing an acute crisis in international co-operation to such an extent that we note that it has become impossible to discuss and implement overall long-term policies such as would encompass a comprehensive solution to global problems.

162. We think it is necessary to initiate immediate and concerted practical action to find solutions to the most pressing basic problems, such as those of trade, finance and the establishment of appropriate conditions of food security. That would improve the standard of living of the developing countries in the immediate future.

163. The delegation of Uruguay is ready to co-operate actively in the search for multilateral remedies which could help to solve these problems. We must, however, insist on our offer of honest co-operation, even though this might elicit a response only in terms of an echo of the words themselves. Beyond rhetoric, it is necessary to enter into a genuine dialogue, to embark upon practical negotiations to solve pressing questions, and we must show the necessary political will. The paralysis pervading the international scene on questions so vital and urgent for the daily life of peoples could become the factor triggering greater evils with unpredictable consequences.

164. For 20 years, Uruguay has been advocating a legal and peaceful solution to the question of the Malvinas Islands, through dialogue and negotiation within the framework of the United Nations. That has become more necessary than ever in the light of the tragic events of 1982 and in view of the continued tension and risk which this unresolved question entails. Our Government welcomes the statements expressing the will to find a solution. They should be translated into the immediate resumption of negotiations. Uruguay's well-known solidarity with the aspirations of the Argentine Republic does not preclude us, together with other Latin American nations, from formulating the sincere desire for the reopening of negotiations.

165. Our Government has been following with great concern the development of the crisis in Central America. Without wishing to enter into discussions or into ideological confrontations, I must say that it is very moving to see so many people who have suffered for such a long time. The human dimension of the conflict engulfs everything and everyone. This makes it imperative to have solidarity and effective action. The efforts of the countries members of the Contadora Group in this respect deserve our strong support. The Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America [*A/39/562, annex*] is a document inspired by the rich juridical and political traditions of Latin America. The various instances of dialogue in the recent past are encouraging signs.

166. We trust that the positive action of the Group will continue—Uruguay will offer its firm support to that end—in order that the remaining obstacles may be overcome. It is necessary for us to engage in joint efforts, within the framework of international law, to ensure that the peoples of Central America are guaranteed the free exercise of self-determination, as a viable means for achieving and consolidating peace.

167. With an issue so momentous as the one before us, the contribution of all the countries of the region affected by the crisis is essential. We therefore appeal to them to exert their best efforts and to display the political will necessary to promote negotiation, and at the same time we appeal to them to refrain from any action contrary to that aim.

168. The situation in the Middle East continues to be a source of serious tension, not only for the region but also for international security.

169. Ever since the founding of the United Nations, our country has supported the adoption of solutions that equitably take into account the rights and interests of all the parties in the region. Consequently, Uruguay is in favour of the full implementation of Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) and recognizes the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to the full exercise of self-determination and the right of all the States in the region, including Israel, to exist within secure and internationally recognized boundaries.

170. The path leading to true and lasting peace requires solutions negotiated among all the parties concerned, with no one excluded, solutions that take the various elements of the question into account in a balanced and equitable manner and thus provide assurances to all the States in the region.

171. The United Nations can, when the time comes, play a significant role in promoting negotiations, by providing an appropriate framework or supplementing their further development or implementation. We support in particular the efforts of the Secretary-General and we encourage him to continue them.

172. With deep emotion we express our solidarity with Lebanon, and, at the same time, we make a very strong political statement of support for its sovereignty, integrity and independence. Our country hopes that the Lebanese Government, with the support and respect of the international community,

READEX FICHE

will begin to exercise its functions and powers effectively throughout its territory and that, in a climate of national concord, peace will be consolidated with the withdrawal of foreign forces.

173. The attention of the international community should also be focused on other serious issues which affect various areas and which, taken together, bear witness to the precarious state of peace in the world. I am referring to, among other things, the prolonged conflict between Iraq and Iran and to the situations in Afghanistan, Kampuchea and Cyprus, as well as to the division and tension in the Korean peninsula.

174. It is appropriate for me to recall the importance my country attaches to the question of the unification of Korea by means of an independent, peaceful solution. This solution must be attained through dialogue and direct negotiation, without foreign interference, which would make possible the creation of conditions favourable to understanding between the parties as well as to the stability of the region. Within that context, the good offices of the Secretary-General, between North and South Korea, should be supported and encouraged. The United Nations must not and cannot be indifferent to, or allow itself to be kept on the sidelines of, this problem. In addition, notwithstanding these efforts and in this spirit, membership of the two Koreas in the United Nations could constitute a very positive occurrence.

175. The persistence of tension in southern Africa gives rise to particular concern. There can be no doubt that the independence of Namibia and the exercise by its people of the right to self-determination have been postponed for far too long. It is necessary to adopt collective measures designed to secure, in that area, the application of international law, as recognized by the International Court of Justice, the Security Council and the General Assembly. Our Government actively supports the Secretariat's efforts to ensure implementation of internationally agreed norms in this respect. The Security Council can make a decisive contribution, taking into account its own powers.

176. The situation with respect to *apartheid* is one about which Uruguay has particularly strong feelings. We totally reject this policy as well as its doctrine, its constitutional enshrinement and its practical application. We fully endorse the recent Security Council resolution which declares that the new constitution of South Africa is contrary to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and that its implementation would aggravate an already explosive situation in regard to *apartheid* [*resolution 554 (1984)*].

177. Within the framework of international law, our country firmly supports all actions aimed at putting an end to the policy of *apartheid*, the continued practice of which, moreover, is a danger to peace and security.

178. Our reference to these questions makes it imperative for us to reaffirm our commitment to the defence of the principles of self-determination and non-discrimination on the basis of sex or religion or on any other basis, as well as to the application of both principles everywhere. It is thus appropriate for us to express regret at the persistence of colonial situations, the continued implementation of discriminatory policies and the non-exercise of the right to self-determination.

179. Uruguay, in accordance with a tradition by which it has always abided, considers that multilateral legal instruments are the most effective means for safeguarding and promoting human rights. That is why it is desirable for these instruments to be made universal and for existing machinery to be put into effect. It would be appropriate—always bearing in mind the sovereign decision of each State—to encourage, on the part of all Governments, greater accession to and ratification of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination [*resolution 2106 A (XX), annex*] and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women [*resolution 34/180, annex*], as well as the International Covenants on Human Rights and the Optional Protocol [*resolution 2200 A (XXI), annex*]. With regard to draft texts, we support the second optional protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, designed to abolish the death penalty, and the draft convention against torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.[13]

180. Since those instruments constitute a system for the protection of human rights, in keeping with the principles of impartiality and non-selectivity, and since they cover equally the weak and the powerful and every ideology and régime, their adoption would ensure genuine protection of fundamental rights. If they are not adopted, in many instances it will continue to be only those who are more powerful that will benefit and only their political and economic interests will be protected, to the detriment of the interests of those who are weaker and the interests of certain parts of the world. It will indeed run counter to the aims for which these instruments were drafted and, what is worse, they will benefit those who energetically uphold particular philosophical positions that claim to be universal and who will become apostles of discrimination.

181. The strengthening, through the Secretariat, of the procedures of the Centre for Human Rights and the establishment of a post of United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights could contribute to ensuring the enjoyment of human rights without distortion and in a truly constructive manner.

182. The increasing number of conflicts and the various areas of tension arising from great-Power confrontation explain why ground has been lost in the international efforts aimed at disarmament. That is why Uruguay considers that the most important factor for the attainment of real progress in this area would be the creation of an environment of greater confidence through systematic respect for international law, the foundation of coexistence among States.

183. In particular, it is necessary that we abide strictly by the principles of non-intervention, self-determination and the peaceful settlement of disputes. We wish to emphasize most strongly the need for strict observance of the principle of non-intervention. In view of the present state of international relations, it is deplorable that intervention in the internal affairs of other States not only has assumed a variety of more or less sophisticated forms but also occurs with such frequency that it has become the hallmark of our times, to the detriment of those countries which are most vulnerable, with destabilizing consequences of serious proportions.

184. It is more than ever necessary for us to heed the call for reflection and a responsible approach. The gravity and intensity of the economic, social and political crisis affecting the vast majority of the peoples of the world has encouraged those who are stepping up their acts of intervention. This generates unnecessary conflicts which enable them to disguise their own ineffectiveness or incompetence. This situation has a particularly adverse impact on the economically weak countries. Every country—with rare exceptions—knows that there are other countries that are more powerful, and this conditions what it does. Thus, the revitalization of the principles of international law would allow everyone to take its proper place in a context of mutual respect.

185. With each instance of direct or indirect violation of these principles, there is not only an attack on international law but also a threat to international peace and security.

186. It is necessary to strengthen the rule of law. We should address ourselves to the biggest problems of our age. I would mention here by way of example the adoption of a convention making it mandatory for all States to resolve disputes by peaceful means before such disputes become uncontrollable and the application of the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations therefore a mere illusion.

187. The powers of the International Court of Justice should be increased, making its intervention mandatory in certain cases.

188. Uruguay, which was responsible for the earliest declaration under the terms of Article 36 of the Statute of the International Court of Justice, appeals to all those States which are not yet doing so to do everything they can to ensure that the Court is given mandatory power in all disputes covered by that Article.

189. The Security Council can undertake preventive action, which can lead to early solutions, particularly in the more critical cases. Peace-keeping operations should be supported and strengthened.

190. The international community must increase its support for the Secretary-General and for the development of the duties that are implicit in his office, and in the provisions of the Charter.

191. Finally, the General Assembly should adopt precise decisions strengthening the role of the Organization in general and of the General Assembly in particular, taking into account the work in the relevant Committees and the views of Member States.

192. The report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization [*A/39/1*], as in previous years, provides us with an objective assessment of steps that could be undertaken to increase the effectiveness of the United Nations.

193. The great Powers, particularly the nuclear Powers, have a responsibility to make a substantial contribution to disarmament and peace. Nevertheless, the magnitude of what is at stake—the principles of international law, the legal structure of the Organization and, in the final analysis, the indivisibility of peace—give each and every one of the Member States the right and the duty to act in this field.

194. It is fitting that we reaffirm, first, the validity of the objective of general and complete disarmament under international control. However, this should not stand in the way of our trying to promote, wherever and whenever possible, all other efforts undertaken in this area. In our view, the following collateral measures are called for: in the nuclear field, political support for halting and reversing the arms race; the initiation of negotiations between the super-Powers; the extension of the ban on nuclear testing to cover underground tests; the creation and expansion of denuclearized zones and zones of peace; the negotiation of instruments guaranteeing the non-use of nuclear weapons against States which do not possess them; and the universalization of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*]. In the field of conventional weapons, we believe that agreements aimed at stopping the arms race and banning the production and use of especially destructive weapons, in particular chemical weapons, are also necessary.

195. The political, institutional and legal measures necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security are closely linked to any process of disarmament, as well as with the indispensable confidence-building measures.

196. The international community can and must use its political influence and call with one voice for new efforts to ensure peace and progress through negotiations specifically aimed at disarmament in all forums.

197. The Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly [*resolution S-10/2*], which was devoted to disarmament and was held in 1978, was fully endorsed in the Concluding Document of the Assembly's Twelfth Special Session,[14] which was also devoted to disarmament, and continues to provide a firm basis for serious efforts in this area. The comprehensive programme for disarmament, on which negotiations are now taking place, could become the necessary framework; it could mark the successful conclusion of the work undertaken and be a forerunner of the conclusion of that yet to be carried out steadily and without respite.

198. When considering the present situation throughout the world it is easy to grow disheartened, but that situation makes it imperative for the Organization to overcome the crisis. For this there are precedents.

199. The Charter of the United Nations enshrines a system of principles that constitute a new landmark in international law, allowing us to make significant strides in regulating important areas of human endeavour. The Organization has promoted vast decolonization enterprises and has formulated the most modern concepts of economic, social and political development. The Organization, indeed, has become a forum for dialogue and discussion without precedent and with a unique universal character. It has become the forum where all States, large and small, participate in the search for solutions and policies. Increasingly, all opinions can be heard in an irreversible process of democratization.

200. On the main issues of concern to the international community, the United Nations has made substantially correct decisions. One must admit this, even if one disagrees in certain instances or is not satisfied with the implementation in others.

201. If we do not muster the necessary political will to find solutions through dialogue, if we cannot recover the sense of commitment to universal peace that created the Organization, we shall have nothing

left but confrontation through which to solve our disputes. This in turn will breed intolerance and radicalism in those who claim to possess the truth—their truth.

202. Here, among the Members of the United Nations, there is a binding political force that spurs negotiation forward, that demands peace and security, that demands justice and fairness.

203. It is a pleasure for me to express these thoughts on the eve of the fortieth anniversary of the signing of the Charter of the United Nations and at a moment of particularly historic importance for my country. In the course of a long and trying political process, we Uruguayans have faced terrorist attacks with a sense of sacrifice and dignity, and, as we stated at the thirty-eighth session [*25th meeting*], we are now ready for the culmination of this stage with the holding of general elections next month that will be carried out on the basis of all the traditional guarantees of my country.

204. Allow me here to reaffirm Uruguay's support for the United Nations, support that has been unswerving from the time of the signing of the Charter to the present. This attitude is not based on any transitory political interest or the position of any given administration. It is a profound conviction held by my people, a people ready to contribute to peace with justice and under law, and thus to live in harmony with all the peoples of the world, in a united effort aimed at co-operation and development.

205. We are still far from making a reality of the dreams and ideals of the founders, but time has confirmed the validity of those dreams and ideals.

The meeting rose at 1.05 p.m.

NOTES

[1] Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y de Río de Oro.

[2] For the text, see General Assembly resolution 38/40, para. 1.

[3] *Report of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.83.I.21), chap. I, sect. A and B.

[4] Frente Revolucionária de Timor Leste Independente.

[5] *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-ninth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1984*, document S/16732.

[6] United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 75, No. 973.

[7] See *Official Records of the Security Council, Fourth Year, Special Supplement No. 4*.

[8] *Ibid., Thirty-ninth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1984*, document S/16472.

[9] Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, signed at Helsinki on 1 August 1975.

[10] *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-eighth Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1983*, document S/15556, annex.

[11] *Ibid., Supplement for July, August and September 1983*, document S/15862, annex.

[12] See A/CN.10/64.

[13] E/CN.4/1984/72, annex.

[14] *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twelfth Special Session, Annexes*, agenda items 9 to 13, document A/S-12/32.

United Nations
GENERAL ASSEMBLY
THIRTY-NINTH SESSION
Official Records

23rd PLENARY MEETING

Friday, 5 October 1984,
at 3.20 p.m.

NEW YORK

President: Mr. Paul J. F. LUSAKA (Zambia).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. The PRESIDENT: I have great pleasure in welcoming the Head of Government, Prime Minister for General and Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Suriname, Mr. Willem A. Udenhout, and inviting him to address the General Assembly.

2. Mr. UDENHOUT (Suriname): Sir, on behalf of the Government and people of the Republic of Suriname and on my own behalf I extend warm and hearty congratulations to you on your election as President of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. I am convinced that your professional qualities and the services you have rendered so successfully in the past to the international community uniquely qualify you for this high office. We are certain that this body will conduct and complete its work efficiently and successfully under your competent guidance.

3. At the same time, I wish to express my Government's gratitude for the balanced and effective way in which Mr. Jorge Illueca, of Panama, presided over the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly. We wish him well.

4. The Secretary-General should be commended for his tireless efforts on behalf of the suffering world community longing for development, peace and stability. Much progress in these areas can be attributed to his personal intervention in most delicate situations.

5. We welcome Brunei Darussalam to the family of nations and extend our best wishes to the Government and people of this new Member State.

6. Another year has passed since my delegation had the honour to address the General Assembly. Although it may be more appropriate to elaborate extensively on the significance of this lofty Organization at the commemoration of its fortieth anniversary next year, I am seizing this opportunity to reiterate the adherence of my country to the principles and the objectives of the United Nations.

7. In a world with growing antagonisms, the United Nations has an important role to play as a platform for dialogue, for reducing tension and solving conflicts between States, for reshaping the world into one of justice, peace, prosperity and dignity for mankind and for bringing hope where despair exists.

8. We realize how remote mankind is from realizing these noble principles and how much the very existence of States is threatened by repeated and disquieting manifestations of disrespect for sovereignty and territorial integrity. We realize to what extent political, military and economic power is still abused in many parts of the world, while large segments of humanity continue to suffer from deprivation and underdevelopment.

9. The Republic of Suriname consistently adheres to the principles of non-interference and non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States. We therefore urgently call on all States Members of the United Nations to uphold these principles, without which peace and prosperity will be mere illusions.

10. Our foreign policy continues to reflect the non-aligned spirit and is geared towards supporting the creation of a just international order based on the peaceful settlement of disputes, respect for sovereignty and the right to self-determination.

11. Actions which take place throughout the world sometimes make us wonder if these universally accepted principles only guide the actions of the smaller States, since it appears that positions of strength do not accommodate these principles as easily as do positions of weakness.

12. It is time for a change. What we need is not a countless number of resolutions but, rather, firm determination to end the duplicity and double standards in international affairs.

13. In transforming Suriname from its colonial structure, we share the fate of many third-world countries that have to overcome various obstacles, both of an internal and of an external nature, in this legitimate process. Unifying a people divided by colonial interests in the past and promoting a consciousness of their own destiny are certainly not easy tasks.

14. The task of securing real and well-balanced development for our people and building a manageable economy naturally requires a sound infrastructure. To realize all this and to build an independent nation well integrated into the Latin American and Caribbean region were main objectives at the very outset of our revolution on 25 February 1980. But our efforts alone are not sufficient to accomplish this tremendous task.

15. When we concluded the Treaty on Co-operation for Development with the Netherlands on our independence, we were convinced that that settlement of our historical claims would provide the basis for economic development and for improving the well-being of our long-neglected people.

16. Perhaps this is not the time to elaborate extensively upon the fate of that solemn Treaty. You should be informed, however, Mr. President, that the

execution of that Treaty, reached voluntarily between the Republic of Suriname and the Kingdom of the Netherlands, came to a unilateral and abrupt halt in 1982, as a consequence of which we have since been deprived of the funds provided for in that Treaty. We are convinced that this arbitrary action will not meet with the approval of the United Nations community.

17. Nations may develop differences of opinion over time on more or less basic issues. The Republic of Suriname, however, is of the opinion that no problem between two parties or sovereign States will ever be fairly solved if they are not discussed in an honest, frank and fair dialogue. After all, this is the founding principle of the United Nations. We should follow it in all circumstances. Therefore, we stand ready, and publicly state our willingness, to discuss, at any time, the issue of co-operation for development with any party genuinely interested in the well-being of the people of Suriname.

18. It was in this spirit that we recently approached the Netherlands to discuss the normalization of our relations. We express the hope that the dialogue, for which a basis has been established in the mean time, will lead to a new understanding with regard to the Treaty.

19. Notwithstanding the adverse effects of the unexpectedly reduced level of support for its economic development, Suriname has continued its efforts to establish a self-reliant economy, and we can happily report that our efforts to develop our nation have met with solid and encouraging support on our continent and beyond.

20. One of the most pressing problems in our hemisphere concerns the situation in Central America. The people of the region, like others, want the right freely to determine their own future in peace and security, free from any outside interference or intervention.

21. We are convinced that military solutions in Central America do not lead to lasting peace. The policy of some States in the region not only is at variance with the basic principles governing the conduct between States, but also violates the ruling given by the International Court of Justice on 10 May of this year.[1]

22. My Government staunchly supports the peace initiatives of the Contadora Group. We express the hope that the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America [*see A/39/562, annex*] will contribute to the achievement of co-operation, peace and stability throughout the Central American region.

23. My delegation also hopes that the Caribbean region will remain a zone of peace in which the peoples of that region can exercise their right to self-determination, free from any outside interference and intervention. It is our heartfelt wish that the people of Grenada will be able to determine their future in accordance with their own political, economic and social interests.

24. I wish to reiterate the view of the Government of the Republic of Suriname that non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States is an essential condition for peace between nations, a principle which, unfortunately, is too often disregarded. In accordance with this principle, every State has the obligation to refrain from instigating, participating in, or organizing acts of civil strife or terrorism in another State and from promoting any activity which could lead to a threat or the actual use of force against another State.

25. Suriname therefore supports the drafting of an international convention against the recruitment, use, financing and training of mercenaries. We call on all States to co-operate to enable the United Nations to conclude this fundamental convention.

26. The question of Namibia, that unfortunate example of inhuman treatment of blacks by white supremacists, confronts us once again on the agenda of the General Assembly. On 27 August this year, the United Nations Council for Namibia convened a solemn meeting commemorating Namibia Day, the anniversary of the day on which the people of Namibia launched their armed struggle against the racist régime of Pretoria, which has continued to occupy their land in defiance of the numerous resolutions and decisions of the United Nations, and in defiance of the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice.

27. Efforts to arrive at an internationally acceptable solution in accordance with the principles set out in Security Council resolution 385 (1976) culminated in the adoption of resolution 435 (1978), in which the Council approved a detailed plan for the transfer of power to the people of Namibia, with United Nations assistance. We are well aware that six years have since elapsed. The fact that Namibia continues to be denied a peaceful and speedy transition to majority rule is due entirely to the intransigence of the racist and expansionist régime of South Africa.

28. In the discharge of its mandate relating to the situation in Namibia, the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples has repeatedly called for measures under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations in order to bring about South Africa's compliance with relevant United Nations resolutions and decisions. The adoption of a comprehensive programme of sanctions would signify to South Africa that the world community will no longer tolerate its tactics and manoeuvres.

29. In this case, decisive steps by the international community are long overdue, for what is at stake here is the ability of the United Nations to respond adequately to the needs of millions who are suffering under the oppression of a provocative colonial régime. The Government of the Republic of Suriname denounces the establishment of any linkage or parallel between Namibian independence and extraneous and irrelevant issues.

30. On behalf of my delegation, I wish to express our full solidarity with the heroic people of Namibia and to appeal to the international community to support their just struggle against colonial occupation and the plunder of the uranium and other natural resources of their country and for the right to self-determination, freedom and independence under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization [*SWAPO*], the national liberation movement of Namibia, which is the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people.

31. As regards the situation in South Africa, my delegation strongly condemns the South African racist régime for continued violence and repression against its black population and expresses its support for, and solidarity with, all those struggling for the elimination of *apartheid* and racial discrimination.

32. My Government rejects South Africa's new mystifying constitution and the sham elections held in connection with it. I also wish to reaffirm our support for, solidarity with and commitment to the African National Congress of South Africa [*ANC*], the representative of the majority of the people of South Africa, in its valiant struggle to eradicate *apartheid* and bring freedom, justice and independence to the South African people.

33. My delegation cannot but express concern with regard to the situation in the Middle East, and it deplores the increasing tension in this region. The invasion and illegal occupation of southern Lebanon are the bitter fruits of a policy pursued by Israel to deny the Palestinian people their right to self-determination and to establish their own independent and sovereign State.

34. My delegation reaffirms its conviction that a just solution and lasting peace in the Middle East cannot be achieved without the unconditional and total withdrawal of Israel from all occupied territories. It would like to emphasize that the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Lebanese territory is a prerequisite for that country to regain its independence.

35. The expansion of the Iran-Iraq war during the past seven months into the Persian Gulf is an indication of a further deterioration of the relations between these two non-aligned brother nations. My delegation regrets to note that this conflict is causing serious human and material losses to the countries concerned while posing a serious threat to international peace and security.

36. In this context, we would like to recall the principle of peaceful settlement of disputes, which remains central to the philosophy of peaceful coexistence. For this reason, we reaffirm the necessity of an immediate cease-fire and withdrawal of forces to internationally recognized boundaries as a preliminary step towards the peaceful settlement of this tragic war, which deplorably has even involved the use of chemical weapons.

37. My delegation wishes to commend the Secretary-General for the peace initiatives he has recently undertaken between the parties concerned.

38. Concerning the situation in the Korean peninsula, my delegation would like to reiterate its support for the desire of the Korean people to reunify their divided homeland peacefully through a dialogue between the North and the South without any foreign interference.

39. The Government of the Republic of Suriname also maintains its position with regard to the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Kampuchea and Afghanistan in order to allow the people of those countries the opportunity to reach a political settlement and determine their own destiny.

40. In this connection, we hail the recent peace initiatives taken on Afghanistan by the Personal Representative of the Secretary-General at Geneva.

41. Each year we hear the pleas of the majority of States for general and complete disarmament in order to avoid the growing threat which the international arms buildup poses to mankind. Nevertheless, we notice a steady increase in global military spending, as no one appears to be able to control the nervous feeling that accompanies the impression of falling behind in this deadly arms race. Indeed, this is a dangerous development which not only consumes the scarce financial, human and material resources available, but will ultimately lead to the total destruction of our planet. My Government therefore continues to support all serious proposals for general and complete disarmament and, consequently, we call on all parties concerned to negotiate arms reduction as a matter of urgency.

42. It is gratifying to note that the economic situation in some developed countries has recently shown an upward trend. For the majority of countries, and certainly for the developing countries, however, the nightmare of the longest and deepest recession of the last 50 years continues unabated.

43. The causes of this persistent crisis are to be found in the very structure of international economic relations, which are still based on inequality and domination. If trade, not aid, was to alleviate our problems, we must sadly note that the present depressed markets for raw materials and goods produced in developing countries have not brought the necessary relief, owing to the steep fall in commodity prices and the sharp price increase of industrial products, while at the same time protectionist measures in various developed countries hamper our exports.

44. Meanwhile, the foreign debts of many of these countries have reached astronomical proportions. There have been many urgent, even desperate calls for reform. All to no avail. The situation has now reached crisis proportions, as evidenced by the social unrest and political turmoil which have recently erupted in many countries.

45. In order to deal effectively with this crisis, global and comprehensive approaches are required, reflecting the interdependence of developing and developed countries and the interrelated character of problems affecting the international economic system.

46. The global negotiations initiated at the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly should be reviewed with an early solution to these problems in mind.

47. In this regard, my Government holds the view that South-South co-operation must be encouraged and promoted as a valuable mechanism for restructuring the economic system, while fostering subregional, regional and interregional co-operation.

48. My delegation fervently hopes that the Caracas Programme of Action[2] will still prove to be an important framework for creating instruments and developing necessary devices to strengthen this form of co-operation.

49. In our own region, constructive efforts have been made which in January of this year resulted in the adoption of the Quito Declaration and Plan of Action [*see A/39/118*]. In the opinion of my Government, the ideas elaborated and proposals put forward deserve the special attention of the industrialized countries, since they reflect the economic reality of Latin America and the Caribbean. In conformity with this Declaration, specific measures must be adopted to bring about transformation in the existing international financial and trade policies in order to enhance the accessibility of products from developing countries to the markets of the developed countries. This would relieve their debt burden and restore the financial flow for development.

50. The Committee for Development Planning could not have chosen a better title for the main

section of its report, which reads "Crisis or reform: breaking the barriers to development".[3] There are no alternatives. Reform in international economic relations, especially of the international monetary and financial system, is an absolute necessity. Once again, we appeal to the international community to examine the general demands for a policy change in this crisis situation, and we pledge our support for measures of high and immediate priority in the interest of global recovery.

51. My delegation is deeply concerned over the acute problem of drought in the sub-Saharan countries of Africa, where tens of millions of people are threatened by malnutrition, hunger and famine. The three-year drought, on top of the international recession, has severely affected those countries.

52. We attach great importance to and fully endorse the special action programme for Africa, which should be an impetus to the joint efforts of the international community to provide assistance.

53. As a signatory State to the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea,[4] Suriname became a member of the Preparatory Commission for the International Sea-Bed Authority and for the International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea. We are therefore committed to the completion of their task. In our view, the decisions adopted at the first session of the Preparatory Commission in 1983 met the standards of equal and equitable international co-operation in the exploitation of the mineral resources of the international sea-bed area.

54. The Government of Suriname regrets that these positive results of the Commission's work are being hampered by the activities of some major industrialized countries. They have initiated negotiations between various consortia in their respective countries and are preparing bilateral or plurilateral agreements outside the scope of the Convention, thus undermining the work of the International Sea-Bed Authority. Because of these activities, the Preparatory Commission was unable to complete its task during its second session, held this year, in particular with regard to the question whether or not the Preparatory Commission should also act as a dispute-settlement authority. We condemn these activities. The resources of the sea-bed must be developed in an orderly manner for the benefit of mankind and must contribute to a more equitable and fair global economic system. We therefore reject any separate agreements in which the major industrialized countries would share the sea-bed among themselves, and we urgently appeal to all industrialized States, whether or not they have signed the Convention, to refrain from undertaking any activities outside the scope of the Convention, as we consider the sea-bed mining legislation of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea a major breakthrough in the global economic stalemate between the developed and the developing countries.

55. My Government wishes to express its satisfaction with the Economic Declaration of the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries,[5] held at New Delhi in March 1983, in which it was emphasized that Antarctica had considerable environmental, climatic, scientific and potential economic significance to the world. It was also stated that exploration of the area and exploitation of its resources should be carried out for the benefit of mankind and in a manner consistent with the protection of the environment of Antarctica. For these reasons, my Government deems the establishment of a new régime for the continent of Antarctica necessary in order to enable all States Members of the United Nations to benefit from its resources. Both reason and justice would be well served if the principles of "common heritage" and "common benefit", enunciated in the United Nations treaties on outer space and in the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, were to find application in a new régime for Antarctica.

56. The United Nations was conceived in a spirit of good will and optimism. The global problems which have accumulated for almost 40 years and threaten to undermine our world community have been described eloquently and accurately on innumerable occasions. The Organization has, with resounding rhetoric, depicted and condemned racism, the arms race between the super-Powers, the plight of the needy, exploited and oppressed of the earth, the armed conflicts between brother nations, the disrespect for national sovereignty, the violations of territorial integrity, the debt crisis and the disturbing imbalance of economic relations. However, we have to note with sadness that the rhetoric used in this forum often seems to replace rather than generate the effective measures called for. My delegation therefore hopes that the United Nations will soon take more concrete steps that may be recognized throughout the world as recordable successes, in keeping with its noble principles.

57. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the Head of Government, Prime Minister for General and Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Suriname, for the important statement he has just made.

58. Mr. MARTYNENKO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): The delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic would like to congratulate you warmly, Sir, on your election to the presidency of the General Assembly at its thirty-ninth session and would like to wish you every success in carrying out your responsible duties.

59. We highly appreciate the skilful guidance of the General Assembly during its thirty-eighth session by Mr. Illueca, the present President of the Republic of Panama.

60. My delegation would like also to congratulate Brunei Darussalam on its admission to membership of the United Nations.

61. In the present international situation, which has been greatly aggravated by imperialist circles, the peoples of the world expect the United Nations to concentrate its efforts on solving the central problem of the present day: the prevention of nuclear war. We are deeply convinced that this problem is the one on which attention should be focused at this session of the General Assembly. The solution of other urgent problems facing mankind will depend directly on the world's ability to avoid a nuclear holocaust.

62. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries have submitted to the General Assembly at this session a series of specific initiatives and proposals. They represent a realistic and well-founded programme of action aimed at curbing the arms race, removing the threat of nuclear war, eliminating conflicts and hotbeds of tension, introducing the fundamental principle of the non-use of force into international relations, returning to détente and

maintaining normal relations among States with different social systems.

63. The implementation of this programme would not only make it possible to eliminate the threat of war, but also help to channel immense material resources into resolving the problems of social and economic development, including the provision of assistance to developing countries.

64. A number of initiatives by other peace-loving, non-aligned countries have the same thrust.

65. Unfortunately, we must state that the path towards reaching these vital goals is blocked by grave obstacles, the main one of which is the militaristic foreign policy openly proclaimed and persistently pursued by the United States.

66. The United States bid for military superiority, the deployment of new United States first-strike nuclear missiles in Western Europe, the stockpiling of enormous nuclear arsenals, and attempts to turn outer space into an arena of the arms race have highly charged the international situation.

67. Flouting the will of countries and peoples, the United States has made terrorism a State policy and is trying to turn practically the entire planet into a "sphere of its vital interests", as evidenced by events in Lebanon and in Grenada, by what amounts to intervention in El Salvador and the undeclared war against Nicaragua, by the support given to the racist régime of South Africa, by threats against Cuba and Syria, by the escalation of tension in the Persian Gulf, by gross interference in the internal affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, and by a growing military presence and the establishment of military bases in many regions of the world.

68. Having deployed its new nuclear missiles in Western Europe, the United States has disrupted the process of negotiations on the limitation and reduction of nuclear weapons. It has sharply exacerbated nuclear confrontation on the continent and has created a serious new threat to world peace.

69. United States medium-range nuclear weapons not only pose a threat to East European countries, but also have in their sights dozens of countries in the Middle and Near East and in northern Africa.

70. Indeed, no verbal subterfuge can conceal the fact that, as new United States missiles are deployed in Europe, the possibility of negotiations has increasingly been blocked and additional barriers are being erected in the way of lowering the level of nuclear armament.

71. The situation is compounded also by the fact that revanchist sentiments in some Western countries have been on the rise of late. It is true that attempts have been made to convince us that we are supposedly exaggerating this danger. But the Ukrainian people, having experienced all the horrors of the Second World War and having suffered an enormous toll in human lives, cannot remain indifferent to the fact that in some quarters demands are openly voiced to change the borders which now exist in Europe and to revise the treaties concluded by the Federal Republic of Germany. Delirious ideas of "reviving the Reich" within its 1937 borders are being hatched. It should also be noted that cabinet members and other Government officials are participating in revanchist gatherings. Revanchism, combined with United States nuclear missiles, poses a very serious threat to international peace and security.

72. Recently we have heard in certain Western capitals professions of peaceful intentions and of the need to renew political dialogue. Why, then, the delay? The countries of the socialist community have always strongly favoured, and continue to favour, agreements and an improvement in the political climate. What is needed today is not talk about the usefulness of negotiations, but rather a willingness to conduct negotiations on substantive issues and to reach agreements on the basis of the principle of equality and equal security. What is needed are concrete deeds, not words.

73. Konstantin U. Chernenko, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, has said in this connection:

> "We make an unequivocal appeal to the United States and its allies: it is time for them to reaffirm by concrete deeds their share of responsibility for the fate of the world, to realize the futility of a policy based on a position of strength and on reliance on the arms race, and to demonstrate real, rather than a mere ostensible, readiness to engage in dialogue and negotiations in order to find mutually acceptable solutions to problems on which the future of mankind depends."

74. The assumption by all nuclear Powers—following the example of the Soviet Union and in accordance with the will of the overwhelming majority of States Members of the United Nations—of the obligation not to be the first to use nuclear weapons would constitute a decisive contribution to saving mankind from the nuclear threat. As suggested by some countries, such an obligation could be embodied in an international legal instrument. There is no doubt that the implementation in practice of the Soviet Union's well-known initiative for observing certain rules of conduct in relations between nuclear-weapon States would be of great significance.

75. The international situation would also be greatly improved by the adoption of such measures as a nuclear-weapon freeze by all nuclear Powers—or, initially, by the United States and the Soviet Union on a bilateral basis by way of setting an example for other nuclear Powers and as a major step towards a subsequent reduction and complete prohibition of nuclear weapons.

76. The Ukrainian SSR supports the Joint Declaration issued on 22 May 1984 by the Heads of State or Government of Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Sweden and the United Republic of Tanzania [*see A/39/277*], which, in essence, constitutes an appeal to freeze nuclear arsenals.

77. The Soviet Union has proposed an immediate agreement to cease the quantitative buildup of all components of nuclear weapons, to renounce deployment of all new kinds and types of nuclear weapons and to establish a moratorium on all nuclear-weapon tests. The conclusion of a treaty on the general and complete prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests would be the logical corollary of that moratorium. Basic provisions of that treaty were proposed by the Soviet Union as long ago as the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly,[6] which, as is known, supported the elaboration of such a treaty and recommended that the Conference on Disarmament take appropriate action. We believe that it is the direct responsibility of the Conference on Disarmament to make

maximum effort to resolve this question, the solution of which is long overdue.

78. The Ukrainian SSR supports the initiative for the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones in various regions of the world, including the European continent.

79. The question of excluding outer space from the sphere of the arms race is organically linked to the problem of preventing nuclear war. In accordance with a resolution of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly [*resolution 38/70*], which was adopted by an overwhelming majority of Member States, the Conference on Disarmament should work out a relevant agreement. However, owing to the position of the United States, which is seeking to use outer space as a springboard from which to deliver with impunity a first nuclear strike, negotiations on this important and urgent question have not yet started.

80. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR believes that the General Assembly should vigorously oppose any plans to militarize outer space and should demand that negotiations be started immediately on that urgent problem, on both a bilateral and a multilateral basis.

81. The inexhaustible possibilities of the uses of outer space should be utilized in the interests of all mankind and not to its detriment. It is precisely this desire that motivated the new Soviet proposal to include on the agenda of this session of the General Assembly an item entitled "Use of outer space exclusively for peaceful purposes for the benefit of mankind" [*A/39/243*].

82. The peaceful exploration of outer space, which has become a symbol of the spectacular achievements of science and technology, is destined to be an effective means of solving many global problems, including that of economic development. The Ukrainian SSR is making a substantial contribution to the peaceful exploration of outer space, and we therefore whole-heartedly endorse the Soviet proposal concerning a radical solution to the problem of how to prevent the militarization of outer space and ensure that it can be used for creative, rather than destructive, purposes.

83. If there were reliable guarantees that outer space would be free of any weapons, the way would be opened to fruitful co-operation among States in this domain and eventually to the establishment of a world organization for the use of outer space exclusively for peaceful purposes.

84. The question of prohibiting the development, production, and stockpiling of chemical weapons calls for an immediate solution. The Soviet draft basic provisions of a convention on the subject,[7] which have recently been supplemented, taking into consideration the wishes of a number of countries, with provisions regarding verification of the entire process of destroying chemical weapons, are on the negotiating table at the Conference on Disarmament.

85. We believe that the draft represents a constructive basis for the prohibition of this particularly barbaric type of weapon of mass destruction. The recent proposal of the Warsaw Treaty States to rid Europe of chemical weapons is also prompted by a desire to achieve that goal. Its implementation would make it possible to diminish considerably the risk of chemical warfare on the continent and, consequently, in the world at large and to begin the reduction of chemical weapons arsenals.

86. The adoption of such partial regional measures would promote global efforts to expedite the conclusion of a convention banning chemical weapons, which remains the ultimate goal of the Warsaw Treaty States. This would stimulate the adoption of similar measures on other continents as well.

87. At the same time, it must be noted with regret that the much-touted United States draft treaty on the prohibition of chemical weapons[8] is distinctly negative in its approach to this extremely important problem and contains provisions which are unacceptable to many States even at this stage. We have the impression that the United States draft treaty has been submitted with a single purpose in mind and that is to cover up the ongoing accelerated preparations in the United States for the implementation of a $10 billion chemical rearmament programme.

88. I should also like to recall other proposals put forward by socialist countries. They include a programme of nuclear disarmament in stages aiming at a gradual reduction of nuclear weapons until they are completely eliminated. This programme retains its urgency to this day.

89. The implementation of a proposal recently submitted by the Warsaw Treaty States to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [*NATO*] countries to begin talks on the question of mutual agreement not to increase military expenditures and subsequently to reduce them[9] could be an important step in containing all areas of the arms race. This proposal is taking on particular urgency owing to the unchecked growth of military appropriations in the budgets of the United States and its NATO partners.

90. Of great significance in the current situation is the proposal of the socialist countries [*see A/39/300*] to conclude a treaty on the mutual non-use of military force and the maintenance of relations of peace between the States of the Warsaw Treaty and those of NATO.

91. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR believes that agreement to the proposal of the Mongolian People's Republic [*A/39/141*] for the adoption of a declaration on the right of peoples to peace would be an important moral and political act that would impede the actions of those that entertain the demented idea that it is possible to win a nuclear war. It is a basic duty of each State to exercise this right. The fulfilment of this duty requires that the policies of States, above all nuclear-weapon States, be directed towards eliminating any threat to human survival. The adoption of this proposal by the General Assembly would contribute to the mobilization of the world public's efforts to prevent a nuclear catastrophe and to preserve life on earth.

92. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR believes that, in the present dangerous international situation, the United Nations has an important task to accomplish, namely, the adoption of other specific measures also aimed at strengthening international security and, above all, eliminating pockets of tension and military conflicts and stopping acts of aggression in different parts of the world.

93. In this context, the Soviet initiative [*A/39/244*] concerning the inclusion in the agenda of the present session of an important and urgent item entitled "Inadmissibility of the policy of State terrorism and any actions by States aimed at undermining the

socio-political system in other sovereign States" is particularly relevant and timely. We think that, by strongly condemning the policy and practice of State terrorism as a method of dealing with other States and peoples, the General Assembly would make a tangible contribution to establishing political guarantees of peace, strengthening the security of individual States and consolidating international security as a whole.

94. For almost 40 years now, acute tensions have persisted in the Middle East, where the Israeli aggressor, enjoying the direct support and protection of the United States, continues its policy of occupation and annexation of the Arab lands, is engaged in punitive operations against the Palestinian and Lebanese patriots and is threatening Syria. This international terrorism and banditry elevated to the level of a State policy has transformed the Middle East region into a focal point of constant military conflicts which pose a serious threat to world peace.

95. The vital interests of the peoples of the Middle East, as well as the interests of international security as a whole, demand the earliest achievement of a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement in this region.

96. The basic principles for and concrete ways and means of solving this problem are embodied in the "Proposals by the Soviet Union on a Middle East settlement" [*see A/39/368*]. Most important of all, they involve recognition of the inadmissibility of acquiring other peoples' land by means of aggression. Consequently, the territories occupied by Israel since 1967 must be returned to the Arabs. The inalienable right of the Palestinian people—whose sole legitimate representative is the Palestine Liberation Organization [*PLO*]—to self-determination and to establish their own State must be ensured in practice. Finally, the state of war between the Arab States and Israel must be terminated and all States of the region must be guaranteed the right to a safe and independent existence and development.

97. A comprehensive, truly just and genuinely lasting Middle East settlement can be reached only through collective efforts in which all the parties concerned participate. An international conference on the Middle East could accomplish this major task. However, the United States and Israel are known to be staunchly opposed to the convening of such a conference.

98. The continuing exacerbation of the situation in Central America and the escalating armed interference by the United States in the affairs of the sovereign States of that region is a matter of grave concern. The piratical invasion of independent Grenada by the United States and its continuing occupation can only be qualified as terrorism.

99. The undeclared war being waged by the United States against Nicaragua through forming, arming and infiltrating that country with gangs of mercenaries is an act of State terrorism.

100. The same is true of United States policy in El Salvador, where reactionary factions, assisted and supported by Washington, are committing genocide against their own people in the hope of quenching the flames of their liberation struggle.

101. The Ukrainian SSR is strongly opposed to United States interference in the internal affairs of the sovereign States in Central America. We advocate a just political solution to the problems of this region through negotiation. We support the constructive proposals by Nicaragua and commend the efforts of the Contadora Group to prevent a large-scale conflict in that region. The Security Council and the General Assembly at its current session can and should play an important role in easing tensions and bringing about a political settlement in that area.

102. A dangerous hotbed of tension persists in southern Africa. Bolstered by the United States and some other Western countries, the racist régime in Pretoria is pursuing a policy of aggression and destabilization *vis-à-vis* the neighbouring African States. It is intensifying its reign of terror and repression against the indigenous populations of South Africa and illegally occupied Namibia and continues to block a settlement in Namibia.

103. The Ukrainian SSR supports the demand that the Security Council invoke comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa, in conformity with Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, in order to make the racists immediately withdraw their forces from Namibia, cease their aggressive actions against neighbouring States—above all, Angola—and abolish the shameful system of *apartheid*.

104. We are resolutely opposed to the policy of the United States and other NATO countries and Israel aimed at expanding military, political and economic co-operation with the racist régime of Pretoria.

105. The Ukrainian SSR condemns illegal actions by the United States to dismember the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands—Micronesia—and virtually to annex it and turn it into yet another strategic military springboard. Preventing the colonial enslavement of Micronesia and finalizing the process of decolonization in all other colonial and dependent Territories is an imperative need of our time, and the United Nations undoubtedly has an important role to play in attaining that goal.

106. The threat to the existence of the Republic of Cyprus as an independent, territorially integral and non-aligned State has grown considerably as a result of the actions of imperialist forces to foment hotbeds of tension in various regions of the world, including the eastern Mediterranean. In this context, we attach great importance to the mission of the Secretary-General, entrusted to him by the Security Council, to reach a political settlement of the Cyprus problem.

107. The tasks of improving the situation on the Asian continent are well served by the Soviet proposal[10] dealing with confidence-building measures in the Far East, including measures in the military field, and by the proposal of the Mongolian People's Republic[11] on concluding a convention on mutual non-aggression and the non-use of force in relations between the States of Asia and the Pacific.

108. The Ukrainian SSR has always supported the struggle of the Korean people for the peaceful and democratic reunification of their homeland after United States troops have been withdrawn from South Korea. We support the proposals of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea aimed at substantially improving the situation in Korea and creating favourable conditions for a fruitful dialogue between the North and the South.

109. We are whole-heartedly in favour of a political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan and oppose attempts to use the United Nations in order to interfere in the internal affairs of that country. We

fully support the realistic and constructive programme of political settlement put forward by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR would like to stress the importance of creating a favourable atmosphere for the continuation of talks between Afghanistan and Pakistan, conducted through the Personal Representative of the Secretary-General.

110. We fully support the well-known initiatives of Viet Nam, Laos and the People's Republic of Kampuchea regarding the normalization of the situation in South-East Asia. The countries of Indo-China have reaffirmed their constant readiness to promote dialogue with their neighbours in the interests of easing tensions and developing co-operation.

111. I should like also to express some thoughts of my delegation regarding the problem of current international economic relations. Imperialist States, and above all the United States, are openly pursuing a policy of undermining the peaceful foundations of trade and economic relations between States and blocking the restructuring of international economic relations on a just and democratic basis. In defiance of the generally accepted norms of relations between States, the ruling circles of those countries are tearing up agreements reached, setting up a trade, credit and technology blockade, and employing methods of strong-arm pressure, embargo and sanctions against those States which reject their dictates.

112. By making use of their predominant position in the world capitalist economy, they are seeking to shift onto the developing countries the deleterious consequences of economic crises, inflation and other upheavals that have become constant and characteristic features of the capitalist system today.

113. Last June, the member countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance adopted a declaration entitled "Maintenance of peace and international economic co-operation" [*see A/39/323, annex II*], which constitutes an elaborate programme of action to improve international relations. This programme envisages the implementation of recommendations and agreements, including those adopted within the United Nations, which have been worked out through the collective efforts of States and are aimed at developing mutually beneficial, fruitful economic co-operation and establishing a new international economic order.

114. The adoption of effective decisions and actions to implement the proposals contained in the declaration would undoubtedly promote the successful development of international economic co-operation and constitute a major contribution to consolidating international peace and security.

115. Recently, the Ukrainian people have been celebrating the fortieth anniversary of the liberation of the Ukraine from the Fascist aggressor. Next year—1985—we will solemnly, together with all peace-loving nations, mark the fortieth anniversary of the great victory in the Second World War. All the peoples who fought against fascism and militarism contributed to that victory. The Soviet Union's decisive role in it is indisputable.

116. The enormous sacrifices offered on the altar of that victory demand that we do everything that we can to avert and eliminate the threat of a new world war. This is the thrust of all efforts by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet State. Vladimir V. Shcherbitsky, Member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukrainian SSR, has noted in this connection:

> "The Soviet people realize that the objective of the clear and consistent peace-loving policy of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is to build confidence among nations and to return to détente and co-operation. Our party and Government and our friends are taking all possible measures to preserve peace for the present and succeeding generations."

117. The Ukrainian SSR will continue actively to support the efforts of the United Nations aimed at averting the threat of nuclear war, curbing the arms race, eliminating pockets of tension and expanding and deepening mutually beneficial co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

118. Mr. ABDULLA (Oman) (*interpretation from Arabic*): I take great pleasure, Sir, in extending to you my warmest congratulations on your election as President of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. I am quite confident that your wisdom and competence will contribute to the success of this session. It is also my privilege to express our profound gratitude to Mr. Jorge Illueca, the President of Panama, for the able manner in which he conducted the work of the thirty-eighth session.

119. I should like also to avail myself of this opportunity to express our gratitude to the Secretary-General for the efforts he has made since he took office and to wish him every success in dealing with the difficult tasks facing the international community.

Mr. Helgason (Iceland), Vice-President, took the Chair.

120. It is a pleasure for me to welcome Brunei Darussalam, under the leadership of Sultan Hassan Al-Bolkiah to membership of the United Nations.

121. Today, more than ever before, there is a growing sense of instability in the world. Threats of armed conflict increase, with no sign on the horizon that could make us hope that solutions will be found. Similarly, the anxiety and fear felt especially among the third-world nations, to which we belong, increase the possibility that, in any one of the hotbeds of tension, the situation will deteriorate into outright war.

122. The stage of international affairs that we are witnessing at present is particularly disturbing. On the one hand, there is an ever-increasing feeling of insecurity and a tendency to resort to the use of force rather than to seek mutual understanding for the settlement of conflicts, while, on the other hand, the economic situation is constantly deteriorating.

123. The significant results achieved by the United Nations in humanitarian fields pale in comparison to the tragedies of war, the killings, the displacement of innocent people, the poverty and hunger that threaten millions of human beings. This is so true that any reference to achievements becomes a mere attempt to escape from reality.

124. The deterioration in the international political and economic situation has been and is being brought about by a growing trend towards the threat or use of force, continued interference in the internal affairs of States, exploitation of certain States by

others and violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of many of them; and all this is combined with the heightening of confrontation between the super-Powers, the revival of the cold war, and the competition for spheres of influence, heralding an increased possibility of general confrontation.

125. Given that situation, it is necessary to intensify our efforts to observe more strictly the international legal norms and the principles and Charter of the United Nations, and to respect and implement the Organization's resolutions. The United Nations is the only organization capable of ridding mankind of the spectre of chaos, war and hunger.

126. The Assembly's agenda is composed of numerous, complicated items requiring concerted action by all countries of the world. Perhaps one of the most important and complex matters that have faced the Organization since its establishment is the question of the Palestinian people. It is now high time for Israel to understand that the only road to peace is through dialogue and negotiation, leading to a just solution that will restore the dignity of the Palestinian people and ensure their legitimate right to self-determination, including the right to establish their own independent State. Israel must also understand that resort to the use of force cannot guarantee its peace or security. It will not be able to achieve stability or ensure its interests if it persists in ignoring the interests of the Palestinians and continues to violate the sovereignty and security of neighbouring States.

127. Israel's rejection of the various peace initiatives and its frustration of all attempts to solve the Palestinian question make it responsible for the state of war and tension prevailing in the Middle East.

128. The Sultanate of Oman, which has supported all the efforts of those who seek peace in the region and work to achieve it, endorses the Geneva Declaration on Palestine calling for the convening of an international peace conference on the Middle East, in which all the interested parties would participate.[12] The endorsement by the General Assembly, at its last session, of the guidelines of the Geneva Declaration calling for the attainment by the Palestinian people of their inalienable, legitimate rights is an important step in the context of international efforts to achieve a political settlement of this conflict. We understand full well, however, that no conference will succeed without the participation of all the parties concerned.

129. We consider the Palestinian-Jordanian *rapprochement*, as evidenced by the continued and intensified bilateral talks, to be a positive and encouraging factor for mobilizing the Arab efforts and setting the stage for decisive action aimed at achieving a political solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict.

130. For the past two years, Lebanon has been subjected to the burden of the Israeli presence in its country. The continued occupation of southern Lebanon by Israel reveals that the reasons given are illogical and mere attempts to justify Israel's brutal invasion of Lebanon. We demand that Israel cease its violation of Lebanese territory and withdraw unconditionally therefrom.

131. We are pleased to see today that the people of Lebanon are in the process of recovering from their ordeal, having formed a national Government which has begun to restore their confidence and security and to put a halt to all practices contrary to their independence, sovereignty and unity.

132. During the course of this year, the shelling of oil tankers of the countries of the Gulf Co-operation Council, which were sailing between the ports of countries that are not engaged in the hostilities, constituted a clear attempt to expand the scope of the war between Iran and Iraq. Freedom of navigation is a principle which every Member of the international community recognizes and protects. Any violation of security and navigation in the Gulf region—a region of vital economic and strategic importance—can lead to interference in the region on the part of the super-Powers. Therefore, we call for compliance with Security Council resolution 552 (1984), which expresses the concern of the international community to ensure the freedom and safety of navigation in the region.

133. Oman noted with great satisfaction the acceptance by both Iraq and Iran of the Secretary-General's proposal, which resulted in an end to attacks against all cities in the two countries. Oman also supports all efforts and contacts initiated by States of the region with a view to reaching an early settlement of the conflict by peaceful means. We appeal to Iran to respond to those peace overtures, which serve the interests of the peoples of the two countries and the region as a whole, in the same positive manner in which Iraq has responded.

134. Recently, several ships in the Red Sea suffered damage as a result of mines. Endangering international maritime transport is an irresponsible act, and we call upon the international community to take a strong stand against that act. We also commend the work undertaken by certain States in clearing the navigation routes of the Red Sea of mines in order to make them safe and navigable.

135. Almost five years have elapsed since the occupation of Afghanistan by the Soviet Union took place. Despite resolutions of the United Nations and appeals from non-aligned countries and the Islamic world, the Muslim people of Afghanistan are still subjected to foreign domination. While we appreciate the efforts exerted by the Personal Representative of the Secretary-General, we cannot accept the continuation of this state of affairs as a *de facto* situation. We demand the immediate withdrawal of the Soviet troops and call for a peaceful solution which will ensure the right to self-determination of the people of Afghanistan and a safe and honourable return of the refugees to their homeland.

136. In South-East Asia, a solution is yet to be found to the problem of Kampuchea. We reiterate our call for the implementation of the relevant United Nations resolutions calling for the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchean territory. We continue to support the Association of South-East Asian Nations in its efforts to work out a solution to the Kampuchean problem and to bring about national unity and self-determination for the people of Kampuchea without any foreign interference.

137. Conflicts and instability remain a cause for concern in the Horn of Africa. Oman takes great interest in the events unfolding in that area. We urge that an end be put to attempts at interference in the internal affairs of the States of the region.

138. We reiterate our condemnation of the *apartheid* policy of the Government of South Africa,

which is contrary to the norms of international and humanitarian conduct. We hold the racist Government of South Africa responsible for the failure of the negotiations on Namibia, held at Lusaka last May, and at Mindelo, Cape Verde, in July. The obstacles South Africa introduced to impede the negotiations are part of a ruse by which it seeks to perpetuate the oppression of the Namibian people and the exploitation of their natural resources. We urge once again that efforts be continued to enable the Namibian people to gain the right to self-determination and independence.

139. The Indian Ocean remains the scene of rivalries between the super-Powers. By virtue of our geographic location as a coastal State and our membership of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Indian Ocean, we are intent on implementing the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace [*resolution 2832 (XXVI)*]. We strongly urge that an end be put to the escalation of competition between the super-Powers for spheres of influence in this region. While we are satisfied to a certain extent by the limited progress which was achieved at the meeting of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Indian Ocean, held in July last year, particularly in regard to the draft agenda, we call on the Committee to intensify its efforts to conclude its preparatory work so that the Conference on the Indian Ocean can be held in the first half of 1985.

140. We are following with concern the tensions and violence in Central America. The settlement of disputes, whether internal or external, must be pursued on the basis of respect for the rights of peoples and the sovereignty of States. Intervention by the super-Powers in the internal affairs of States of the region must not be allowed. We call on the Contadora Group to continue its endeavours to formulate a solution that will ensure a return of stability and peace to the States of the region.

141. The call for disarmament is no longer a political question but, rather, a matter of human survival on this planet. The continued escalation of the arms race, especially the nuclear arms race, has created an explosive international situation, characterized by an increased dependence on force, and has led to insecurity and instability in international relations and to the waste of enormous sums and economic resources at a time when millions are suffering from extreme poverty, hunger and unemployment. We wish to express our concern and disappointment at the breakdown of the Geneva talks on disarmament. We urge all parties to resume those talks and effectively to eliminate weapons of mass destruction, which could cause total annihilation, but which some claim are of a defensive nature.

142. The international economic situation is in no better shape than the state of co-operation in the political and security areas. There is chaos in the international monetary system, while the shrinking of international trade, fluctuation in the prices of raw materials, proliferation of protectionism, constraints on the flow of capital and high interest rates continue to aggravate the balance-of-payments deficits in the developing countries, increase their indebtedness and diminish their ability to service the debts—a series of events which has led to the bankruptcy of some of those countries.

143. We are all aware that the existing systems are incapable of solving the problems faced in the global economy. The lack of confidence between developed and developing countries and the narrow and subjective perspective in the approach to the crisis are the reasons for the failure of all North-South forums, including the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held at Belgrade from 6 June to 2 July 1983, and the Fourth General Conference of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization, held at Vienna from 2 to 19 August 1984.

Mr. Lusaka (Zambia) resumed the Chair.

144. The international economic crisis requires an immediate and comprehensive solution which will take into account the legitimate interests of all States. In spite of all the difficulties we have encountered, we still consider that collective and constructive dialogue, in which all States participate on an equal footing, is the best way to resolve the problems facing us and to identify and adopt long-term measures and reforms.

145. Mr. ESTIMÉ (Haiti) (*interpretation from French*): First of all, Sir, on behalf of the Haitian delegation, I wish to offer you my warmest congratulations on your election to the presidency of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly, where you will not fail to display the eminent qualities which won you this honour and which are already your hallmark as President of the United Nations Council for Namibia. In choosing you, the Assembly has paid a well-deserved tribute to your diplomatic skills and, through you, to your country, Zambia, which remains a symbol and a model in the struggle against racism and *apartheid* in southern Africa.

146. I also wish to express once again to the Secretary-General the total confidence and profound respect of the Haitian Government for his tireless efforts throughout the year in the service of peace and international co-operation. We shall continue unreservedly to support all his initiatives with a view to strengthening the often thankless task of the Organization in the indispensable and so difficult dialogue that is the corner-stone of relations among peoples and States.

147. We also joyfully welcome Brunei Darussalam to the great family of the United Nations. We are sure it will make an active and valuable contribution to the work of the Organization.

148. On the eve of the assessment of the first 40 years of the work of the United Nations, we must once again confess that our most profound hopes have been dashed and that the world of peace, justice and brotherhood to which we naturally aspired seems to recede daily. We must recognize that hotbeds of tension have increased, East-West tension has never been so high and the arms race has taken on the look of a crazy, dangerous adventure, the cost of which is a constant insult to the third world in its misery.

149. We must also emphasize that the international community has never possessed so many different resources and that today, towards the end of this twentieth century, men have never had such mastery over matter, thanks to the spectacular progress in science and technology.

150. We must therefore seek the true sources of these repeated failures in the implacable selfishness, excessive ambition and senseless fanaticism of many and in our deepest and most ingrained prejudices, and we must finally understand that in these circum-

stances it is indeed difficult for the Organization to fulfil the noble and delicate mission entrusted to it.

151. Thus, fully convinced of our unavoidable common destiny, the Haitian Government would like to restate its firm belief that, despite its institutional flaws, the United Nations continues to represent the most appropriate instrument for the achievement of our ideals, and we urge all States Members, and particularly those who are members of the Security Council, faithfully to abide by the spirit and letter of the Charter of the United Nations. For, despite our disappointments and feelings of frustration, there is no alternative to the methodical pursuit of dialogue and consultation in full respect for the rules of law and the universally acknowledged principles of equality, justice and sovereignty which undoubtedly constitute the most precious asset of our common heritage.

152. It is thus against that background, and with an awareness of the gravity of recent developments in the international situation, that the Haitian Government proposes to restate its position on the principal items on the Assembly's agenda, in the hope that it can make a contribution, however modest, to the solution of the problems that seem to be jeopardizing the future of mankind.

153. In this connection, the recent events in South Africa, in the course of which new martyrs were added to the blood-stained list of the victims of *apartheid*, have in a very special way drawn our attention to a state of affairs that constitutes not only the most flagrant of violations of fundamental human rights but also a standing challenge to the Organization, which since 1946 has found itself powerless to eradicate from the face of the earth this last vestige of racism and colonialism.

154. Availing itself of the indifference of certain nations, the Pretoria régime continues to build up its arsenal of constitutional and legal provisions enshrining the *de facto* inferiority of the black majority and opening the door to the most violent manifestations of unbridled despotism.

155. Faithful to its historic traditions, the Haitian Government most strongly condemns the indefensible conduct of the racist minority of Pretoria and welcomes the recent adoption of General Assembly resolution 39/2, which rejected as null and void the so-called new constitution of South Africa. We are deeply attached to the people of South Africa and we reaffirm our unconditional solidarity with them in their heroic struggle to bring about the total elimination of the *apartheid* régime.

156. We cannot fail to denounce the open complicity of which countries lending political, economic, military and nuclear co-operation to the South African régime—on the highly suspect pretext of maintaining strategic interests—are guilty. We call upon them no longer to oppose the adoption of comprehensive mandatory sanctions that alone can prevail against Pretoria's brutal arrogance and lead to the establishment of an open, democratic and multiracial society in South Africa.

157. Moreover, confident in its great military and economic power, encouraged by the success of its destabilization campaign against neighbouring States, South Africa is persisting in its occupation of Namibia, in violation of relevant resolutions of the Security Council, particularly resolution 435 (1978), which laid the foundations for a peaceful, negotiated settlement of the Namibian question. With recourse now to violence, now to intimidation, now to trickery, the South African Government seeks by every possible means to consolidate its hold on Namibia.

158. In these circumstances, we must congratulate SWAPO, the sole authentic and legitimate representative of the Namibian people, for its spirit of moderation and for the great flexibility and political maturity it has demonstrated in the face of the bad faith and intransigence of South Africa throughout the negotiations designed to implement resolution 435 (1978).

159. In solidarity with the Namibian people, the Republic of Haiti categorically rejects any attempt to link the independence of Namibia to any geopolitical considerations and to the solution of matters that fall exclusively within the purview of the sovereignty of other States. We advocate the genuine independence of Namibia on the basis of resolution 435 (1978), and we call upon the Security Council to shoulder its responsibilities by adopting the sanctions provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations. We solemnly appeal to the international community to see to it that the Namibian people are enabled fully to exercise their sovereignty over their own territory and that they are guaranteed their inalienable rights to freedom, dignity and happiness.

160. Elsewhere in Africa, other hotbeds of tension jeopardize political stability and delay the social and economic development of countries of the region.

161. While particularly deploring the internal struggles that have divided Chad, the Government of Haiti hails with satisfaction the announcement of the withdrawal of foreign troops as an indispensable step towards the establishment of a lasting peace that will enable that nation to return to unity through dialogue and to exercise its sovereignty over the whole of its territory.

162. With respect to Western Sahara, the Republic of Haiti continues to believe in the possibility of a peaceful solution based on the principle of self-determination, in keeping with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and with the relevant resolutions adopted by the Organization of African Unity [*OAU*], which we hope will be implemented without delay with the active assistance of the States most directly concerned.

163. In the Middle East, as we have often repeated, the solution of the crisis is to be found in the establishment of an overall peace on the basis of the principles of law, morality and justice, a peace that will include recognition and respect by all its neighbours of Israel's right to exist within secure and recognized boundaries. Similarly, the Haitian Government feels that there can be no question of challenging the right of the Palestinian people to true self-determination within a physical, legal and administrative framework in keeping with their legitimate aspirations. In this connection, discussion and dialogue are, in our opinion, the best means for making progress towards that goal, and certain rather encouraging, albeit somewhat timorous, events lead us to feel that good faith and reason may yet prevail over hatred and blindness in that part of the world of such importance in the history of mankind.

164. As for Lebanon, a martyred country in which a particularly explosive situation prevails created by the presence of two armies of occupation, there can be no doubt that the withdrawal of those troops, in

keeping with the wishes of the Lebanese Government and people, would contribute to establishing conditions favourable to national reconciliation and reconstruction.

165. The question of Cyprus continues to occupy an important place in the discussions of the United Nations. Our position on this question remains unchanged; we advocate respect for the territorial integrity, independence and sovereignty of that island, as well as the withdrawal of all foreign forces. The Republic of Haiti welcomes the efforts of the Secretary-General in carrying out his mission of good offices and we hope that that mission will be crowned with success.

166. In Asia, there are continuing hotbeds of tension created and fed by the expansionist aims of certain States which are clearly determined to impose their will upon others by means of an illegal military presence, in flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations. How can we fail to mention in this connection the tragedy occurring in occupied Afghanistan and Cambodia? Haiti warmly hails the patriotic struggle of the Khmer and Afghan peoples and wishes to express its deep gratitude to the Secretary-General and his representatives and to all those who, in one capacity or another, are working for the restoration of peace and security in that sorely tried part of the world. We join the international community in calling for the total, immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all occupation troops, thereby enabling those States freely to choose the form of government they wish, free from any kind of foreign pressures.

167. The Republic of Haiti also wishes once again to express its strongest support for the Korean people. We are convinced that the problems between the North and the South must be settled by negotiation, and we therefore call upon the parties to show good faith in renewing their dialogue. We noted with satisfaction the courageous initiatives of the Government of South Korea for the peaceful reunification of the Korean nation, and we remain convinced that direct bilateral contacts, without outside interference, are the only way to reduce tension and create the conditions that will lead to reconciliation.

168. I cannot complete this brief summary without giving Central America the special attention that it deserves from a Caribbean country which is following with concern the development of a tragedy whose devastating effects could quickly extend well beyond the region now involved.

169. It is important first to stress that, as we have often stated, the present crisis has its roots in the many serious socio-economic difficulties affecting the region, difficulties whose solution requires an exemplary effort of international solidarity, particularly on the part of the regional Powers, concerned about the continent's future. Therefore, there is no question of reducing to the single dimension of the East-West conflict a whole body of fundamental problems that can be resolved only by the peoples of the region themselves, who have the exclusive right to decide their type of society and establish their own development model.

170. In this spirit, the Haitian Government, in keeping with the principles that have always inspired its foreign policy, continues unreservedly to support the constructive approaches courageously made by the Contadora Group to restore, by means of dialogue and negotiation, peace and security, which are the irreplaceable foundations of all economic and social progress. We are happy to note that patience and goodwill have led to the elaboration of a coherent and balanced body of concrete proposals, grouped together in the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America [*A/39/562, annex*], the final version of which will have to be adopted soon if we want to avoid a general conflict breaking out before long.

171. It is therefore essential for the protagonists not to hesitate to add deeds to their words—that is, faithfully to respect their commitments and effectively to reduce the level of armaments, for any other attitude could bring about reactions and could upset the balance of forces and regional security.

172. In the South Atlantic, despite the lesson of the Malvinas, Great Britain is pursuing a policy of military expansion, which leads us to believe that it is prepared to maintain its colonial presence, in disregard of Argentine sovereignty. In so doing, it is failing in its fundamental obligation to seek a peaceful, negotiated solution to the problems between it and the Argentine Republic and to abstain from any measure that might increase tension in the area. We regret that the first contacts have not been followed up, and we urge the parties to resume the negotiations in earnest, in order to achieve, with the assistance of the good offices of the Secretary-General, a just and equitable solution to a dispute that has gone on for more than a century.

173. Just below the surface of all these conflicts, in the background of the bloody confrontations which plunge the world into mourning, there is the terrible problem of the arms race, which every year assumes more tragic dimensions, despite the appeals, recommendations and condemnations of the world's highest moral authorities. It is clear that the great Powers bear the full responsibility for solving this harrowing question and that only dialogue and consultation can settle the matter satisfactorily, it being borne in mind that the security of some cannot be assured at the expense of others.

174. While noting with interest the recent proposals put forward by President Reagan from this rostrum [*4th meeting*] to reduce tension and strengthen peace, we earnestly call for the establishment of multilateral machinery which will allow the transfer to international development institutions of the enormous resources which would be released by a programme of general, gradual and balanced disarmament.

175. The importance that most delegations have attached to an examination of the world economic situation shows the extent of the concern which continues to be caused by the unprecedented crisis which is affecting our countries and which in the final analysis is manifested by a disturbing worsening of the already precarious living conditions of the deprived peoples of the third world.

176. We well know the current manifestations—the spectacular deterioration of the terms of trade, the resultant drop in export earnings, the obvious slowing down in rates of investment and the considerable worsening of the debt problem, together with a drastic reduction in capital flows. All of this is leading to a marked decrease in per capita growth rates and production, leading to an alarming increase in unemployment and areas of poverty.

177. Thus, in Latin America and the Caribbean, in 1983, the gross domestic product fell by 3 per cent and the per capita income dropped by 6 per cent. At the same time, there continues to be such a reduction in international aid, in real terms, that there is reason to wonder how the third world can double its per capita output in the mid-1990s, as had been contemplated in the context of the Third United Nations Development Decade.

178. Without stressing the underlying causes of this state of affairs, we cannot but repeat that the industrialized nations bear a heavy share of the responsibility for the origins of this tragic situation, which so severely punishes the poor countries for crimes that they have not committed. Therefore, it is up to the rich countries to play a decisive role in creating an international environment capable of bringing about a healthy and lasting recovery which would be of benefit to all. Above all, it is their duty to show their political will to undertake the structural reforms that are indispensable for the establishment of a new order, which is not only a moral imperative but an economic necessity.

179. We are convinced that if the rich nations really wished to contribute more effectively to the development of the poor countries, and if they were truly convinced that it was in their interests and that perhaps their survival depended on it, those nations, which have successfully met extraordinary scientific and technical challenges, would find formulas, ways to intervene and suitable programmes to wipe hunger, ignorance and disease off the face of the earth.

180. Moreover, the recent excellent performance of certain Western economies gives reason for new hope—provided, however, that some basic truths are seriously borne in mind and are the foundation of policies for recovery.

181. First, it would be wrong to think that the strong growth of the rich countries can automatically bring about a revival of the weak economies of the third world, for there are in our regions certain structural deficiencies which prevent the mechanisms of the market from working normally and necessitate the intervention of the public sector and international co-operation.

182. Secondly, it is now recognized that the adjustment policies advocated by the West, and characterized in particular by drastic reductions in budgetary expenditures and imports, involve an excessive social cost, without, as one would expect, leading to the growth process that is sought. From one point of view, these are easy solutions which consist of provoking a global contraction of demand in the poor countries, to a degree difficult to support, while the industrialized nations shoulder only a derisory portion of the sacrifices. How can we fail to mention that some of the richer countries refuse to submit to the fiscal discipline that they would impose on others?

183. We believe that the adjustment process must be synonymous with dynamic reconstruction rather than passive constraint because, first and foremost, it must be designed to be productive and not to bring about poverty. Consequently, as a priority, in addition to the objectives already mentioned, it must include the creation of new jobs, the establishment of new industries, and, through the World Bank and IMF acting in close concert, the financing of new programmes, particularly in the key sectors of education, health, housing and agriculture.

184. Thirdly, it has been demonstrated that the economic recovery of the third world assumes that the rich countries will maintain a growth rate of more than 3 per cent, avoid protectionism, and act in such a way as to bring about a gradual lowering of interest rates, an improvement in the terms of trade, and the provision of adequate financing. Regarding this last point particularly, we deem it important to emphasize, in order to see the problem clearly, that whereas the non-oil-producing developing countries paid $52 billion in 1983 to private creditors, they received $20 billion in loans, $15 billion more than had been contemplated by IMF under the system of transfer of net resources.

185. External financing should, therefore, be increased to help debt-servicing, assist investment and stimulate exports. A world in which the developing countries are confronted simultaneously with a lowering of their standard of living and a draining of their capital is extremely volatile.

186. Fourthly, with regard to the least developed countries, there is little doubt that the success or failure of the Substantial New Programme of Action for the 1980s for the Least Developed Countries[13] constitutes the most eloquent test of the desire of the rich countries to restore the credibility of the North-South dialogue. If the international community is not in a position now to help this small group of countries, whose needs are relatively few, one may well ask oneself when and for whom it can do so.

187. On the eve of the mid-term review of the implementation of the Substantial New Programme of Action, we must admit that none of these objectives has been reached and that the level of aid remains far below that of the firm commitments made by the representatives of the donor countries. The Republic of Haiti therefore urges the United Nations to take special measures immediately, for two purposes at least: first, to maximize the aid given to the least developed countries by reducing the percentage of funds allocated to technical assistance—for which the experts are too costly in comparison with the services they render—and then apportioning most of the money thus made available to structural investments, which will have an irreversible effect in modifying the standard of living of the populations that benefit therefrom; and, secondly, to increase the number of programmes designed to bring back qualified personnel, the scarcest and most important of all resources, to their place of origin, that is to say, back to our own countries.

188. We must struggle against the flagrant contradiction of a promise of aid coupled with budgetary cuts, which inevitably brings about a decrease in the amount of money available for development. Clearly the time has come for the percentage of local resources required from the least developed countries to be systematically maintained at a level of less than 10 per cent.

189. Fifthly, the third world must now, more than ever before, rely on and reaffirm its own strength and systematically explore the many possibilities of South-South co-operation. Here, the Quito Plan of Action [*see A/39/118*] and the Cartagena Consensus [*A/39/331*] constitute excellent initiatives, as evidence of our willingness to assume responsibility for our own destiny and to attain our collective autonomy, especially with regard to food, through the

promotion of interregional exchanges and the exploitation of our immense resources.

190. The Republic of Haiti, in its capacity as Acting Chairman of the Caribbean Development and Co-operation Committee, would like to reaffirm its faith in the underlying unity of our region as an historical, geographical and cultural entity, called upon to develop with full respect for all the socio-political options of each and every member.

191. We have greeted with great hope the implementation of the initiative on the Caribbean Basin designed to attract numerous investments and facilitate access of our products to the American market. However, while recognizing the merits of this plan, which is based on the dynamism of free enterprise, we must admit that, while it contains provisions necessary for our economic development, those provisions are, nevertheless, insufficient and inadequate when viewed against the backdrop of the many needs of the region.

192. For its part, Haiti remains firmly convinced that the solution of our problems is to be found first and foremost in the effort which each one of our countries continues to make to maximize the utilization of its own national resources.

193. Hence, the Haitian Government, in keeping with the formal commitments of the life President of the Republic and with the profound wishes of the nation, is pursuing, successfully and with perseverance, a very important twofold effort, despite the precarious nature of the means available and the complexity of the many obstacles we face. We continue, on the one hand, methodically to establish a process of genuine democratization which takes into account our own specific characteristics, our historic traditions and our social and cultural realities. On the other hand, our Government is also trying to mobilize our unfortunately inadequate national resources to promote economic and social development, the purpose of which is, first of all, to satisfy the basic needs of the population before the year 2000. It is in the light of this dual purpose that we must view two major events in our present policy, namely, the unprecedented reform of the judicial system and the solemn launching, in August, by the Head of State, of the agricultural reform, designed to achieve self-sufficiency in food within 10 years.

194. The summary examination of the world situation which we have just given leads us to say in conclusion that there will be no progress towards peace and economic development in an increasingly interdependent world without true international solidarity, a true will for change, and genuine determination on the part of the larger countries to implement the various resolutions to which they have subscribed.

195. In this context, the role of the United Nations remains most important and the Haitian delegation is ready at all times to make an active contribution to any initiative which might bring us closer to our objectives. As was stated by President Jean-Claude Duvalier:

> "It is our dearest hope that 1985 may be the year of peace and that an important stage may be reached in negotiations to reduce international tensions and restore security wherever bloody conflicts are bringing about tragedy and suffering."

196. Mr. MWANGALE (Kenya): Permit me, Sir, to join other representatives who have spoken before me in congratulating you most warmly on your election to the high office of President of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. Your election is clear proof of the confidence placed in you personally by the General Assembly. It is also a great honour to your country, Zambia, and Africa as a whole. On behalf of my delegation, I wish you and the other officers of the Assembly success in your endeavours to guide the work of the thirty-ninth session to a successful conclusion.

197. I wish also to pay a tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Jorge Illueca, who with singular distinction led the General Assembly successfully through the thirty-eighth session. We owe him a debt of gratitude for his untiring efforts and the wisdom he displayed at all times.

198. In welcoming the State of Brunei Darussalam, the 159th Member of the United Nations, I congratulate it and also extend the hand of friendship and co-operation.

199. Allow me to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General and the entire staff of the United Nations system for the good services they have faithfully continued to render to the international community.

200. In opening my remarks at this session of the General Assembly, I should like to start with a vision of world peace. We in Kenya hold the view that the future of the planet we all jointly share depends on the strengthening of peaceful co-operation in relations among States and on such relations being devoid of unnecessary frictions.

201. Whenever international peace and security have been threatened, the General Assembly has not failed to exert maximum pressure on the side of peace, justice and mutual understanding. It is Kenya's sincere hope that this session of the Assembly will continue to respond favourably to the general will of the international community to maintain peace and stability for all nations.

202. The guiding spirit of my Government, under President Daniel Arap Moi, is the advocacy of peace, democracy and justice for all under the rule of law and the uplifting of the economic and social welfare of our people in unity, freedom and love for one another. This is the springboard and the foundation of our people's aspirations, and all our actions, both domestic and international, are tuned to promote, project and vigorously defend these goals. We extend the hand of friendship and co-operation to all nations which in turn do the same to us.

203. The problem of the *apartheid* system of South Africa has been on the agenda of the Organization for a long time. The racist régime in Pretoria continues to defy United Nations resolutions on this critical issue. The régime deprives the black people of that country of the right to enjoy basic human rights in their own land. In all walks of life, the black people in South Africa have no say in the conduct of the daily affairs affecting them. Their demands for social, economic and political changes for the benefit of all the people of the country are always ruthlessly suppressed by the racist régime in its desperate efforts to protect its inhuman *apartheid* policies. Measures are carefully designed for the forceful exploitation of the black man's human and material resources. These inhuman practices are the most basic causes of political tension and social conflict in the whole region. The stage has been progressively set for unavoidable social violence, with potential conse-

quences for international peace and security. The world witnessed dozens of people being killed and many more injured in early September this year, when unrest and violence occurred in the black townships of Sharpeville, Sebokeng and Evaton, south of Johannesburg. Thus, the racist régime is continuing to sharpen its weapons of terror further to undermine the demands of the black people for democracy, equality and justice for all.

204. The *apartheid* system has been condemned by the General Assembly as a crime against humanity. It is the moral duty of every country to do its utmost to achieve total destruction of this abhorrent system. In the efforts to achieve this objective, Kenya will not be found wanting. As my President, Daniel Arap Moi, said at the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly:

> "Across the whole spectrum of impact and meaning, *apartheid* torments the conscience of all civilized men. It violates those universal principles of human dignity and conduct which the United Nations has been authorized to codify and to harness. And there is no doubt that it affronts the very foundation of international law. On these three grounds alone, and there are many more, the only conclusion to be reached is that *apartheid* must be destroyed. In any case, there should never be any compromise with evil—and *apartheid* is, in every aspect, evil." [*11th meeting, para. 17.*]

205. My delegation, which represents a people that fought a bitter and costly war for the freedom and independence of our own country, is deeply concerned over the economic and military co-operation South Africa receives from some States Members of the United Nations. This support enables the régime to maintain its oppressive system against the African people. We appeal seriously to those countries to reconsider their position and adopt appropriate measures directed towards total isolation of South Africa in order to compel it to dismantle its *apartheid* system.

206. The reported development and possession of nuclear devices by South Africa is a matter of extreme concern to Africa, which has repeatedly warned against assistance being given to South Africa to develop nuclear capability. None of the previous pretensions that the arms and military assistance given to that country were for self-defence has stood the practical test. South Africa wants nuclear capability and huge arsenals of armaments to intimidate, destabilize and carry out aggression against neighbouring African States, and in particular the land-locked State of Lesotho. We refuse to accept that possession of weapons will ever deter the Africans in their resolve to fight for freedom, dignity and equality.

207. We cannot allow ourselves to be deceived by the enactment of the so-called new constitution in South Africa. We are resolved to continue our support to the liberation movements of South Africa until victory is won and democracy re-established in that country. We call upon other States to do the same until South Africa abandons the inhuman practices and policies of *apartheid.*

208. The international community has been seriously frustrated in its efforts to bring to an end the illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa. It is not my intention in this debate to dwell on the sad history of South Africa's aggression against Namibia. The records of this speak for themselves. Even friends and allies of South Africa should now agree with us on the imperative need for South Africa to evacuate Namibia and for the immediate implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). The international community must not waste any time; we must seriously examine why resolution 435 (1978) has not been implemented and then decide on the appropriate course of action to take. South Africa must not be allowed to continue using Namibia as a springboard for aggression and for destabilization of the neighbouring States.

209. The United Nations and all its organs, particularly the Security Council, must focus attention on bringing about the earliest implementation of the Security Council plan for the independence of Namibia provided for in resolution 435 (1978). We all agree that the plan envisaged in that resolution remains the only basis for the peaceful transition to independence of that Territory.

210. In his report on Namibia pursuant to Security Council resolution 532 (1983),[14] the Secretary-General confirmed that all the outstanding issues relevant to that resolution had been resolved. He also made it clear to South Africa that the linkage of Cuban troops in Angola with the independence of Namibia introduced an irrelevant and extraneous issue. Kenya fully agrees with the Secretary-General and hopes that Namibia will attain its independence before the end of this year.

211. Allow me to comment briefly on the Horn of Africa. Kenya is part of the Horn, and we are naturally deeply interested in all developments in that region. The area is still plagued by tensions and conflicts which adversely affect economic, political and social development and relations among States in that part of the world.

212. The Government of Kenya pursues a policy of good-neighbourliness with all its neighbours. We are convinced that without peace and mutual understanding there can never be significant progress in all aspects of human development. During the past few months, my President, Daniel Arap Moi, has personally held consultations with all the leaders in the Horn of Africa. The leaders of the area are dedicated and experienced statesmen, deeply devoted to the welfare of their peoples. This is an asset. My President found the experience both rewarding and encouraging. Consequently, Kenya feels duty-bound to continue the quest for peaceful relations, good-neighbourliness and economic co-operation in our region. We are convinced that these objectives are paramount and stand above any political persuasion or differences. Kenya therefore appeals to all the States in the area to redouble their efforts in the search for lasting peace, co-operation and mutual security. Any encouragement by other States towards these noble goals would undoubtedly attract our support.

213. I now turn my attention to the area of the Middle East. Like the peoples of southern Africa, the peoples of the Middle East have not enjoyed any peace for many years. The core of the problem is the denial of the exercise of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people and Israel's refusal to implement the relevant resolutions of the United Nations. We have stated time and again that no durable peace can be achieved in the area until the legitimate rights of the Palestinians to self-determination and to an

independent State of their own in the region are realized. The right of others in that region also to live in peace within secure and internationally recognized borders must also be respected.

214. The problem in the Middle East has been further aggravated by Israel's invasion and occupation of Lebanon in June 1982. Israel owes its legal existence to the United Nations, and it should not flout the Charter and resolutions of the Organization with impunity.

215. Elsewhere, the international political situation has not taken a turn for the better. We are disappointed that, despite the Organization's call for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan and Kampuchea, those countries still remain under foreign military occupation. In the Gulf area, a devastating war between Iran and Iraq continues unabated, with heavy losses of human lives and material on both sides. Farther afield, North and South Korea have yet to find a peaceful solution to their unification problem. We recognize the complexity of the problem, but we see no alternative to continued dialogue and the improvement of mutual trust and confidence between the two countries.

216. The tragedy afflicting Cyprus also deserves our attention. In this respect, we refer to Security Council resolutions 541 (1983) and 550 (1984), in which the Council condemned all secessionist actions. Kenya has always called and will continue to call for respect for and recognition of the territorial integrity, independence, sovereignty and non-aligned status of the State of Cyprus.

217. It is clear that super-Power rivalry is evident in the Indian Ocean. This rivalry is a threat to the countries in the region and undermines the efforts of the international community to convene an international conference on the implementation of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace [*resolution 2832 (XXVI)*]. An international conference on this subject would bring together all the concerned States and maritime Powers to harmonize their views and to resolve issues that are impeding the establishment of a zone of peace in the area. We believe that the success of such a conference could be facilitated through a firm commitment by the countries of the region, by great Powers and by maritime users to the principles of the Declaration. Kenya has called and will continue to call for the implementation of the Declaration.

218. Disarmament has become an absolute and urgent necessity, particularly in the field of nuclear weapons. The pressing task which confronts the international community is to seek the reversal of the arms buildup and ultimately to bring about the complete elimination of these man-made objects of self-destruction.

219. Indeed, there are two elements in Kenya's perception of disarmament. First, we believe that there is an intrinsic correlation between progress towards disarmament and the international political situation. Goals of disarmament cannot be reached in a political climate devoid of mutual confidence and characterized by tensions and breaches of the peace. Secondly, no moral, ideological or political explanation is sufficiently convincing to justify the present diversion of colossal human and material resources to improving and augmenting the already formidable nuclear and conventional arsenals.

220. The time has come for the General Assembly to adopt a convention that would give unqualified guarantees of the security of non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or the threat of use of nuclear weapons against them at any time. The nuclear Powers and all militarily significant States must be persuaded to desist from the production of these weapons and to channel the vast and invaluable resources so released to the economic and social development and the well-being of all mankind. Kenya stands ready and willing to continue playing its part in strengthening international understanding. To this end, Kenya wishes to make a special appeal to the super-Powers to increase their efforts towards relaxation of tensions, mutual understanding and greater co-operation in the search for world peace and development.

221. For the last 10 years, the Special Committee on the Charter of the United Nations and on the Strengthening of the Role of the Organization has been searching for an acceptable formula for strengthening the effectiveness of the United Nations. Despite the very slow progress and the minimal results achieved over the years, we still have some hope of progress. Preventive diplomacy, although provided for in the Charter, is a question that had not previously been given detailed attention. We note that discussions have now opened on this matter, and we expect future proceedings to adopt the serious and purposeful approach demonstrated at its session last April. In its search for structural improvements, the Special Committee should not lose sight of its original objectives. These include: strengthening of the role of the Security Council and serious assumption by the Council of its responsibilities, including those provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter; strengthening of the role of the General Assembly, including a timely examination of the question of non-implementation of General Assembly resolutions; and analysing early-warning mechanisms for prevention of friction and international disputes. It is my Government's view that these issues cannot be considered in isolation from one another, but need to be examined concurrently.

222. On the question of developing a mechanism for dispute settlement under the United Nations, my Government fully supports the efforts of the members of the Special Committee to provide for a mechanism which is effective and efficient. We feel that this would enhance the role of the United Nations, promote negotiated solutions to conflicts and provide a useful mechanism for making contacts between parties to disputes. Such a proposal would also be in line with the Manila Declaration on the Peaceful Settlement of International Disputes [*resolution 37/10, annex*].

223. In our region, we are systematically engaged in serious efforts to find peaceful solutions to various disputes and tensions. Successful completion of the work of the Special Committee will greatly enhance peaceful relations among neighbours in our part of the world.

224. I turn now to the work of the Preparatory Commission for the International Sea-Bed Authority and for the International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea. Kenya supports the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea[4] as an important instrument that represents a codification and progressive development of international law. Kenya continues to follow keenly the steps taken by the United Nations

and its Member States to implement this Convention. Consequently, we have participated actively in the work of the Preparatory Commission, which continues to serve as an important link between the objectives of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea and the activities of Member States in and beyond the waters under their national jurisdiction.

225. We urge all signatories to the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea and those to the Final Act of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea[15] that are participating in the Preparatory Commission to display the same political will and resolve as they demonstrated during the negotiations on the Convention to enable the Preparatory Commission to pave the way for the early coming into force of that Convention. In this connection, we call on all States to refrain from taking any action that would delay the early entry into force of the Convention or impair its universality. Kenya supports the work of the Preparatory Commission and reaffirms its commitment to participate actively in its future deliberations.

226. As we meet here today, developing countries continue to be faced with critical economic problems, including serious balance-of-payments problems, unfavourable terms of trade, debt problems, high interest rates, foreign exchange shortages, high rates of inflation, rapidly rising unemployment, and prolonged and devastating drought and famine.

227. Kenya has followed with great concern the depressing international economic situation. In the last few months, a few industrialized countries have appeared to be on the threshold of economic recovery and one hopes that these indicators point to long and lasting prosperity.

228. Nevertheless, these signs of economic recovery in some major industrialized countries must not be allowed to distract our attention from the need for co-ordinated and world-wide efforts to bring about economic growth in the developing countries as two inseparable activities. We in Kenya cannot therefore accept the premise that if economic recovery is achieved in the developed countries the developing countries will automatically benefit as a result of such recovery. We do not accept the "trickling down" theory in modern international economic relations. While we welcome the signs of recovery in some parts of the world, that recovery is not likely to have much effect on the economies of the developing countries for some time to come.

229. The recent economic recession in the developed countries inevitably had an adverse effect on world trade and hence upon the economic fortunes of most developing countries. The very depressed state of demand in industrialized countries meant the continuing decline in world commodity prices. The terms of trade of non-oil-producing developing countries remained at about 20 per cent below the 1977-1979 average.

230. In reviewing the global economic situation, therefore, we cannot disguise our exasperation at the rather protracted malaise that continues to afflict the world economy. The crisis, which has now reached unprecedented proportions, is threatening the stability and stifling the economic growth of all countries. Consequently, the economic resilience and margin of safety once available to many developing countries continue to be severely eroded. The harsh realities besetting the world economic scene today, compounded by cyclical factors, are in truth symptomatic of more fundamental inadequacies plaguing the international economic system. Since the sixth special session of the General Assembly, in 1974, many initiatives have been taken and numerous conferences and meetings held in vain attempts to redress these structural imbalances. The failure of these efforts to improve the international economic order does not negate their validity, nor should it diminish our commitment to the eventual achievement of their aim. Kenya once more reiterates its strong commitment to the establishment of the new international economic order. We should like to see equitable participation by all nations in the productive and decision-making processes of the global economy.

231. Kenya fully supports the efforts of the non-aligned countries and the Group of 77 to address these problems, as manifested at the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi from 7 to 12 March 1983, and the Fifth Ministerial Meeting of the Group of 77, held at Buenos Aires from 28 March to 9 April 1983. Immediate measures to stimulate world economic recovery and to accelerate development in the developing countries are urgently needed. Prominent among these measures is the proposal to convene an international conference on money and finance for development. We feel that the launching of global negotiations is long overdue, and we continue to advocate the early launching of such negotiations. My delegation therefore calls upon all the parties concerned to iron out their differences without undue delay.

232. As we gather here to take stock of events of the last 12 months, it is impossible not to note the following. First, the outcome of the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held at Belgrade from 6 June to 2 July 1983, was a disappointing experience for the developing countries. Secondly, not much meaningful progress has been achieved in the attempts to launch global negotiation. Thirdly, an attempt to review and appraise the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade in May of this year was not much of a success. Fourthly, the Intergovernmental Committee on Science and Technology for Development and the Committee on the Development and Utilization of New and Renewable Sources of Energy have also not made much progress in their respective areas of competence, as envisaged by the General Assembly when they were set up. Fifthly, the recently concluded Fourth General Conference of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization, held at Vienna from 2 to 19 August, failed to reach a consensus regarding policy guidelines and the mobilization of resources for the industrialization of the developing countries.

233. We therefore feel that there is a need to sort out collectively the differences and difficulties that continue to obstruct meaningful progress in our dialogue. We feel that negotiations rather than confrontation should be our central theme. I feel obliged to emphasize this point because we have been criticizing the outcome of many conferences, year after year, without giving thought to the persistent confrontation between groups. This is the root cause of our failures. The solution is flexibility and accommodation of each other's views. We have a collective responsibility, as members of the international com-

munity, to find ways and means of improving the quality of life of all the peoples of the world.

234. We are all in general agreement that now more than ever before the developing countries are faced with serious economic problems. We see international trade as a very important component of economic co-operation. Its decline has deprived the developing countries of the much-needed foreign exchange essential for the importation of capital goods and other relevant inputs for their development efforts. Additionally, their terms of trade have seriously deteriorated since 1980, when prices of primary commodities collapsed. The wave of protectionism in the developed countries, particularly the developed market economy countries, has been more evident since 1980 than ever before. This has been due to the inward-looking policies practised by most of these countries. We note, with dismay, that neither the November 1982 ministerial meeting of the contracting parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade nor the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development reached the sort of liberal consensus which had characterized the earlier trade rounds.

235. Collective self-reliance as expressed through economic and technical co-operation among developing countries is a dynamic process. Such a process should prove critical for the revitalization of the development of their economies and also contribute greatly to sustained global recovery. Economic and technical co-operation among developing countries is indeed an integral part of Kenya's foreign policy. Within our limited capacities we have extended technical co-operation programmes to various developing countries, both within and outside our region. We continue to call repeatedly on developing countries to intensify their co-operation at subregional, regional and interregional levels in all fields.

236. Kenya urges the developed countries to view activities connected with economic co-operation among developing countries and technical co-operation among developing countries as being complementary to North-South co-operation. The developed countries should, therefore, accord all necessary support to both such activities. It was in the spirit of South-South co-operation that developing countries adopted in 1981 the Caracas Programme of Action,[2] the implementation of which has been enhanced by the many intergovernmental economic and technical meetings in the last few years.

237. In a number of regions also, new initiatives in connection with South-South co-operation have been undertaken. To this end, my country, together with other countries of eastern and southern Africa, concluded at Lusaka in December 1981 a treaty establishing a preferential trade area for the subregion. The area, which has a potential membership of 20 countries, has been operational since July of this year. Its aim is to achieve the expansion of subregional trade and co-operation in agricultural, industrial, transport and communications development.

238. Let me say a few words about our efforts in east Africa in the area of economic and technical co-operation among developing countries. We recognize that the primary responsibility for solving our economic problems rests with ourselves. We therefore actively co-operate with our neighbours in an effort to exploit our potential. I am delighted to say that Kenya has undertaken joint projects with neighbouring countries in various fields. I am also pleased to say that since November of last year the east African subregion has made notable progress towards South-South co-operation. Early this year, the Governments of Kenya, Uganda and the United Republic of Tanzania agreed on modalities of co-operation. I am confident that we shall be able to intensify our economic activities and achieve tremendous revitalization of our economies in the subregion. This co-operation will serve to enhance the preferential trade area and other forms of co-operation in Africa.

239. Kenya attaches great importance and meaning to the industrialization of the developing countries, particularly those of sub-Saharan Africa. The Fourth General Conference of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization is still fresh in our minds. Our immediate reaction to the outcome of that Conference is that it failed to agree on the fundamental issue of financing the industrialization of the developing countries. We hope that when this item is discussed in the Assembly an acceptable solution will be found.

240. Kenya views science and technology as crucial vehicles for development in developing countries. It is regrettable that, five years after the adoption of the Vienna Programme of Action on Science and Technology for Development,[16] no meaningful agreement has been reached to implement the programme, in particular as it relates to mobilization of financial resources. We therefore urge Governments to intensify their efforts towards early implementation of the Programme.

241. Energy is an essential component of the development process. The need to shift from dependence on conventional sources of energy to much greater reliance on alternative sources cannot be over-emphasized. It was in view of this that the international community adopted, in 1981, the Nairobi Programme of Action for the Development and Utilization of New and Renewable Sources of Energy.[17] The Programme called in particular for the mobilization of financial resources for harnessing new and renewable sources of energy. Kenya is seriously concerned at the slow pace of its implementation.

242. I now turn to the areas of environment and human settlements. We continue to associate ourselves with the decisions of the General Assembly to establish an environmental commission to look into the world Environmental Perspective to the Year 2000 and Beyond, and to observe, in 1987, the International Year of Shelter for the Homeless.

243. The African continent, from which I come, is the home of many low-income developing countries. Most of our countries are still net exporters of primary commodities, on which we depend for our foreign-exchange earnings. We are concerned that many African countries are still faced with continuous food shortages, malnutrition, disease, poverty, unemployment, underemployment, deteriorating terms of trade, indebtedness and a host of other difficulties.

244. We would recall that in April 1980, at its second extraordinary session, the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, in recognition of the developmental problems facing the African continent, adopted the Lagos Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Monrovia Strategy for the Economic Development of Africa[18] and the Final Act of Lagos.[19] We appeal to all

gathered here to continue to give the Lagos Plan of Action the support it deserves.

245. Early this year, the Secretary-General visited countries in Africa and had an opportunity to see for himself and to assess the difficulties facing most of our countries owing to the climatic and ecological situation. It was as a follow-up of his visit that in March this year he appointed a Special Representative for Africa's Economic Crisis, to monitor all emergency and humanitarian aspects of the prevailing economic crisis in Africa and to report directly to him, and established a temporary office at Nairobi. We warmly welcome the Secretary-General's initiative. It was in the same spirit that the Economic and Social Council, at its second regular session, considered as a priority item Africa's economic crisis.

246. We feel that the very critical and serious economic problems facing Africa call for concerted international attention. The problems have been further aggravated by the prolonged drought which has been spreading throughout the continent, the encroaching Sahara desert and other natural disasters. Of all the developmental problems facing Africa, my delegation would especially like to highlight the acute food shortages, which have continued to increase in recent years. We see food and agriculture as the most important sectors of human life, since they affect the very survival of man. We urge the international community to take urgent collective measures to step up assistance to African countries to combat desertification, alleviate overall critical food shortages and achieve self-sufficiency in food production in the continent.

247. It will be recalled that the Special Memorandum on Africa's Economic and Social Crisis,[20] adopted on 26 May 1984 by the Conference of Ministers of the Economic Commission for Africa—the Ministers responsible for economic development and planning—did not receive the serious attention it deserved during the second regular session of the Economic and Social Council, held at Geneva. As a result, the African countries were deeply disappointed that the Council failed to agree on any measures to alleviate the economic and social problems in Africa. My delegation proposes that this session of the General Assembly should take concrete measures to achieve short-, medium- and long-term solutions for the current economic crisis in Africa.

248. Kenya will be greatly honoured and privileged to host next year the World Conference to Review and Appraise the Achievements of the United Nations Decade for Women. The aims and objectives of the United Nations Decade for Women include the raising of the status of women by involving them at all levels in the affairs of their societies and their integration into the overall development processes at both the national and the international levels. This is in pursuance of the World Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Objectives of the International Women's Year, adopted at Mexico City in 1975.[21]

249. Kenya attributes great importance to the convening of the World Conference. We are confident that Member States will seize the opportunity provided by the forum at Nairobi to discuss the many issues on the agenda in a constructive manner. In this connection, my Government is in close touch with the United Nations Secretariat regarding the necessary preparations for the Conference, and we look forward to welcoming representatives of Member States and participants to the city of Nairobi.

250. Mr. AL-ASBAHI (Yemen) (*interpretation from Arabic*): It gives me pleasure, Sir, to express to you, on my own behalf and on behalf of the delegation of the Yemen Arab Republic, our sincere congratulations on the clear confidence shown in you by the international community represented in this great Organization by electing you to the presidency of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. We are confident that you will direct the work of this session in a manner that will make useful and effective our efforts to find answers to the challenges we are currently facing and to shoulder our grave responsibilities. I can assure you that we will spare no effort to co-operate with you in order to bring this session to a successful conclusion and ensure that it achieves its aims, guided by the lofty principles and ideals of the Charter of the United Nations.

251. It gives me pleasure also to express our admiration and appreciation to your predecessor, Mr. Jorge Illueca, the President of the thirty-eighth session, for his wisdom and competence in conducting the work of that session, thus ensuring its success.

252. I am pleased also to commend the persistent efforts of the Secretary-General to find just solutions to various international problems and crises. We also thank him for his valuable report on the work of the Organization [*A/39/1*] and for his comments aimed at reinforcing the role of the Organization in the maintenance of international peace and security.

253. We congratulate the people of Brunei Darussalam on their accession to independence and the admission of their State to membership of the United Nations. The people of Brunei Darussalam have age-old historic and religious ties with the people of Yemen, and we wish them prosperity and progress.

254. We live today in a world of turmoil, an unstable world, where a climate of tension and anxiety exists in relations among nations. This is no doubt the result of the many occasions on which the threat or the use of force has been chosen over the peaceful settlement of disputes. There can be no doubt that the use of force in international relations in order to impose solutions safeguarding private interests is contrary to the principles and norms of international law and a violation of the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations. The use of force contributes to tension and turmoil in international relations, to the return to the cold-war climate and to the consequent frenzied arms race and production of all kinds of destructive weapons.

255. Complicating things even more are the recession and stagnation besetting the world economy, which have had adverse effects on international relations. We are faced today with grave responsibilities and heavy burdens. It is our duty as members of an international community, in which we seek complementarity and interdependence, to join our efforts to alleviate tension and eliminate its causes and to prevent a third world war, in which nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction would be used. That can be achieved only by the deployment of efforts, based on genuine good will, for the establishment of an international community founded on justice, equality and co-operation among all its members and thereby guaranteeing that the common interests of all are protected.

256. In addition to the exertion of such efforts, there must be a serious recommitment and adherence to the principles and norms of international law and of the Charter, and United Nations resolutions must be implemented, not violated. Unilateral solutions must not be imposed, leaving the Organization, which represents the collective will of the international community, on the sidelines.

257. It has become clear that the question of Palestine is the core of the conflict in the Middle East. It is one of the most important issues of concern to the international community and one that has been before the Organization for more than 36 years.

258. It cannot be a secret to anyone now that the root cause of this chronic problem is the intransigence of Israel and its insistence on continuing to occupy Palestine, its denial to the Palestinian people of the exercise of their legitimate national rights, its pursuit of expansionist, racist and aggressive policies against the Palestinian people and the other Arab States and its use of methods of oppression and terrorism. All this constitutes an affront to the international community and a flagrant violation of the principles of the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

259. A just and lasting peace in the Middle East can be achieved only if the question of Palestine, the core of the conflict in the region, is solved. Foremost among the elements of such a solution must be recognition of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people, including its right of return and its right to self-determination and to the establishment of its independent State on its homeland, under the leadership of the PLO, its sole legitimate representative.

260. Many efforts have been made to solve the question of Palestine and the Middle East problem and to ensure stability, peace and justice, but the obstinacy and arrogance of Israel, its contempt for United Nations resolutions and for the will of the international community, its constant pursuit—with impunity—of its policy of expansion, annexation and mass expulsion, its oppression of innocent people, its establishment of settlements in the occupied territories, its adoption of decisions designed to change the cultural, demographic, political and religious character of Al-Quds al-Sharif and other occupied Arab territories, are all obstacles to the achievement of a just and lasting solution to the Middle East problem.

261. It is high time for the international community to put an end to Israeli aggression and arrogance and for the just rights of the Palestinians to be recognized. The States that support Israel—foremost among them the United States—by providing it with weapons, funds and diplomatic and political support, must reconsider their position towards Israel and its policy of aggression in the Middle East. We wonder how the United States can reconcile the strategic co-operation agreement it concluded with Israel—which today is the most dangerous regional military force, seeking expansion and hegemony in the Middle East—with its responsibilities for international peace and security.

262. Israel has been a constant source of tension and threat to international peace and security since its founding. It is time that Israel and its friends and allies realized that peace and security in the region can be achieved only through the restoration of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people, including its right of return and its right to self-determination and to the establishment of an independent State on its homeland, under the leadership of its sole legitimate representative, the PLO. Moreover, real security has nothing to do with the Israeli concept, which is based on inadmissible expansion and aggression.

Mr. Moushoutas (Cyprus), Vice-President, took the Chair.

263. The United States must now reconsider its position of bias towards Israel if it wishes effectively to contribute to the search for a solution of the question of Palestine and of the crisis in the Middle East. It must co-operate with the international community in obliging Israel to comply with United Nations resolutions, in the interest of international peace and security.

264. Those who truly support peace, justice and human rights also support the inalienable and historic rights of the Palestinian people. But those who support the expansionist policy of Israel stand side by side with aggression and usurpation. There can be peace in the Middle East only if all the efforts to achieve it are channelled to the adoption of practical measures to put an end to Israel's arrogance and its constant disregard for international resolutions, and to compel Israel to implement the United Nations resolutions on the question of Palestine and the Middle East, to withdraw from all the occupied Arab territories and to recognize the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people, including its right to self-determination and to establish an independent State on its homeland.

265. The General Assembly has adopted a resolution calling for an international peace conference on the Middle East [*resolution 38/58 C*]. That is the proper framework for any peaceful approach to solving that sensitive issue, since it is based on the participation of the Palestinian people, represented by the PLO, in the quest for a peaceful and just solution that will guarantee to the Palestinian people the exercise of their legitimate rights, in conformity with the relevant United Nations resolutions, as well as Israel's withdrawal from all the occupied Arab territories.

266. The Yemen Arab Republic, which has given genuine and effective support to the Palestinian people—and the blood of Yemeni martyrs attests to this—reaffirms that any settlement that disregards the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including its right of return and its right to self-determination and the establishment of an independent State on its national soil, can only be an unjust settlement and doomed to failure.

267. It has become clear through the events of the past few years that the attempts at partial solutions and separate accords have made the solution to the question of Palestine more elusive. It is sufficient to remember that the Camp David accords encouraged Israel to intensify its policy of aggression and expansion.

268. The Arab States have done their utmost in the search for peace in the Middle East and have proven their peaceful intentions through the decisions adopted on 9 September 1982 by the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference, held at Fez,[22] which were welcomed by all regional and international organizations which support right, justice and peace.

269. While the denial of the rights of the Palestinian people constitutes a set-back for lofty objectives and for international law and reflects a tragic picture of the development of events owing to the failure of the international community to assume its full responsibility to deter the aggressors and to restore the usurped rights, another Arab country, Lebanon, has, since the Israeli invasion of 1982, been the target of the expansionist ambitions of Tel Aviv, and its southern part is still chafing under Zionist occupation, oppression and terrorism. We will not forget the destruction of Beirut or the massacres at the Sabra and Shatila camps with all their atrocity and barbarism.

270. We salute the heroic resistance and determination of the Lebanese people against the Israeli occupation and condemn the occupation of Lebanese territories, and we call for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the Israeli forces from all Lebanese territories, in pursuance of the relevant Security Council resolutions. At the same time, we declare our whole-hearted support for the Lebanese people in its determination to settle its problems by itself, free from external interference or intervention, in such a manner as to safeguard the territorial integrity, independence, sovereignty, stability and effective role of the Arabs in Lebanon.

271. We express our grave concern at the continuation of the protracted Iran-Iraq war, whose dangers have escalated in such a manner as to threaten dire consequences for the region and for international peace and security. While commending the position of Iraq and its sincere response to the resolutions of the Security Council—especially resolution 540 (1983)—and to the appeals and endeavours of the Secretary-General, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the Organization of the Islamic Conference and other endeavours made to put an end to this futile, tragic blood-letting, we appeal to our brothers, the leadership in Iran, to respond positively to those endeavours and appeals to put an end to the war and to settle the conflict peacefully through negotiations with Iraq, its neighbour and sister, to achieve a just and honourable settlement which will safeguard the sovereignty and legitimate rights of both countries, in accordance with good-neighbourliness and all the other brotherly links between the two Muslim countries, and to safeguard the wealth and resources of both countries in the interests of their peoples, as well as for prosperity, progress and security. We commend every peaceful initiative and every positive response to the efforts at mediation and call upon all States, especially those with influence, to continue to make serious endeavours to put an end to this destructive war.

272. My country, which firmly believes in regional co-operation among geographically neighbouring States, is interested also in the preservation of security and stability around its borders. It therefore feels grave concern at the recent threats to navigation in the Red Sea. It condemns those criminal acts, which are aimed at destabilizing the Red Sea region, and reaffirms its previous declaration that the preservation of security in the Red Sea is the exclusive responsibility of the States of the region and that the region must be a zone of peace, free from foreign rivalry and conflicts.

273. My country also condemns any military presence or military bases in the Indian Ocean and Arabian Sea and once again stresses the need to declare those areas zones of peace, free from fleets, warships and military bases. We support the efforts of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Indian Ocean and confirm the necessity of convening the Conference on the Indian Ocean, in accordance with the relevant General Assembly resolution [*resolution 34/80 B*].

274. My country, which believes in, and firmly and unreservedly supports, the liberation movements in the world, particularly the PLO and SWAPO, calls for an end to the impasse concerning Namibia and reaffirms that the solution to the Namibian problem and the ending of the illegitimate South African occupation of Namibia can be achieved only through persistent efforts by the United Nations. We believe that the implementation of the resolutions of the Organization, especially Security Council resolution 435 (1978), constitutes the proper and practical approach to the solution of this problem.

275. The United Nations and the entire world have condemned South Africa for its racist policy, which is a blot on the modern history of mankind. While the racist régime of Pretoria still boasts of pursuing this shameful policy, thus defying world public opinion and international resolutions with an arrogance matched only by that of its Zionist ally in Tel Aviv, those two entities, with their racist policy of aggression, still enjoy the support and acceptance of a number of States Members of the United Nations. We caution against increasing co-operation between the two racist régimes in Pretoria and Tel Aviv in the production and manufacture of weapons, especially nuclear weapons, and call upon the States which provide those two régimes with the necessary resources and materials for the production of nuclear weapons to cease dealing with those two régimes.

276. We note with satisfaction the aspirations of the people of North and South Korea for the reunification of their country. We believe that those aspirations can be realized only through peaceful and democratic means, free from any foreign influence.

277. The turmoil and armed conflict prevailing in Central America make it imperative that greater efforts are made to eliminate the causes of that tense situation. What we should do foremost is to encourage the peoples and nations of the region to rely upon themselves in settling their dispute peacefully before it deteriorates into armed conflict. The peoples of Latin America must be enabled to choose their own future and to express their will free from any foreign interference. In this regard, we support the agreement reached by the Contadora Group. We feel that it constitutes a sound basis and a positive point of departure for solving the problems and removing their causes.

278. The persisting and unresolved Afghanistan problem constitutes a hotbed of tension. The Yemen Arab Republic supports the efforts to settle the Afghanistan problem peacefully through negotiations between the parties concerned, so as to put an end to the terrible blood-letting and enable the Afghan people to choose the social, economic and political system which it deems appropriate, free from any pressure or interference in its affairs. We also feel that we must try to solve the problem of the refugees and of their repatriation as soon as possible.

279. With respect to the problem of Cyprus, we feel optimistic concerning the negotiations between the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities under the auspices of the Secretary-General. We feel

that genuine efforts must continue to be made in order to achieve a solution that is satisfactory to both communities, safeguarding freedom of religion and equality of rights and duties for all in an independent, unified Cyprus.

280. We are stating nothing new when we say that the intensification of international tension, and the relations between the super-Powers in particular, and the attendant hotbeds of tension and confrontation prove the credibility of the non-aligned policy and the importance of the role of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

281. We in the Yemen Arab Republic are proud of our adherence to the policy of non-alignment and positive neutrality, our commitment to the objectives and principles of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and our rejection of the policy of blocs and axes. We are convinced that this is the only way that we can stand up to all kinds of domination and hegemony by major Powers and contribute to the support of world peace and the promotion of international relations along the path of détente and peaceful coexistence, while pursuing a policy that is open to co-operation with all, regardless of the economic or social philosophy of this or that régime, on the basis of mutual respect and equal treatment unprejudicial to the vital interests of our country.

282. My country is committed to the policies, principles and objectives of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and attaches special importance to disarmament issues and to efforts to put an end to the arms race. We share the increasing concern of the international community over the prospect of the outbreak of a third world war, which would involve the use of devastating nuclear weapons. That concern is heightened by talk of using outer space to launch future wars. Today it is more urgent than ever to make every effort to prevent a nuclear holocaust. The only means to avert this is to search for the appropriate means to make practical, effective arrangements to which the nuclear-weapon States, especially the super-Powers, would commit themselves. We call upon those States to seek agreement among themselves to put an end to the arms race and the production of weapons and to effect a balanced, gradual reduction of the stockpiles of weapons so as eventually to lead to their elimination and to general and complete disarmament. If this common aim is achieved by the co-operation of the peoples and nations of the world, it will be possible to channel the immense material and human resources now spent on armaments and arms production towards freeing the majority of peoples from the grip of starvation and disease and overcoming the grave shortages in their resources and potential for tackling the problems that face them in their efforts to build and develop their societies in the social and economic fields. We believe that the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones in the most strategic parts of the world would constitute a practical way of contributing to control of the nuclear-arms race.

283. The world today is experiencing a situation of economic imbalance: the rich grow richer while the poor grow poorer. The result of this grave dichotomy is the widening of the gap between the developed and the developing countries, with its serious implications for international economic relations in general and for economic relations between the developing and the developed countries in particular. We believe that it is more urgent than ever to establish the new international economic order, based on justice and equality, as well as new international monetary and economic structures. This requires the mobilization of a strong political will capable of tackling this enormous imbalance and of redistributing wealth instead of its being monopolized by certain States. We must always take into account the interests of all parties.

284. The prevalence of negative phenomena in international economic life, such as high interest rates, fluctuating exchange rates, protectionist trends and tariff and non-tariff barriers obstructing the exports of developing countries, and the imposition of restrictions which create obstacles to the transfer of technology to the developing countries, have led to a heightening of the international economic crisis and its serious effects on the developing countries and their development plans. The deterioration of world terms of trade, the chronic balance-of-payments deficits of the developing countries, their increased indebtedness year after year and their low growth rates, both economically and socially, have meant that the developing countries are paying the price and are sacrificing their development in the interests of the industrialized, rich countries.

285. The third-world countries must not continue to be a source of raw materials and a market for finished products. It is not in the interests of the international community to keep these States in a position of chronic economic deficit in which they are unable to honour their commitment to their peoples and to provide them with the basic necessities of life.

286. Assistance to the developing countries in their development plans is not mere generosity but, rather, it directly benefits the industrialized States in our complex, interdependent world. The developing countries have submitted a number of constructive, practical proposals in international forums to deal with the international economic crisis; these include the Economic Declaration adopted by the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi from 7 to 12 March 1983,[23] and the Buenos Aires Platform, adopted at the Fifth Ministerial Meeting of the Group of 77, held from 28 March to 9 April 1983.[24]

287. We can achieve welfare and prosperity for the whole of mankind if we work objectively and unselfishly, free from parochialism.

288. As we see the world of today moving towards further interdependence and complementarity, we should all seek ways and means to implement General Assembly resolution 34/138, on global negotiations, since they represent the most important, positive initiative towards activating multilateral international co-operation and implementing the principles contained in the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [*resolution 3281 (XXIX)*] and the Declaration and the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [*resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)*].

289. My country, one of the least developed countries, in addition to its limited resources, has fallen victim to natural disasters such as earthquakes and repeated drought. These have necessitated a modification of our development projects and plans, which were scheduled to be implemented within the context of our second five-year development plan. However, under the guidance of our political leadership and

with the assistance of friends and brothers within and outside the United Nations, we are optimistic about our country's ability to overcome these obstacles.

290. The needs of the age of technological revolution and the imperatives of comprehensive development call for reconsideration of the prevalent international information order, in accordance with the principles of the new information order, which should be given special priority in the joint action of the Organization.

291. In reaffirming in deeds rather than words our adherence to the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, we are reflecting values and concepts ingrained in our people throughout its history, values and concepts set forth in our national Constitution, which is the intellectual and practical guide for our people's progress towards national construction, prosperity and unity.

292. My country, which is now celebrating the twenty-second anniversary of the glorious revolution of 26 September 1962, is living through a great phase in its history and marching resolutely towards the freedom, democracy, development and unity of Yemen, under the leadership of Colonel Ali Abdullah Saleh, President of the Republic, Supreme Commander of the armed forces and Secretary-General of the General People's Congress.

293. The convening of the second session of the General People's Congress last August was of great significance in our country's progress within the context of the national Constitution. Our people, leadership and Government are working together for the triumph of democracy and freedom in our country and the development of our cultural, social, economic and political life on the basis of our Islamic faith and in accordance with the principles of the immortal revolution of 26 September 1962. Our country has made great progress in establishing an infrastructure for development, and progress is also being made in the fields of education, health, expansion of internal trade and increased agricultural production. Exploration of our mineral and oil resources is under way, based on the principle of the people's sovereignty over its natural resources.

294. The Yemen Supreme Council has made great advances in fulfilling the aspirations of the people of Yemen to re-establish the country's unity. Commissions on unity are nearing completion of their work on national reunification, bringing together our people in the south and in the north.

295. Our foreign policy is based upon a deep belief in the unity of the Arab nation and on the necessity of improving the climate of relations among Arab States, whether at the level of the League of Arab States, through summit conferences or in bilateral meetings.

296. My country, a founding member of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, seeks to strengthen links in all areas with other Muslim countries. The Fifth Conference of Foreign Ministers of States members of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, scheduled to meet at San'a in December of this year, will be an opportunity for a discussion of issues of vital interest to all the peoples of the Islamic nation and will contribute to the settlement of many issues on the agenda of the General Assembly.

297. Our position on regional and international questions and our foreign relations reflect our firm convictions and our genuine desire for the establishment of relations based on mutual benefit and respect. We are proud of our constantly growing circle of friends, and we feel that dialogue, co-operation and understanding are the basic elements necessary for constructing a world in which peace, stability and prosperity will prevail.

298. Lastly, I am honoured to express the sincere wish of the President, Government and people of the Yemen Arab Republic that the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly will be crowned with success and that understanding, peace and justice will prevail in the world.

299. Mr. AFFO (Benin) (*interpretation from French*): It is a signal honour for me to speak for the first time as head of the delegation of the People's Republic of Benin to the representatives of the international community gathered here to explore, together, ways and means to ensure the peaceful coexistence and security of all the peoples of the world, for which we all yearn and for which we strive with all our strength, and to bring about the best conditions for mutually beneficial international co-operation.

300. I should like, Sir, to add the warm congratulations of my delegation to the unanimous chorus of those addressed to you by preceding speakers on the occasion of your election as President of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. The People's Republic of Benin is especially pleased that the difficult and important task of leading our discussions has this year been entrusted to an outstanding, experienced man such as yourself, whose thorough knowledge of all the inner workings of the organs that make up the United Nations system is incontestable. Above all, however, you represent a country that has achieved an undeniable reputation on the international scene, and especially in Africa, through the tireless efforts it has constantly made in the search for a lasting solution to the problem facing our brothers in southern Africa who are the victims of all types of racial oppression.

301. You are taking up your important lofty task in the footsteps of Mr. Jorge Illueca, President of the Republic of Panama, who led the work of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly with great wisdom and remarkable clear-sightedness and firmness. We pay him a heartfelt tribute.

302. The delegation of Benin would also like to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General in keeping with the outstanding qualities he displays in putting into practice courageously and with perseverance the noble ideals of the Charter of the United Nations. The brilliant report on the work of the Organization [*A/39/1*] that he has submitted to us is further evidence of his courage and clarity of mind. My delegation would like to extend to him the sincere thanks of the People's Republic of Benin for the friendship he showed our country by paying an official visit to Cotonou in January 1984, following the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly. The National Executive Council of the People's Republic of Benin wishes, through me, to reiterate to the Secretary-General its total support for him in the heavy responsibilities he has assumed.

303. I should also like warmly to welcome Brunei Darussalam, the new Member of the United Nations.

304. Each year, impelled by the inevitable surge of solidarity that must unite us, we meet here to take up the major problems of our time, those that affect the

life of our States and our peoples and constitute a threat to the fragile balance of today's world and that of the future. The floodlights that we direct today upon the status of mankind force us to face many painful facts that do not make for a great deal of optimism. Indeed, on the horizon the clouds of disaster and collapse are building up.

305. In the throes of selfishness, of the will to power and of greed, our world has turned into an overheated planet subject to increased tensions of all kinds that are seemingly impervious to joint action, dialogue, understanding, and recognition of the inevitability of our common fate and the universality of our problems the better to solve them. Awareness of the common dangers awaiting us, instead of inspiring us to unite to avert them, makes us lose our heads and pushes us into taking defensive measures each as irrational as the other.

306. How is it that, everywhere, we see, rising up in ever greater numbers, sorcerer's apprentices desperate to destabilize and compromise everything? We cannot resign ourselves to accepting these signs as heralding disruption and cataclysm, because our problems and difficulties are not insurmountable.

307. On the world economic scene, where the most serious disorders prevail, a common political will to link all the major regions of our planet in brotherly action to avert hunger and guarantee progress is the only answer. It is the sole solution to our world in disarray, where the human rights recognized and inscribed in the Charter of the United Nations are everywhere trampled underfoot and no longer effectively applied, because of the burdens which weigh so heavily on freedom, the right to decide one's own destiny, the right to food, the right to a roof over one's head and the right to take care of oneself and to be educated.

308. To mention these fundamental rights today is to take note of the tragic situation at the end of this twentieth century of the billions of people who make up the third world and who are totally disregarded in a system which does not pay them enough for their efforts and their production, thus giving rise to a cycle of impoverishment. The painful efforts of the developing countries to restructure their economies are cancelled out by the constant worsening of the terms of trade. It seems that nothing can alleviate the poverty of the developing countries. The return to arbitrary and unjustified protectionism has a constant effect on the production and export prospects of the developing countries, blocking their access to foreign markets. These countries seem to have been struck by a blind fate, but a closer examination shows that there are reasons for the situation from which they are suffering. Those reasons are to be found in the logic of a system based on profit dictated by the multinationals for their own selfish interests. The poor relations of the international economic system, the third-world countries, receive only small favours, given them because of their marginal participation in a hard and pitiless system that does not belong to them. The worst effects of the crisis are destined for them.

309. In this way, the aid planned by the institutions devoted to co-operation is considerably reduced. To monetary depreciation has now been added what some people call "galloping demography". In real terms, per capita transfers have declined by 20 per cent, for example, in the countries of Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific, reducing the total aid in real terms to $4 per capita per year.

310. It is all the more important to recall these facts because certain of the richest States use the crisis as a pretext to make massive reductions in resources for development. A reduction of 30 per cent in total aid had even been envisaged without the slightest hesitation in certain decision-making circles. If that measure had been applied, it could only have seriously worsened the precarious position of the developing countries, some of which, lacking resources, no longer have access to lending markets.

311. One of the biggest problems facing the third world is the unprecedented growth in external debt, which means that our countries now produce only to pay to service debts which are increasing at a diabolical and unfair rate. Efforts at stabilization, growth and economic adjustment are thrown off course by rising interest rates and the soaring dollar, which are creating tension throughout the world. The external debt of the third world is now nearly $850 billion. The pernicious machinery which has created this stagnation must be changed. No one stands to gain by allowing the situation to develop to the breaking-point, which has already nearly been reached in some regions, where a suspension of payments to creditor banks has been ordered. Such scenarios, which mark a new stage in the economic decay of the third world, now bordering on total collapse and bankruptcy, involve the risk, if we are not careful, of bringing about deterioration in North-South relations, tension and confrontation on a frightening scale.

312. Obtaining liquid funds on the international financial market requires prodigious efforts, including blackmail and sordid deals. The biggest international borrowers cannot obtain what they need, and States with large budgetary deficits which try to siphon off world savings for themselves cannot do so either, despite various manoeuvres.

313. The survival of our countries cannot be accommodated to a world reorganization plan designed for and characterized by the technological and industrial domination of the rich countries. This solution, which seeks at all costs to restore profit levels in a rigid way, giving the strongest a privileged place, would undoubtedly leave the weakest by the wayside. Close examination shows that the proposed rescheduling or refinancing of debts to ensure the maintenance of the rich countries' position in the existing economic system cannot bring about worthwhile improvements in the situation of our countries.

314. What our sick world needs today is to make financial management truly democratic, which requires the drafting of a contract of solidarity and therefore the establishment of a new international economic order.

315. The present system is blocked. Therefore, a restructuring which will help the development of such bodies as the IMF and the World Bank is more necessary than ever. If we are to succeed in this new task we must adopt other criteria than those of profitability. A genuine contract of solidarity between the wealthy and the poor countries has yet to be established. Here we may follow the path advocated by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, providing for the creation of a development fund financed by reducing and transferring expenditure on armaments.

316. It is more important than ever today, as we face the unavoidable reality of poverty and hunger, which continue to be the cause of considerable political upheavals, to find solutions to the serious contradictions of our world in crisis. The prosperity of the wealthy countries cannot continue to be built on the destitution and poverty of the poor countries. It is impossible to think of any kind of development if the problems of survival facing some of the third-world countries are not overcome and equitably resolved. Helping the third world to create a more just international order means helping oneself and guaranteeing the progress of mankind.

317. For four years—notably in its resolution 35/88 of 5 December 1980—the General Assembly has appealed to the international community to give financial, material and technical assistance to Benin in order to assist it in overcoming its economic difficulties. Meanwhile the Secretary-General has not ceased to take dynamic measures to mobilize and organize that special economic assistance to Benin. In particular, review missions have gone to Benin periodically to take stock, together with our authorities, of the progress of the programme. There was also a round-table conference of the socio-economic development partners of Benin, held at Cotonou in March 1983, which received crucial assistance from UNDP.

318. I should like to take this opportunity to express once again the sincere gratitude of the people of Benin, its Party and Government to the States Members and specialized agencies of the United Nations for the interest they have taken in, and the help they have given to, the programme of special economic assistance to Benin and Benin's development plan for 1983-1987.

319. A new mission to review the programme went to Benin last June. The results and recommendations of that mission are to be found in the Secretary-General's report on that subject [*A/39/383*].

320. Here I should like to recall that the results of the four years of implementing the projects of the programme remain modest because of certain hazards, such as drought, which have upset the original programme schedule.

321. My delegation would like to express its sincere thanks, on behalf of the Government of Benin, to all the States and the bodies of the United Nations system which provided emergency assistance to Benin during its serious problems following the drought of 1983-1984.

322. I should like to appeal to all States Members, to international organizations and to the specialized agencies and other bodies of the United Nations to make new efforts to provide assistance to my country so that effect may be given without any further delay to the development projects under the United Nations programme of special economic assistance to Benin.

323. My delegation, together with other brother countries, would like the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly to adopt a resolution alerting the international community to the need to increase the capacity of the specialized agencies of the United Nations to assist countries that are victims of desertification and drought.

324. I would have liked very much not to have to speak at this session of certain political crises, or at least to speak of them solely in other terms and say how pleased I was that they had been eliminated or overcome. Unfortunately, despite the judicious and relevant proposals which some delegations have formulated at previous sessions in this Hall, I have to say with deep bitterness that the international political situation is more disquieting than ever.

325. Indeed, whether it be in Africa, the Middle East, Latin America or elsewhere in the world, the clearly expressed will and good intentions of some have not been effective because of the duplicity, treachery and obstructive attitude of others with regard to tackling certain problems already considered at great length last year. What is worse, those problems have been exacerbated, while, at the same time, other particularly difficult situations have been created by those self-same States which have been openly and cynically profiting from the confusion, tensions and manoeuvres of all kinds.

326. The delegation of Benin is deeply concerned by the anachronistic situation which persists in southern Africa because of the minority racist régime of Pretoria, which is denounced by all peoples that cherish peace, freedom and justice. Indeed, human dignity and the fundamental principles and the resolutions of the United Nations continue to be flouted in southern Africa by the racist régime of Pretoria, which enjoys the active support and barely concealed complicity of those who still seek colonialist and neo-colonialist adventures, as well as any loot or profit they can extract therefrom.

327. The black people of South Africa are still innocent victims of the ignominious policy of *apartheid*, whose well-known corollaries include blind, bloody, barbarous repression, mass arrests and cowardly assassinations.

328. The illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa unfortunately continues. There can be no doubt here. The stubborn persistence in attempting to link the independence of Namibia to the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola, the extreme excesses of racism and the violations of human rights all prove, if proof were needed, that the South African military rabble has no intention of putting an end to its annexationist, racist policy and is increasing its well-known diabolical plans and manoeuvres.

329. The sham constitutional reforms and the electoral charades organized last August for the Coloured and Indian peoples of South Africa are part of this reprehensible daily fare.

330. Fortunately, the oppressed people of South Africa displayed a spirit of maturity and solidarity and very quickly understood the cynical purpose of the so-called new constitution, which is to destroy their unity and entrench the odious system of *apartheid*. Those oppressed people took a heroic, historical decision and successfully boycotted the fake elections.

331. The People's Republic of Benin, which unreservedly condemns this new farce organized by the Pretoria régime under the ingenious slogan of "constitutional reforms", welcomes the response of the people of South Africa to this latest *apartheid* trick.

332. My country also welcomed Security Council resolution 554 (1984) for its denunciation and firm rejection of the so-called new constitution in South Africa. However, going beyond that resolution, Benin is convinced that it is urgently necessary to adopt comprehensive sanctions under Chapter VII of the

Charter of the United Nations against that pariah of the international community.

333. I wish furthermore to assure all those in southern Africa who are struggling for independence, peace, freedom, equality and justice of the support of the people and Government of Benin. I reaffirm in particular my country's support for the ANC in its glorious struggle against *apartheid* and for SWAPO in its heroic fight to win independence for Namibia. Indeed, my country is deeply convinced that only the complete elimination of the scourge of *apartheid* and the unconditional and comprehensive application of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) can bring peace to southern Africa.

334. We whole-heartedly desire such peace also in Western Sahara, where the confusion and the impasse concerning the question of decolonization in that region is of concern to us for more than one reason. My country, which welcomes the resolution on Western Sahara adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its nineteenth ordinary session, held at Addis Ababa from 6 to 12 June 1983,[25] is convinced that through its recommendations the pan-African organization has provided the ideal framework within which a political settlement of the burning Saharan problem can be negotiated by peaceful means. That just point of view was largely shared by the General Assembly at its thirty-eighth session, when it did not hesitate to endorse those recommendations. Unfortunately, this did not take into account certain obstructionist, delaying tactics. Those behind such tactics are gratified by the confusion which they have brought about deliberately and knowingly, a confusion harmful to the interest of the peoples of the region, who are the unfortunate victims of a conflict which with a little common sense, logic and frankness could have been avoided.

335. My delegation, faithful to the principle of the right to self-determination of all peoples without exception and aware that such confusion cannot constitute an honourable outcome to the Saharan tragedy, draws the attention of the Assembly to the imperative need to do everything possible to break the deadlock in the situation in Western Sahara, in keeping with the relevant resolutions of the OAU and the United Nations.

336. My delegation reaffirms its support for the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic, which Benin recognizes as a sovereign State. It is firmly convinced that only the logical and responsible implementation of the recommendations of the OAU and the United Nations can lead to a just solution of the Saharan problem and allow the peoples of the region, which have suffered for so long, to devote themselves to the complex tasks of development which await them.

337. Similar tasks await the brother people of Chad, to whose tragedy no delegation, certainly not my own, can remain indifferent. In fact, the situation of "no war, no peace" which has prevailed for several months in Chad is as harmful to the national reconstruction effort as is war itself. Only genuine peace and effective reconciliation among all the sons of Chad will make it possible for the people of Chad to resume, with calmness and a renewed zealousness, the enormous task of reconstruction of their country, which has been so harshly affected by years of civil war.

338. My country supports all efforts from whatever direction likely to bring peace and harmony to Chad through the essential unity of all its people. That is why my delegation welcomes all the attempts at reconciliation made by the current Chairman of the OAU and several African heads of State.

339. My delegation welcomes with satisfaction the decision of the Governments of France and Libya to withdraw their forces and supporting elements from Chad as of 25 September 1984. We trust that the operation that has just begun will indeed be the prelude to a process of true reconciliation among all the sons of Chad and to lasting peace in that brother country.

340. At the General Assembly's thirty-eighth session [*32nd meeting*], the delegation of Benin sounded the alarm concerning the deterioration of the situation and the increasing tension in the Middle East. The delegation I lead is concerned over the developments in that area, which is one of the most explosive on earth because of the scope of the tragedy taking place there. Once again it appears that peace and security in that region undoubtedly depend on the respect shown by the Zionist State of Israel for all the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, which it has obstinately refused to recognize and to implement. The Organization should duly assess the attitude of Israel and draw all the relevant conclusions from it. The international community cannot and should not remain passive in view of the policy of aggression, genocide, massacre and the establishment of settlements which the Zionist leaders continue to practise with impunity.

341. All appropriate measures should be taken to bring reason to bear on the Zionist State and to prevail upon it not only to implement United Nations resolutions, for which it has shown reprehensible disdain, but also to abandon a policy which constitutes a source of instability and danger for all the peoples of the region and a permanent threat to international peace and security.

342. In view of the current state of events, my country demands, on the basis of the relevant United Nations resolutions, the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Israel from Lebanon and from all the Arab territories occupied since 1967. We also demand that the legitimate right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, including the right to establish an independent State in Palestine, be recognized without delay. To that end, my country lends and will always lend its political and diplomatic support to the PLO, the sole representative of the oppressed people of Palestine.

343. Lebanon, the tragic theatre of fratricidal confrontations brought about and maintained by foreign intervention, is an object of concern to my delegation. We welcome the establishment in Lebanon of a Government of National Unity in which all political tendencies of the country co-operate in the democratic management of the affairs of the Lebanese State and for the restoration of peace and security in the country. My delegation hopes that that Government, the symbol of dialogue among Lebanese brothers, will honourably direct the destiny of Lebanon and consolidate, for the well-being of all, the peace which has progressively been established in the country.

344. I could not refer to the situation in the Middle East without also dealing with the persistent conflict between Iran and Iraq, two brother countries which

are engaged in a merciless war. The recent developments in that conflict are a source of great concern and deep apprehension to my delegation, because the risks of internationalization of the conflict are increasing and the massive destruction that has taken place in various parts only cancels out the development efforts of the Iraqi and Iranian peoples, which have already lost a large number of their worthy sons in that war.

345. My delegation once again invites Iran and Iraq to sit down at the negotiating table so as to settle peacefully, on the basis of established principles, the dispute between them, which has lasted for more than four years and which is not in the interests of their respective peoples.

346. As much as the situations in Africa and in the Middle East, where there is total instability and where, because of the tensions, the peoples are diverted from the development concerns that should be preoccupying them, the situations in Asia and Central America also deserve our attention.

347. My country is concerned over the presence of foreign troops in the Korean peninsula, which constitutes a major obstacle to bringing about a just and honourable settlement of the crisis persisting in that part of the world. My delegation fervently hopes that the foreign forces will leave the peninsula as soon as possible so that the tireless struggle of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for the just, peaceful, independent and democratic reunification of all Korea may be quickly achieved.

348. In Central America, my country is shocked to note all the orchestrated actions taken against the progressive peoples and States of the region, whose legitimate rights are being disregarded and flouted. My delegation wishes to reaffirm the firm commitment of the people and Government of Benin to the universally recognized rights of any people to determine its own destiny and to have the political system of its choice.

349. My delegation urges all States to conform in their actions to the fundamental principles which apply to all States, large or small, weak or powerful.

350. My country stands in solidarity with all oppressed peoples, with all States suffering from aggression in Central America, and we reiterate to them our staunch support in their just struggle to free themselves from oppression and foreign domination. Benin lends its support to the Latin American peoples and the Contadora Group, which are working for peace and stability in Latin America.

351. It is easy for all of us together to make our world more livable and more responsive to our needs, provided that we make the necessary effort to find factual expression of our will to eliminate resolutely the spectre of death and holocaust, to which we refer more and more frequently, considering disarmament an imperative need for the survival of the human race.

352. Today, a sad and fearsome new reality is coming into being and it threatens to dash again the meagre hopes we were beginning to have about the impossibility of nuclear war. Indeed, up to this time some had been sure of the improbability of a nuclear conflict, because no one could be the victor in such a cataclysm. Previously, one could still maintain the purely deterrent nature of the emplacement of nuclear devices. Unfortunately, day after day new events lend a new dimension to the situation.

353. Despite everything that has been said or done in that regard, the unbridled arms race still continues. However, the essential fact is that, far from a lasting restoration of a balance which had been disrupted because of a new type of weapon of mass destruction, the deployment of a weapon of the same type to counter that has represented in fact only another stage in the nuclear-arms race. That shows that, as we are speaking here, the development of nuclear weapons has finally become part of a logic of war—in other words, part of war plans and plans of military operations.

354. In the circumstances, how can we not be overcome with deep anxiety, in the face of such a serious threat? Much has been written lately about the cruise missiles, whose deployment, it seems, makes control and compliance with arms limitation agreements very difficult and increases the possibility of working around and thus violating such agreements.

355. The cost of a cruise missile, one single missile, would suffice to alleviate the sufferings and change the lives of a million people that are today the victims of adverse climatic conditions in the Sahel in Africa. Today these weapons may be counted by the hundreds.

356. To what court should we resort to plead the cause of peace, which is nevertheless within the realm of possibility?

357. More and more astronomical sums are devoted to the construction and maintenance of arsenals for conventional and nuclear war, whereas at the same time we deliberately or unwittingly turn away from international responsibilities which call upon us to mobilize these precious resources and devote them to development and to improving the living conditions of peoples, including those in developed countries.

358. Once again we appeal to all the leaders of all the countries of the world, and particularly to those whose countries possess fearsome military capability, to undertake a responsible political dialogue which would make it possible to lead, without acrimony or complacence, to a diagnosis of the crisis and the implementation without delay of the measures advocated by the international community. We wish our appeal to be the expression of the urgent need for action and also an act of faith imbued with a very high sense of responsibility.

359. The name of the United Nations is identified with an ideal of law, justice and peace, an ideal from which our world is steadily withdrawing. We must have the certainty that there are laws to be defended and values to be safeguarded. Unfortunately, the primary functions of the United Nations—maintaining international peace and security and guiding international co-operation for development—continue to be persistently disregarded.

360. We cannot ignore this. The crisis of confidence, even of identity, can be overcome. This is a major task which it will not be easy to carry out. The definition of the United Nations and the very foundations of its existence constitute an act of hope. Why, then, not act? Let us undertake immediately a frank dialogue which could serve to underpin the edifice. Such an immense pooling of efforts would certainly result in a return to the true universal vocation of the United Nations.

361. Ready for the revolution—the struggle continues!

The meeting rose at 7.20 p.m.

NOTES

[1] *Military and Paramilitary Activities in and against Nicaragua (Nicaragua v. United States of America), Provisional Measures, Order of 10 May 1984, I.C.J. Reports 1984*, p. 169.

[2] Adopted by the High-Level Conference on Economic Co-operation among Developing Countries, held at Caracas from 13 to 19 May 1981. See A/36/333 and Corr.1, annex.

[3] *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, 1984, Supplement No. 7*, sect. I.

[4] *Official Records of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea*, vol. XVII (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.84.V.3), document A/CONF.62/122.

[5] See A/38/132 and Corr.1 and 2, annex, sect. III, chap. XX.

[6] See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-seventh Session, Annexes*, agenda items 39 to 57, document A/37/243.

[7] A/S-12/AC.1/12 and Corr.1.

[8] CD/540/Appendix II/vol. III, document 500.

[9] See A/CN.10/64, annex.

[10] See CD/228, Appendix II/vol. I, document CD/160.

[11] See A/36/388.

[12] See *Report of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, Geneva, 29 August–7 September 1983* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.83.I.21), chap. I, sect. A, para. 5.

[13] See *Report of the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries, Paris, 1-14 September 1981* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.82.I.8), part one, sect. A.

[14] See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-eighth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1983*, document S/15943.

[15] *Official Records of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea*, vol. XVII (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.84.V.3), document A/CONF.62/121.

[16] See *Report of the United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development, Vienna, 20-31 August 1979* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.79.I.21 and corrigenda), chap. VII.

[17] See *Report of the United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy, Nairobi, 10-21 August 1981* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.81.I.24), chap. I, sect. A.

[18] A/S-11/14, annex I.

[19] *Ibid.*, annex II.

[20] E/1984/110, annex.

[21] See *Report of the World Conference of the International Women's Year, Mexico City, 19 June–2 July 1975* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.76.IV.1), chap. II, sect. A.

[22] See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-seventh Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1982*, document S/15510, annex.

[23] A/38/132 and Corr.1 and 2, annex, sect. III.

[24] *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Sixth Session*, vol. I, *Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.83.II.D.6), annex VI.

[25] For the text, see resolution 38/40, para. 1.

United Nations
GENERAL ASSEMBLY
THIRTY-NINTH SESSION
Official Records

24th PLENARY MEETING
Monday, 8 October 1984, at 10.30 a.m.
NEW YORK

President: Mr. Paul J. F. LUSAKA (Zambia).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations the President of the Republic of El Salvador, Mr. José Napoleón Duarte, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

2. Mr. DUARTE (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, it is an honour for my delegation, and especially for me personally, to extend to you on this occasion the most sincere and cordial congratulations on your assumption of the duties of President of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly.

3. This Assembly will deal with many of the major problems of international society, as well as the options and procedures which may enable us to solve them, thus consolidating understanding, peace and security among nations. I should also like to express the gratitude of the people and Government of El Salvador for the constant and tireless work conducted by the Secretary-General in his indefatigable efforts to achieve that peace, security and co-operation among all the peoples.

4. I came before the General Assembly in 1981, at its thirty-sixth session [*17th meeting*], as President of the Revolutionary Junta of El Salvador to explain to the world the crisis which was facing my country and to explain to you the process of democratization which we proposed to accomplish and which we have indeed fulfilled, in holding the first free elections in El Salvador to elect the National Constituent Assembly, which brought back a state of law and received, without any reluctance whatsoever, from the Revolutionary Junta, the full powers of a democratic and a republican nation.

5. That message was received with satisfaction by representatives at the United Nations, although scepticism led them to doubt the possibility of free elections proposed by a *de facto* Government which had committed itself to ensuring that its people would come in large numbers to vote, even under fire, to demonstrate its desire for democracy and its rejection of violence.

6. We fulfilled that commitment, but the Salvadorian people went further when it established the Provisional Government and held two rounds of presidential elections, which are an historic confirmation of the will of our people, who want to find the road to peace through the path of democracy.

7. I am very happy to state here before all the peoples of the world that El Salvador, despite having gone through one of the most difficult periods in its history, has given specific examples of what a people can do and obtain when it truly believes in democracy as the best possible way to solve the differences which are inherent in all organized societies.

8. That offering of my people to freedom entails great sacrifice. This process to democracy, peace and social justice culminated on 1 June 1984, a date which is indeed a milestone in the history of El Salvador because, for the first time in half a century, we have established a Government which is truly democratic and which has directly and freely emanated from the sovereign power of the Salvadorian people.

9. I now come, bearing the banner of my country as a symbolic gesture of the legitimacy of my Government, to appear before the nations of the world and to speak with the authority vested in me because of the support of my people, to speak of the peace so ardently desired by all Salvadorians, to speak of the benefits of that peace to which we are entitled and for which we are striving, to speak of our irreversible desire for democracy. I should like to speak about the peace of Nicaragua, of the guerrillas and Contadora, and to make an appeal to reason and fraternity which we deserve in Central America. I want us to be reasonable and to reconcile our differences.

10. For more than four years, El Salvador has suffered from the effects of a merciless war which has caused us bloodshed and impoverishment. More than 50,000 Salvadorians have been the innocent victims of a fratricidal confrontation. More than half a million persons have had to leave their homes and their property. Subversive forces have engaged in a campaign of terror and systematic destruction, and our people is tired of it. It must end.

11. One after another, the speakers who have preceded me at this rostrum have referred to peace in the strongest of terms. Peace undoubtedly is the greatest yearning of all men, and its maintenance is the main function of the United Nations. I, too, come before the Assembly to speak of peace in the same strong terms.

12. But I shall not refer to the dangers confronting the world as the consequence of the unbridled arms race, nor to the threat of total destruction represented by the senseless accumulation of nuclear weapons, although, of course, I share the concerns of all of you, as well as your frustration in the face of the seeming inability of the community of nations to fulfil not only the letter but also the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations.

13. I shall not speak of nuclear confrontation because others have done so here with great eloquence and profound knowledge of the problem.

14. May I therefore be permitted to depart from the usual procedure and, in greeting all the nations of the world, I should like to take this opportunity to describe and define the position of my Government in the face of the problems and the crisis which beset us, because in this manner I shall also establish the principles of the foreign policy of my country, which is based on peace and harmony among all human beings.

15. I am convinced that to provide this information is part of the responsibility which we have taken upon ourselves in the face of disinformation, stereotypes and commonplace statements. We must dispel uncertainties, clarify goals and purposes, state the course we intend to take and inform the world of the reality of life in El Salvador. This is a task which we must undertake so that the action of democratic countries may be carried out with confidence and in support of our struggle to achieve real democracy in our country; in support of our desire for the juridical equality of States, non-intervention in the internal affairs of States, and the self-determination of peoples; in support of our vigorous opposition to foreign interference and any kind of political, economic, juridical or ideological pressure exerted by one nation upon another.

16. The crisis is worsening because of the grave situation in Central America: the imbalances in the international economic system, trade imbalances, excessive protectionism in the terms of trade, unemployment, external indebtedness and a series of other negative factors which have an increasing effect on our weak economic structures and are leading us to a historic crossroads. Thus, El Salvador will always support the efforts of the Group of 77, which has been striving tirelessly to bring about a new international economic order more in keeping with the principles of justice.

17. Central America, which is involved in a political, social and economic crisis, is experiencing acute problems, but these are not irreversible. It is possible to find formulas for understanding and appropriate political and diplomatic solutions.

18. Confronted by this complex picture, El Salvador has always acted rationally because of our strong desire for a peaceful, democratic solution in Central America which would strengthen the security of the region by means of understanding, economic and social integration, and consistent respect for the norms and principles of international law.

19. El Salvador's conduct has always been based on its dedication to the principles and tenets which govern relations between States. We are convinced that adherence to those principles is an indispensable requirement for the harmonious coexistence of international society. El Salvador thus fulfils its international commitments and regrets that some countries that speak half-truths and deliberately conceal their own violations appear before various bodies of the United Nations not in order to settle differences but rather to use those bodies as a mere platform for propaganda, regardless of the cost and the degree to which they undermine this body, whose protection they claim to seek.

20. El Salvador believes that the Contadora process is the only course open to us. In this context, we support an honest regional dialogue, so that we Central Americans may determine our destiny on the basis of a consensus. We must not become the tools in a struggle of the interests and ideologies of foreign Powers and certainly not the mere instruments of those Powers, thus denying our own nationalism and characteristics and frustrating the aspirations of our peoples and their right to live in peace and freedom.

21. Peace in Central America must be based on the establishment of a genuine democratic process in the political, economic and social fields, which will enable us to leave behind the contradictions, deprivation and backwardness which most of us have suffered in the past.

22. The international situation continues, regrettably, to show all the signs of the East-West confrontation, which is tending to spread, thus producing a negative effect on rational thinking and coexistence in various regions. Unfortunately, Central America has also suffered from such confrontation. However, diplomatic efforts are now being made with regard to our area. In this context, the use of the good offices of the Contadora Group has our support.

23. My Government is grateful for the constructive work done by the four countries that make up the Contadora Group: Venezuela, Colombia, Panama and Mexico. We appreciate the proposals and efforts undertaken by the Group, which have received the support of the General Assembly and offer the best way of achieving the peaceful solution of the conflict, which is so painful for all of Latin America. We have co-operated fully with those countries in trying to create understanding and unity among all the peoples of Central America.

24. We attach great value to those efforts for the preservation of peace. Thus, we shall, as we have agreed, present before 15 October our comments on the revised Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America [*A/39/562, annex*], which was submitted to us on 7 September last. We are trying to achieve peace by means of dialogue and on the basis of regional arrangements within the framework of the Contadora process.

25. I should like, on behalf of the democratic Government of El Salvador, to sign an agreement that will be in keeping with the efforts of the Contadora Group. But such an agreement must be right and just for El Salvador. It must strictly guarantee the application of the 21 points which have already been accepted by all the parties in the Document of Objectives adopted on 9 September 1983.[1] The agreement must ensure appropriate measures for the verification and control of everything that is agreed. We must make sure that the obligations that we undertake to put an end to the presence of foreign military advisers and eliminate military aid from abroad must provide for the strictest controls and, at the same time, entail for all the commitment not to support or continue to give assistance to terrorist activity against our legitimate democratic Government.

26. The history of my country is similar to that of many of the underdeveloped countries in the world. If I describe it briefly, many representatives listening to me will find amazing similarities with the history of their own countries. It is the history of a common struggle, of anguish, of triumphs and of failures. It is a common history of ideals—it is our history.

27. El Salvador emerged from colonialism to become an independent State on 15 September 1821, as a member of the Federal Republic of Central America. The struggles between the conservatives and the

liberals culminated at the end of the century in the absolute triumph of the latter. From that time on, a coffee oligarchy controlled the economic and political life of our country. The larger and better ranches, banking, and trade in the principal export products were in their hands. Controlled elections led to a succession of Presidents of the Republic who were the representatives of that oligarchy until 1931. Then, for the first time, a progressive party came to power, but a few months later it was defeated. The world crisis, the fall in coffee prices and the losses suffered by the peasants led in 1932 to a popular uprising, which was put down by force. After that, an alliance emerged between the armed forces and the oligarchy, which used it to keep political control and economic privileges. Following a dictatorship that lasted for 13 years, and after 1944, various military Governments, Government juntas and provisional Presidents came to power. In 1984 the first civilian Government in 50 years was elected by the free vote of the people.

28. That is the history of my country and my people. However, it is important to dwell briefly on the history of the last 20 years. In 1964 we began a more or less free electoral process, with elections for deputies and municipal councils. That led to a growth of opposition political parties. In 1968 they were on the verge of achieving power when their democratic aspirations were frustrated, and this led to fraud and the imposition of the party officially in power. In 1972 the opposition triumphed but the Government again frustrated the will of the people. From that time, all democratic leaders were persecuted and political parties opposed to the Government in power were eliminated. In 1977 a last effort was made to establish a democratic process and once again the people's aspirations were ferociously crushed.

29. Thus, frustrated by the lack of freedom, the people lost faith in the democratic process, and the situation of economic and social injustice drove them to despair. Armed opposition as a way to attain power began in 1972, broke out again in 1977 and led to widespread violence in 1978.

30. In the face of the blocking of the path to a democratic alternative and the impossibility of changing the economic structures, the thesis of violence gained strength as the sole means to free the Salvadorian people.

31. By the end of the 1970s, polarization between a rightist military dictatorship and its possible violent overthrow by Marxist sectors seeking power had almost completely eliminated a democratic solution.

32. In October 1979, a group of officers and officials acting on behalf of the armed forces overthrew the ruling authoritarian Government and issued a proclamation pointing out the corruption of the system of government and promising to open the path to democracy, as well as to undertake a series of structural reforms and, in particular, to lay the bases for thorough agrarian reform.

33. The Revolutionary Junta that was set up that year included, along with the armed forces, the political parties and the social, economic and religious forces that still believed in a democratic solution and that had harshly criticized those who had taken up arms. The Communist Party, the National Revolutionary Movement—of social democratic orientation—and the Christian Democrats took part. The armed subversives stepped up their attacks against the new régime. Many thought that the triumph of the guerrillas was imminent and, in the face of that possibility, the Communist Party and the Social Democratic Party left the Government and its democratic position and joined the armed struggle.

34. At the same time, the leaders of the mass movements also withdrew and joined the guerrillas. In other words, they all burned their bridges and opted for armed struggle and violence as the sole solution. I believe that this attitude was their first historical error: to abandon the democratic political struggle and the struggle of the masses and opt exclusively for armed struggle.

35. In accordance with the historical analysis carried out by the subversives, in applying their ideological position to reality they never thought that the Salvadorian armed forces would break their traditional alliance with the oligarchy and that, therefore, the economic and social reforms could ever be achieved. They thought that the establishment of a pluralist democracy would continue to be a Utopian goal and out of the question.

36. The only political sector that did not lose faith was the Christian Democratic Party—my Party—and by means of an agreement with the armed forces it rebuilt the 1980 Government. Despite the negative forecasts of the extreme left, with the active participation of the armed forces the most profound agrarian reform in Latin America was carried out, the banking and finance system was reformed and foreign trade was nationalized. These reforms brought in hundreds of thousands of peasants as a major social and political force, henceforth organized in co-operatives and in owning the best and biggest ranches of the country.

37. Faced with the faulty analysis of the extreme left that structural changes were impossible, the subversive groups made a new and fatal mistake with the most serious consequences for their objectives: in acting in the same way as the extreme right they lent themselves to bringing about the failure of the reforms. Thousands of peasants were murdered, as were hundreds of Christian Democrats; crops were burnt, houses and machinery destroyed, and the publicity campaigns of both extremes denigrated, both nationally and internationally, the reforms that had been initiated. Their only success, however, was to distance the people from extreme positions and to begin to strengthen the democratic revolution.

38. In January 1981, when the subversives launched the first so-called final offensive, the people rejected them and the subversive, terrorist action failed. We all know that nowhere in the world can guerrillas triumph without the support of the people.

39. The second step taken by the Revolutionary Junta was to call for truly free elections to draft a new constitution. On that occasion, I came before the General Assembly. The 1982 parliamentary elections, in which the rightist and other political parties participated, attest to the will of a people to accept the path to democracy to solve its problems and to repudiate the path of violence. Thousands of international observers verified the legitimacy of the electoral process and all were able to see how the Salvadorian people went out to vote in the midst of guerrilla attacks. This new mistake by the subversives with respect to the electoral process, in which more than

80 per cent of citizens of voting age took part, further distanced them from the people.

40. In 1984 the Salvadorian people again exercised its right to vote and elected the President of the Republic. Hence, I pride myself on being the first freely elected President of El Salvador in the last 50 years.

41. Many of those who took up arms did so out of rebellion and frustration: they wanted agrarian reform, they fought for a banking system that would serve the majority and they wanted respect for the will of the people through free elections. These justifications were valid in 1979; today they have lost all validity.

42. At that time it could be argued that the objective and subjective conditions were in keeping with the historical dialectics of the class struggle and that, in response to rightist totalitarianism, the concept of revolutionary violence should gain validity and force.

43. The Marxist strategy of a prolonged people's war against imperialism and the oligarchies, the oppressors of a people deprived of justice and freedom, was based on that concept, and thousands of young people joined a process that began with social confrontation and civil disobedience and went on to the use of arms in the various phases of the destruction of life and the destruction of services and firms, until it resulted in the greatest crisis in our country's history.

44. I am convinced that the historic path of mankind is not one of violence but of democratic revolution.

45. It is understandable that those compatriots who left El Salvador years ago cannot or refuse to understand that things have changed; however, I know that the great majority of Salvadorians, and even the guerrilla commanders and fighters roaming about in the mountains of our homeland, are aware of this new situation.

46. I wish at this point to address some observations to the nations that have committed themselves, in one way or another, to undermining my country, as well as to the guerrilla leaders—not to those who are living comfortably in and are giving orders from Managua or Havana, or from other nations that claim to be democratic but in fact export violence and murder—but to the guerrilla leaders who are in the mountains of my country, those who withstand the elements, unsheltered, those who are aware of the real position of the Salvadorian people when they attack the villages and who are waiting—in vain—to be welcomed as liberators, when the truth is that their purpose is to oppress those people. I am addressing myself to the leaders who take their ideals for reality; to those who are mistaken about the people because they have a different view of truth; to the leaders who are now committing this historical error.

47. The guerrilla leaders in the mountains are aware of this dilemma, but they are egged on by subversive leaders from abroad who try to conceal this truth and distort this reality in order to justify their anti-historical position before the whole world.

48. The people of El Salvador now have no doubt that subversive violence has lost its mystique and its raison d'être. Terrorist violence has become an end in itself, which proves that its objective is no longer liberation, and certainly not democracy.

49. In El Salvador the terrorists have committed excesses but they have failed, because the people do not support them and because we have the political will to build a united, pluralistic and democratic society. By persisting in their anti-historical obstinacy, they have dedicated themselves to the oppression of the simple peasants who are the victims of their reign of terror; they are robbing and killing people; they are leaving citizens without any means of communication because they are blowing up bridges, roads and railroads; they are destroying electrical power lines and water systems; they are setting fire to plantations producing coffee, cotton and food crops. That leaves the poorest element of our population without work or hope.

50. It is so easy to destroy what took years to be built for the people! Services which are needed by the people and which took so many years to build up, the infrastructure that is part of our national heritage and that was established by the efforts and sacrifice of our people, can be destroyed in an instant by the criminal hand of the terrorist, who uses dynamite and is financed by nations that have in mind only world domination and are perhaps labouring under a misunderstanding of history.

51. Unfortunately, the Revolutionary Democratic Front does not understand that we are experiencing a new reality, and therefore it is still trying to change things that no longer exist: a medieval agrarian structure, a financial structure at the service of the interests of a minority, an army at the service of a political system dominated by an economic élite. All those things no longer exist. In 1979 a profound process of change began, and it has been consolidated. Today we have a new agrarian structure which has placed our best lands at the service of the peasant. We have a new financial structure which supports and strengthens the new agrarian structure. We have a new trade structure for the products that we traditionally have exported, and this makes available to the country the hard currency thereby generated. We now have an armed force that works for the people. And we have a people that has demonstrated its unshakeable faith in democracy and has elected a Government by its own free will; we have a people that is working, suffering and dying to achieve peace and justice.

52. From this rostrum I ask those who advocate the ideology of armed subversion in El Salvador to change their strategies because of the new reality in my country. The El Salvador that they left in 1978 and 1979 is not the El Salvador that exists in 1984. Today our country is breathing the air of freedom. Political parties are respected and encouraged. The people freely choose their leaders. Abuses of authority and violations of human rights have been reduced to the very minimum, and those who commit them are prosecuted and punished. Banks are lending large sums to peasants who are actively participating in the social and political struggles. There is a very different society in El Salvador today.

53. This new reality is misunderstood by the members of the Revolutionary Democratic Front, because they live outside our country; it is being experienced today by all the Salvadorians who have not abandoned their homeland. But it has penetrated the guerrilla forces. We know this from the testimony of the guerrillas who have abandoned their weapons and violence and have set out on the path to peace. We know it because the guerrillas are not getting so

many volunteers and are obliged to fill their ranks with young people. We know it because they are becoming weaker each day.

54. For all those reasons, I address the Salvadorian guerrillas and ask them to accept the new reality, to stop killing our brothers, to stop destroying bridges, to stop destroying the infrastructure of the nation, the public transport services, the plantations and the railroads. In a word, I ask them to stop killing and destroying and, together with all the rest of our people, to engage in the building of a new country, a free and democratic country in which peace will be the basis for our development.

55. Ever since I became President by the freely expressed decision of the citizens of my country, I have been aware that the main task of my mandate is to achieve social harmony and internal peace in El Salvador, which has been convulsed by a conflict with both internal and external causes. The time has come to put an end to that conflict. I am more convinced today than ever before that the existence of this conflict not only affects the life of my compatriots but is an element of friction that threatens the peace and security of other nations of the world, and particularly of our brother nations in Central America.

56. Hence, there could be no more appropriate time than this, when I am at this rostrum, to make before the peoples of the world an offer of peace, which would ensure for all Salvadorians—without any distinctions flowing from political or ideological position—social harmony and security.

57. This offer is made within the framework of the Salvadorian Constitution, which has established the system of democracy and political pluralism, under which the most varied ideologies can coexist.

58. Of course, the acceptance of this proposal by all sectors—those that are in opposition to my Government, within the constitutional system, as well as those that are fighting by violent methods—will require a change of mental attitude, under which hatred will be replaced by understanding and tolerance. For, after all, the peace which is manifested by outward signs is but the result of an individual and social state of mind which rejects aggression and all forms of violence and promotes dialogue and the democratic political struggle whose results are seen at the ballot box.

59. Quite naturally, it is hard to convince those who up to now have viewed weapons and violence as the only way to ensure their political space that there can be a climate in which they can express their own thoughts without thereby suffering reprisals from their adversaries.

60. But I have come here to affirm that, as President of the Republic and Commander of the Armed Forces, I am in a position to maintain those measures which, within our constitutional process, make it possible for them to abandon an attitude that runs counter to the history of the political evolution of the people of El Salvador. Furthermore, in due course I shall propose to the Legislative Assembly general amnesty for political crimes. We are exercising control over abuse of authority and eliminating all the methods of repression that have existed in our country in the past and that have in part been at the root of a rebellion for which there is no longer a need.

61. This means that I am offering the security of a political place within a pluralistic, constitutional, democratic system which my Government is defending.

62. As part of those efforts, I invite the heads of the guerrilla movement now in our mountains to come without weapons to the village of La Palma, in the Department of Chalatenango, at 10 a.m. on 15 October, the anniversary of the insurrection movement of 1979, and in the presence of the representatives of the Churches and the world press, to discuss with us the details and scope of this proposal for their incorporation into the democratic process and the establishment of an atmosphere of freedom for the next election. I am convinced that our people, tired of so much violence, will take this proposal as a sign of hope emanating from its lawful Government.

63. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the President of the Republic of El Salvador for the important statement he has just made.

64. Mr. MBOUMOUA (Cameroon): At such a critical crossroads in history, when international peace and security are threatened by illusions created by advancements in science and technology, when preoccupation with conflict among the powerful nations of the world creates a leadership vacuum in the international community, the well-deserved election of a son of Africa to the presidency of the General Assembly is singularly important. There are signs that from Africa, the cradle of creation, a peace-sustaining wisdom may light the darkness of misunderstanding, of belligerency and of underdevelopment.

65. Mr. President, you have been a source of pride for Africa as a result of your activities in the United Nations. Your election is also a tribute to your great nation, Zambia, and its noble leader, President Kenneth Kaunda, whose dedication to productive humanism brings distinction to our continent and to contemporary thinking. In sharing this great moment of opportunity, the Cameroon delegation extends fraternal wishes for your success in providing inspired leadership in the months ahead.

66. We also share the sentiments of gratitude and the felicitations expressed to your illustrious predecessor in office, Mr. Jorge Illueca, President of Panama. By bearing with such distinction the dual burden of President of the General Assembly and President of his nation, he demonstrated the traditional Latin capacity for dedication at its qualitative best.

67. Permit me to pay a tribute also to the Secretary-General, whose person and office symbolize the lofty ideals that launched the Charter of the United Nations. In spite of the grave odds he must face in trying to promote the harmonization of the actions of States for peace, we would encourage him never to be frustrated in that noble cause. We feel sure that it will inspire him to know that there are many nations, including Cameroon, which seek to provide sustenance for the quest for lasting peace as a matter of national policy.

68. The Cameroon delegation also wishes to take this opportunity to welcome Brunei Darussalam as the 159th Member of the United Nations. [*The speaker continued in French.*]

69. It is a matter of grave concern that we have today arrived at the point where the very raison d'être of the United Nations is continually being called into question by the incessant arms race in all

its various aspects, which constitutes the most pernicious factor of instability and global insecurity but to which, unfortunately, the international community seems to have become accustomed. As a result, our generation is living through the most highly militarized period in time of peace in the history of mankind. Paradoxically, this growing militarization in no way helps strengthen world security and stability; on the contrary, it constitutes a major factor of destabilization in contemporary international relations.

70. It is encouraging additional military expenditures, increasing suspicion and mistrust between States, stimulating war preparations, exacerbating political tensions and endangering social and economic structures that are already highly precarious, in particular those of the developing countries.

71. As we hold this session the international situation continues to be marked by violence or the threat of violence, and the storm-clouds of a nuclear holocaust constantly hover over us because of the qualitative and quantitative proliferation of nuclear weapons. This alarming situation, added to the absence of progress in disarmament efforts and the limitation of arms, is casting considerable doubt on the deliberations of the Assembly.

72. The United Nations was, I have no need to remind the Assembly, created following the massive destruction caused by the Second World War, with the primary objective to "save succeeding generations from the scourge of war". Those who drafted the Charter of the United Nations, witnesses of the agony of the world as a result of that tragic conflict, clearly understood that, without peace and security, no constructive activity was possible in any field.

73. In other words, disarmament is the essential path we must take in order to attain the primary objective of the United Nations, the maintenance of international peace and security; it is therefore easy to understand why, ever since its founding, the Organization has devoted particular attention to this goal. In so doing, it has always provided a forum for deliberations and negotiations, as well as a focal point for proposals, recommendations and other initiatives by the international community, aimed at contributing to disarmament and awakening public opinion in a greater number of Member States and in the world in general to the dangers of the arms race and the benefits of disarmament.

74. In the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly [*resolution S-10/2*], which was adopted at the first special session devoted to disarmament, in 1978, and confirmed in 1982, at the second special session devoted to disarmament, the General Assembly stressed the central role and primary responsibility of the United Nations in the field of disarmament. Such initiatives served to enhance the authority of the Organization even further and to expand the range of multilateral activities related to disarmament.

75. Notwithstanding their scope, such actions—and this includes the series of partial agreements on disarmament that have already been concluded—represent no more than a few very limited first steps. In fact, they have neither done away with the arms race nor reduced the military capabilities and potential of States. On the contrary, that race has been stepped up to a dangerous degree and is now being extended to space itself. States have continued to stockpile weapons of increasing deadliness and to carry out military research to produce even more sophisticated weapons, to the point that nuclear weapons now represent the most serious peril facing mankind. All this means that genuine efforts must be made to reverse and halt the present trend in the arms race.

76. Unfortunately, neither in the Conference on Disarmament at Geneva, which embraces 40 nations, or in bilateral negotiations in the East-West context has any noteworthy result emerged to give promise of a better future. The arms race is worsening, threatening the security of States and hindering social and economic development, particularly that of small and medium-sized States. Never has the need for disarmament been so acutely felt; never has effective disarmament been so remote. In spite of the sustained efforts of the international community, progress in the disarmament field has for years been extremely limited, and we now seem actually to be sliding towards the abyss without any glimmer of hope that the situation can be resolved.

77. It is impossible to overemphasize that disarmament is an essential element of any arrangement for true world security.

78. We therefore think that the celebration next year of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, four decades after the end of the Second World War, should provide a good opportunity to undertake an exhaustive examination of the Organization's role in disarmament. Such an analysis would make it possible to identify new ways and means of strengthening the central role and responsibility of the United Nations in disarmament and of promoting substantial progress in this field. We propose, therefore, that at this session the General Assembly call upon one of its competent subsidiary organs to examine the role of the United Nations in the field of disarmament and to submit a report on this subject at the fortieth session, next year.

79. This proposal reflects our profound conviction that, in a world that is today threatened with a nuclear holocaust, the United Nations alone constitutes the ideal framework for global negotiations in the interest of our collective security. For the small countries in particular, the Organization represents a genuine ray of hope.

80. Throughout the world, agriculture, animal husbandry, education, health and so on are in tremendous need, while at the same time countries are spending vast sums on armaments. I am thinking not only of the economically and militarily powerful countries, but also of small countries that are forced to purchase armaments for their own security, to protect the integrity of their territory and to stand firm against all kinds of destabilizing factors. In so doing, they are forced to divert their attention from productive goals.

81. In Africa, urgent measures are needed to eliminate the growing threat posed by the South African *apartheid* régime not only to the region but to international peace and security as well. We note with concern the facts set forth in the report on South Africa's nuclear capability [*A/39/470*], which again confirm South Africa's ability to manufacture nuclear weapons and its determination to increase that capability despite the solemn Declaration on the Denuclearization of Africa, adopted in 1964 by the Organization of African Unity [*OAU*],[2] and the

repeated demands of the General Assembly that South Africa refrain from developing or acquiring nuclear weapons. We would like here to express our appreciation to the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research, the Department of Political and Security Council Affairs, the Department for Disarmament Affairs and the OAU for the quality of that report. We would also like to express our appreciation to the IAEA for the recent intensification of its efforts to determine the implications of the development of South Africa's nuclear capability. That is a very urgent problem that could, if not solved, dangerously undermine the steps now under way in favour of nuclear non-proliferation and could fuel the arms race in Africa.

82. We appeal, therefore, to all countries, and in particular to the nuclear Powers, as well as to the United Nations and the IAEA, to co-operate with the OAU in combating nuclear proliferation in South Africa.

83. At this moment of grave international concern, there is no need to stress the importance of the Declaration on the Denuclearization of Africa. That Declaration testifies to Africa's firm determination to protect world peace through disarmament—first and foremost, nuclear disarmament. We therefore support the recommendations of the National Seminar on Peace and Disarmament, held at Lomé from 6 to 9 August 1984, which include the establishment of a regional institute for research on peace and disarmament and the convening in 1985 of a regional seminar on peace and disarmament, with the participation of the States of Central and West Africa.

84. We believe that all these initiatives can help to arouse and focus public interest in our region on the dangers of the arms race and, at the same time, serve to promote efforts to strengthen security and development at the subregional level.

85. We are convinced that disarmament should be at the epicentre of any collective effort aimed at promoting security and development. In order to achieve that goal, we must have a comprehensive strategy bringing together at one and the same time a commitment on the part of the international community to attack the problem of the arms race at its roots by combating fear, suspicion, distrust, oppression, racism, colonialism, inequality, injustice, hunger, ignorance and disease; by strict respect for the non-use of force in international relations; by the establishment of a system of collective security based on the Charter of the United Nations; and by the elimination of all weapons of mass destruction and the reduction of all military arsenals to the strict minimum necessary for the maintenance of internal order and the protection of territorial integrity. In this connection, the nuclear Powers should formally and unconditionally undertake not to use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against countries that do not possess them. We therefore support the conclusion of a formal international legal instrument on this subject, as advocated by the non-aligned countries.

86. At the same time, the great Powers that bear particular responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security must renounce escalation, the race for supremacy, hegemonist ambitions and the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons. It is also imperative that they resume dialogue, both bilaterally and within the framework of the United Nations, with a view to bringing about the quantitative and qualitative limitation of their nuclear weapons with the final goal of general and complete disarmament. All States must abide by the purposes, principles and provisions of the Charter.

87. The characteristic of our age is clearly the increase of tension in international relations. Without risk of error, I think we can say that everyone is aware that the present world crisis is due to the policies of expansion and force practised by blocs and that this crisis calls for determined, global and, above all, urgent action to eliminate the risks of violence and to bring about a negotiated settlement of major international issues.

88. We have here a crisis of détente. This is accompanied by the intensification of confrontation in the old hotbeds of crisis and the expansion of tension to all parts of the world, which entails the emergence of new hotbeds of conflict. Moreover, the deepening of the world economic crisis and the persistence of injustices which are prejudicial to economic relations among nations are exacerbating the already grave difficulties affecting the developing countries. The security and independence of many States have been threatened by interference in their internal affairs, military intervention and attempts to impose different social systems.

89. In the face of these dangers besetting the world, there is a need to bring about global solutions, while taking action, as a matter of urgency, to halt the arms race, to put a brake on the use of force, to prevent intervention and interference in the internal and external affairs of sovereign States, and to co-ordinate efforts to free peoples from colonial oppression and foreign domination.

90. Thus, in Namibia it has become quite clear that one more year has elapsed while the prospects for the independence of that international Territory are just as remote as ever. South Africa continues to resort to new stratagems to prevent the application of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). In the view of my Government, any policy tending to create a link between the independence of Namibia and the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola is unacceptable. Cameroon, a member of the United Nations Council for Namibia, wishes to reassert its unswerving support for the South West Africa People's Organization [*SWAPO*] in its struggle for the liberation of Namibia. The Security Council must take the urgent and decisive measures called for in Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations in order to enforce respect for resolution 435 (1978), which remains the only acceptable framework for the accession of Namibia to independence.

91. In South Africa itself, we are witnessing with culpable indifference the worst extremes of brutality, massacre and imprisonment of those brave enough to oppose an odious system. That inhumane system has strained its efforts to combine so-called constitutional reforms—which, incidentally, were flatly rejected by their alleged beneficiaries—with a policy of satellization of neighbouring countries through military pressure and economic intimidation.

92. The application of oppressive laws is being pursued tirelessly. We condemn this illusionary reformism, and we are gratified to note that the Security Council did the same in its resolution on the subject adopted on 17 August [*resolution 554 (1984)*]. We call for the immediate liberation of all those imprisoned by the South African racist authorities

during the most recent electoral masquerade. There can be no compromise as regards the principle of equality of all human beings or the need to enforce respect for this principle in practice. That is why the Security Council must continue its consideration of measures to increase international pressure on South Africa to make it change its attitude. Cameroon, which is a member of the OAU Liberation Committee, will continue to help the liberation movements in their struggle against *apartheid* and to promote in South Africa a democratic society respectful of the dignity and equality of all its citizens.

93. In our view, the racial problem in that country seems more and more to transcend the simple concept of respect for human rights and to have become a genuine aspect of the whole problem of liberating an oppressed people. Our resolute support for the liberation movements of South Africa—the African National Congress of South Africa [*ANC*] and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania—finds here its political and ethical foundation.

94. With regard to Western Sahara, where the situation remains a matter of concern, we think that this problem should be dealt with on the basis of the principle of the self-determination of peoples. A solution can be found by the application of resolution AHG/Res. 104 (XIX), adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its nineteenth ordinary session, held at Addis Ababa from 6 to 12 June 1983.[3]

95. With regard to the situation in Chad, the position of Cameroon was recently reaffirmed by Mr. Paul Biya, President of the Republic of Cameroon: our Government is encouraging the efforts of the régime in N'djaména to promote national reconciliation and unity in Chad, with a view to the reconstruction and development of the country. As in the past, Cameroon is ready to contribute to all efforts, bilaterally, subregionally or on the African level, with a view to safeguarding the independence, territorial integrity, stability and peace in Chad.

96. The recent evolution of the situation in that country, marked by the withdrawal of foreign troops, while removing a political-ideological impediment to the opening of dialogue among the Chadians, at the same time also highlights the fact that the solution to the Chadian problem cannot be a military one but is essentially political.

97. It is up to the Chadians themselves to make an effort to rise above individual, ethnic or racial differences, personal ambitions and ideological intransigence, in order that the supreme interests of the Chadian nation may prevail. Having said this, we fear that the disengagement of foreign troops—the presence of which, like it or not, did, in fact, preserve a "no war, no peace" situation—is leaving a dangerous void, which may very well exacerbate the state of belligerence in a climate of ambition, conquest or territorial reconquest. We would venture to hope that all possible precautions have been or will be taken to prevent any possible violations of this disengagement agreement.

98. In the final analysis, it seems to us that the withdrawal of foreign troops from Chad should have been preceded or followed by the setting up of a neutral force which could have intervened. Why not a United Nations peace force capable of facilitating the process of dialogue with a view to national reconciliation?

99. We are following with the same concern other regions of the world where conflicts and tensions which may threaten international peace and security are developing in a dangerous way.

100. In the Middle East, the right of the Palestinian people to a homeland, the sovereignty of Lebanon and the Iraq-Iran conflict are key issues upon the solution of which depends the advent of a just and lasting peace throughout the region.

101. With regard more particularly to the Palestinian problem, we would hope that the Arab countries would help their friends—who consider the Palestine Liberation Organization [*PLO*] as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people—and not pose problems as regards their cohesiveness or the mobilization of their peoples to the banner of Palestinian resistance.

102. In Cyprus, Afghanistan, Kampuchea and Central America, no solutions can be found without strict respect for the sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity of States and non-interference in the internal affairs of States, as laid down in the Charter of the United Nations.

103. The deterioration of the international climate has had very grave repercussions on the already highly alarming economic crisis. Indeed, in spite of the projections of the developed countries during the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly with regard to the end of the present economic recession, the advantages resulting from the so-called recovery have not extended to the whole of the community of nations, particularly the vast majority of the developing countries, which continue to languish in poverty.

104. The economic asphyxiation confronting most young countries and the dangers and disorders to which the international monetary and commercial system is prey constitute disturbing factors which add to an already stormy international climate the prospect of generalized instability.

105. This inadmissible situation is not simply the result of cyclical fluctuations in the international economic system. It reflects the inadequacy of the structural balances inherent in the current economic system.

106. The experience of recent years proves that the world economy cannot be healthy if the development efforts of the developing countries continue to come up against ever-increasing protectionism, high rates of exchange, lower prices for their products, high interest rates, a deterioration of the terms of trade, severe balance-of-payments problems, a decline in financial capital and a swallowing up of vast resources in arms programmes.

107. The accumulation of these problems has drastically reduced the capacity of the developing countries to undertake important investment projects or to continue to support projects and programmes that are necessary for economic growth. Furthermore, it has obliged those countries to reduce the volume of their imports from the industrialized countries. That in turn has adverse consequences for the recovery process. In addition, it gives the clearest proof that there can be no lasting economic recovery in the developed countries without the simultaneous economic development of the developing countries. The stability of any sustained global economic growth is inextricably linked to the interdependence of developed and developing countries. Although this interdependence has often been reaffirmed, as in the

Declaration of the London Economic Summit of the industrialized countries, held last June [*see A/39/304*], the fiscal and monetary policies followed by those countries continue to impede the effective participation of the developing countries in the process of recovery and economic growth. This policy of obstruction is also continuing to block most of the negotiations under way in various international bodies.

108. This is the right place to deplore the feeble results of the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held at Belgrade from 6 June to 2 July 1983. That session unfortunately did not make possible the establishment of a new consensus which would have put the world economy on a new path. I must also express our disappointment at the failure of the Fourth General Conference of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization, held at Vienna last August; its conclusions clearly failed to live up to the hopes of the international community. We hope that, during this session, the General Assembly will do everything possible to reach a consensus on two matters of vital importance to the third-world countries—industrial restructuring and the financing of development projects in those countries.

109. The solutions to these numerous problems lies in dialogue and co-operation within a broad framework which takes account of the links between the various factors in economic development. It is in this spirit that the General Assembly, in so many resolutions adopted since 1979, in particular resolution 34/138, has called for the launching of global negotiations on the establishment of a new, more just and equitable system of international relations. Despite the praiseworthy efforts of Mr. Illueca, President of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly, to secure a consensus on the procedure and agenda for such negotiations, the deadlock on this issue continues. We are convinced that the present economic crisis makes it more necessary than ever that these negotiations be launched immediately. We continue to believe that the two-phase approach advocated by the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi from 7 to 12 March 1983, and reaffirmed by the Fifth Ministerial Meeting of the Group of 77, held at Buenos Aires from 28 March to 9 April 1983, can give a new impulse to the search for ways and means to break the current deadlock.

110. In Africa, a continent rich in natural resources and development potential, the persistence of the economic and social crisis continues to cause the international community grave concern. For some years, our continent has suffered an unprecedented and prolonged drought and the most adverse effects of the world economic recession. This critical situation is aggravated in particular by the acute food crisis in most of the African countries. In this context, the recent intiatives taken by the Secretary-General and other heads of organizations in the United Nations family deserve our appreciation and support. These initiatives in support of the efforts of the African countries themselves should be based on permanent resources available in the long term if they are to bear fruit. It is therefore desirable that the various institutions concerned take the necessary measures to give the various African programmes in the system the appropriate scope, priority and resources.

111. Solving the economic problems cannot of itself lead to development. We must harmoniously integrate the multi-dimensional aspects that are characteristic of man, for the benefit of whom all true development efforts must be organized. Human rights—civil, political, social, economic and cultural—are among these aspects.

112. This year the United Nations has been very active in all the fields that I have just mentioned. I could give as examples the meetings of the Commission on Human Rights, at Geneva, and of the preparatory body for the World Conference to Review and Appraise the Achievements of the United Nations Decade for Women, at Vienna; the Second International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa, at Geneva; and the International Conference on Population, at Mexico City. Cameroon actively participated in all those meetings.

113. My country, which has put man at the centre of its concerns, has laid down a body of legislative measures, supported by judicial machinery, making truly effective the protection of human rights guaranteed by the Constitution. For seven years, Cameroon has been working to promote understanding of, research into, education in and popularization of human rights, through seminars organized in collaboration with the Henri Dunant Institute, at Geneva, and with UNESCO and UNITAR. Moreover, in recent years we have acceded to many international instruments on human rights.

114. The status of women is of prime importance to my country. This means that women must be closely linked with all stages of the economic and social development process, particularly in preparing plans and formulating policies and in decision-making. The establishment of a ministry dealing with the status of women and of a consultative committee to improve the status of women in Cameroon stems from this humane concept of development, which centres its efforts on all sections of our society.

115. I must mention the fate of a category of people who have been pushed out of their own countries by hazards and uncertainties of all kinds. I refer to refugees. They benefit from the great concern shown by our Government, which recently submitted to the UNHCR three projects whose implementation would contribute greatly to improving the position of refugees in Cameroonian territory.

116. In December 1982, a document of historic scope created a new milestone in the achievements of the United Nations. The new United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea,[4] certainly the most important and most complete juridical instrument to be adopted since the Charter of the United Nations, represents the first universal recognition of the rule of law with regard to the oceans.

117. We are happy that a growing number of States are signing or ratifying the Convention. The results of the meeting of the Preparatory Commission for the International Sea-Bed Authority and for the International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea, held at Geneva from 13 August to 5 September 1984, are very encouraging. They will surely open the way to the signing of the Convention by a number of industrialized countries. We believe that all countries with the means or potential should have the opportunity to join the group of pioneer investors in the exploration of the sea-bed.

118. The purpose of part XI of the Convention, whose text was patiently negotiated, is to allow for a wise exploitation of the resources of the sea-bed under a well-ordered juridical régime. This legal framework remains crucial for international peace and security.

119. We shall continue to make our modest contribution to ensuring that the Convention and its related resolutions[5] are properly implemented. As the delegation of Cameroon emphasized at the end of the second session of the Preparatory Commission, held at Kingston from 19 March to 13 April 1984, we must resolutely and unequivocally implement the relevant provisions of those instruments. It is against this background that Cameroon shares in the concern recently expressed at Geneva by the Group of 77 about the provisional agreement on the exploration of the sea-bed to which certain industrialized countries have subscribed.

120. Moreover, holding the sessions of the Preparatory Commission must no longer give rise to the same problems as in the past. Resolution I, adopted by consensus at the same time as the Convention, requires that those sessions be held at the headquarters of the future International Sea-Bed Authority. Therefore, the Secretary-General should take all the necessary measures to establish a viable secretariat at Kingston, in accordance with the relevant decisions of the General Assembly. I take this opportunity to express to the Government of Jamaica our appreciation of the excellent facilities and hospitality offered for the meetings of the Preparatory Commission there.

121. Nearly 40 years after its creation, the United Nations today is the target of serious doubts on the part of the international community; many, apart from the public at large, are increasingly wondering about the raison d'être and the future of the Organization. Its authority is becoming weakened; its resolutions and decisions are not being implemented, particularly those of the Security Council, the collective body which was supposed to represent our common desire to act decisively whenever international peace and security are threatened. If almost four decades of existence have paralysed the structures of the Organization, it is particularly the lack of political will of Member States that has considerably eroded its credibility. As a corollary, multilateralism is dangerously declining; there are clear signs of this, mainly the current decrease in the resources made available to institutions such as UNDP, the fact that many States, particularly the more powerful ones, do not hasten to resort to the machinery offered by the United Nations to resolve issues of world-wide interest and, to some extent, the difficulties experienced now by UNESCO. We support the appeal launched by the Secretary-General, in his report on the work of the Organization [*A/39/1*], for a strengthening of multilateralism, renewing the position of his colleagues on the Administrative Committee on Co-ordination in its overview report for 1983/84.[6]

122. We are living in an era in which problems tend to take on global proportions because of the interdependence of nations, which is being consolidated by daily advances in science and technology. Thus we must use reliable international mechanisms in order to derive the greatest profit for our common destiny.

123. We must therefore strengthen our faith in the purposes and principles of the United Nations and constantly see to it that the structures and functioning of its organs are kept up to date and made more democratic. Along these lines, there is an urgent need to pursue the present revitalization of the Economic and Social Council. We also hope that consultations on improving the functioning of the Security Council, begun in this body, will find an early solution in terms of concrete proposals, taking into account the various views expressed by the political groups in the Assembly.

124. With regard to innovations or reforms undertaken in the structure and management of the Secretariat, these must be carried out in accordance with guidelines given by Member States in various deliberative bodies. Cameroon, which attaches great importance to the equitable geographical composition of the Secretariat and to its efficient functioning, supports the Secretary-General in that regard.

125. We should like once again to express our dedication to the United Nations and to multilateral institutions. We hope that they will continue to have the strong support of Member States, particularly the wealthier countries, in order to become the defenders of the higher common interests of mankind, of which peace, collective security and access to well-being for all are the main elements.

126. We are taking part in this session, as in so many other sessions, in a spirit of dialogue, tolerance and concord. As was recently stated by our President, Mr. Paul Biya:

> "Cameroon, land of peace and openness, continues to practice a policy of friendship, co-operation without boundaries, and non-alignment, with full respect for its independence, sovereignty and fundamental options.
>
> "This policy applies to all sister countries of Africa, neighbours as well as distant countries, with which we seek active solidarity for the total liberation of Africa, the consolidation of the Organization of African Unity and the solution of the problems of the continent. It also guides our relations with many other States in the world, as well as with many international organizations.
>
> "Cameroon will continue its development through an active and realistic presence on the international scene and will continue to offer the world the reassuring and edifying picture of a young, united, peaceful, stable and prosperous nation, which is making a modest contribution to the maintenance of peace, the strengthening of understanding, friendship and co-operation among nations and the promotion of civilization throughout the world."

127. Mr. GURINOVICH (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): The delegation of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic wishes to congratulate you, Sir, upon your election to the important post of President of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly and wishes you success in the discharge of your responsible functions, which you have assumed in the year of the twentieth anniversary of the independence of Zambia and its entry into the United Nations.

128. The near universality of the United Nations, which now has 159 Members, and the content of the items on its agenda impose upon the Organization the task of working on the basis of strict observance of the Charter of the United Nations for the solution of urgent problems such as international disarm-

ament and security, total decolonization, economic and social progress, and the maintenance of the international rule of law. However, there is one problem whose solution will determine not only the progress of mankind, but its very survival. This is the problem of eliminating the danger of war and, above all, eliminating the threat of a nuclear catastrophe.

129. The majority of the statements in the general debate have testified to the fact that most States, regardless of their social system, ideology or way of life, recognize the absolute priority of what is literally the task of tasks.

130. However, the course of events in the world continues to be a matter of great concern. The risk of a nuclear conflict has sharply increased as a result of the policies and actions of the United States and some of its closest allies. The course they have taken aimed at securing military supremacy over the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Treaty Organization, an unrestrained and across-the-board escalation of the arms race, power politics and diktat in international relations and, ultimately, world domination has been taken to extremes and is pushing the world towards a confrontation which in the nuclear age can mean only one thing: universal nuclear disaster.

131. This cannot be concealed by the expediency of the rhetoric of high-ranking United States officials about "peaceful intentions", which does not contain the faintest sign of readiness to translate these words into deeds—all the more so when the words we hear them using are not even the same.

132. How are we to reconcile, for example, assertions of "peaceableness" with repeated statements that they have the right to deal the first nuclear strike, their intention to acquire the capacity to win a nuclear war, to acquire military superiority and to undertake "a crusade" against socialism? How are we to reconcile the statement of the President of the United States that "spheres of influence are a matter of the past" with his statement that: "Today the world is expecting leadership from America. America for its part turns its eyes to its Marine Corps"? In actual fact, how are we to reconcile the moderate tone of the words being used with the deep and irrepressible impulse to brand the Soviet Union "an outlaw" and immediately bomb it? It is only at the movies that you can play one character one day and another character the next.

133. Washington now proclaims its readiness for "constructive talks with the Soviet Union" since "America has restored its power." Yet, in practice, the United States not only fails to put forward its own constructive proposals, but it is unwilling even to follow the good example of the Soviet Union or to heed the appeal of the United Nations and renounce the first use of nuclear weapons. The Soviet Union proposes to agree that relations among States possessing nuclear weapons should be governed by certain norms and principles which would be in keeping with the vital interests of all peoples. The Soviet Union has made these peaceful principles the very basis of its foreign policy and is ready at any time to come to an agreement with the other nuclear Powers on the joint recognition of such norms and on making them binding. The United States and its partners in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [*NATO*] refuse to do this. The Soviet Union and its allies have called for a treaty between the Warsaw Treaty Organization and NATO on the non-use of force and the maintenance of peaceful relations. The United States is doing its very best to get out of this. Nor can we see on the part of the United States any readiness to implement the United Nations declarations on the prevention of nuclear war and on educating peoples in the spirit of peace and other decisions designed to prevent any "limited" or "protracted" nuclear wars and to take real disarmament measures. There has been no response from them to the proposal of the Mongolian People's Republic [*A/39/141*] for the adoption by the United Nations of a declaration on the right of peoples to peace.

134. We can only conclude that the United States has its own concepts of dialogue and talks. Only recently, the Secretary of State of the United States, Mr. Shultz, stated in so many words: "We know, as surely as we know anything, that negotiations and diplomacy not backed by strength are ineffectual at best, dangerous at worst." In other words, the United States only wants talks where it can lay down American conditions. All its talk about negotiations is obviously something it wants just to cover up its hegemonistic designs. The reality is that its policy of using the territory of a number of Western European countries as launching pads for American first-strike nuclear missiles remains unchanged. Furthermore, in addition to the increasing palisade of missiles, they now want to divide Europe by an explosive dynamite strip. In actual practice, what is the meaning of all this talk about the "absence" of pre-conditions and the "desire" of the United States Administration to hold talks? It means constantly targeting on the Soviet Union and its allies new types of American nuclear missiles, totally rejecting the constructive proposals of the Soviet Union and, at the same time, calling for talks. Surely, this is political duplicity.

135. There is a need for dialogue, there is a need for talks, but an honest dialogue, serious talks. Washington must show by deeds that it really wants talks. The Soviet Union has put forward proposals for a radical reduction of nuclear armaments which would in no way be detrimental to anyone's security interests. The Soviet Union is ready to consider these questions seriously at the negotiating table as soon as the United States removes the virtually insurmountable obstacles which it has erected with a view to securing military supremacy.

136. The position of the Soviet Union is clear and consistent. It is based on the following words of the founder of the Soviet State, Vladimir Ilich Lenin:

> "We shall do our utmost to preserve peace in the future, we shall not shrink from great sacrifices and concessions in order to safeguard this peace.
>
> "There are, however, limits beyond which one cannot go. We shall not permit treaties to be flouted, we shall not permit attempts to interfere with our peaceful work."

137. The United States Administration is now claiming that it wants disarmament and is even proposing a journey—during the next 20 years or so—down the road of disarmament negotiations. But this American road-map does not show either the routes or the final destinations. All it shows are the barriers, old and new, plus the intention to get whatever it can out of anyone who chooses to travel along this toll-road. Meanwhile, the United States keeps coming up with more and more military programmes. Physical preparations for nuclear war are in full swing: ever new nuclear-weapon systems

are constantly being planned, developed and manufactured: the MX and the Midgetman intercontinental ballistic missiles, the B-1 and the Stealth strategic bombers, long-range cruise missiles of every basing mode, the Trident submarine nuclear missile system, the Pershing II missile, neutron bombs and shells. This list, I am sorry to say, could be extended. According to mass media reports, three new warheads are being added every day to the United States nuclear arsenal. These systems are now many times more accurate and their basic characteristics make it clear that they have been designed for use as first-strike weapons. The United States military budget is reaching fantastic heights: $300 billion.

138. With all this disarmament rhetoric, has the United States Administration halted or scrapped even one of these programmes? Quite the contrary, they are in a hurry to stake out new ground for the arms buildup. They are now extending the arms race to new environments and are making no attempt to conceal their intention to follow a policy of heightening tension and confrontation for decades to come. They repeat over and over again their fallacious argument that it is only by carrying out such dangerous and adventuristic programmes that it will eventually be possible to create the conditions for agreement on arms reductions—on Washington's terms, of course.

139. There is a growing movement in the world in favour of freezing nuclear arsenals. On the initiative of the Soviet Union and other countries, the General Assembly has adopted a number of resolutions calling for this. However, the representatives of the United States are always against it. The leaders of six States on different continents have appealed, in a Joint Declaration [*A/39/277*], for an end to the arms race and for a nuclear-weapon freeze. While the Soviet Union welcomed this initiative and once again reaffirmed its readiness to take such steps on a reciprocal basis, the United States has ignored this appeal.

140. Circumstances have given a high priority on the international political agenda to the question of preventing an arms race in outer space. The Soviet Union has put forward a number of initiatives—in the United Nations and elsewhere—designed to solve this problem and has unilaterally undertaken not to be the first to deploy any type of anti-satellite weapons in outer space, whereas the United States has refused to engage in talks on preventing the militarization of outer space. The United States has tested anti-satellite weapons and is now preparing to continue those tests. It has set up a special space command and is now in the process of establishing a joint armed forces space command. It is building a command centre for military operations in outer space. A new presidential directive has been signed on the deployment of new weapons in space.

141. The Soviet Union has submitted to the United Nations for its consideration a new proposal entitled "Use of outer space exclusively for peaceful purposes for the benefit of mankind" [*see A/39/243*]. It provides for urgent measures to be taken to prohibit for all time the use of force in outer space and from space against the earth, as well as from the earth against targets in outer space, and for the prohibition and elimination of all types of attack systems in space. The idea is that outer space should be used for solving major problems of economic, social and cultural development, such as studying the earth's natural resources, controlling natural disasters, food supplies, improving transport and communications, developing new materials and technologies, and other problems. It is proposed that States join efforts in this area and, among other things, work for the eventual creation of a world organization for the use of space for the benefit of mankind. The Soviet proposal has met with a favourable response in the United Nations, and we hope that no one will obstruct its implementation.

142. There is no way that the current United States position—no matter how nebulously phrased—can be sold as evidence of a constructive and serious approach on the part of the United States Administration to the central problems of peace and security. The unwillingness to engage in constructive negotiations has also been demonstrated by the United States position at the Conference on Disarmament and at the Vienna Talks on Mutual Reduction of Forces and Armaments and Associated Measures in Central Europe, where it has blocked even the slightest progress in these matters. At Stockholm, instead of seeking ways of strengthening trust and security and achieving disarmament in Europe, it has been attempting to facilitate the efforts of its special services to find out about the structure and activities of the armed forces of the Soviet Union and its allies.

143. If one looks at what Washington has actually been doing—whether it be in the field of nuclear, chemical or conventional arms, zones of peace or nuclear-free zones, or reductions in military expenditures—everywhere the picture is the same. The United States is against solving these problems on the basis of the principle of equality and equal security.

144. It is time it learned the lessons of the history of the last few decades, namely, that attempts to impair the security of others inevitably leads to the diminishing of one's own security. There can be no winners in the arms race.

Mr. Tsvetkov (Bulgaria), Vice-President, took the Chair.

145. To conclude this part of my statement devoted to the subject of preventing nuclear war and of disarmament, I would like to refer to a point recently made by Konstantin Chernenko, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics:

> "We make an unequivocal appeal to the United States and its allies: it is time for them to reaffirm by concrete deeds their share of responsibility for the fate of the world, to realize the futility of a policy based on a position of strength and on reliance on the arms race, and to demonstrate real, rather than a mere ostensible, readiness to engage in dialogue and negotiations in order to find mutually acceptable solutions to problems on which the future of mankind depends. The Soviet Union is not wanting in such willingness."

146. The declarations by the United States about its desire for peace and stability cannot be reconciled in any way with the increased intensity with which it is extending its great-Power ambitions to embrace the whole globe. Furthermore, the United States is increasingly using NATO in these efforts. Steps are being taken to extend the geographical range of activity of this bloc and to use it as a tool of the

policy of force and diktat in various parts of the world.

147. Pursuing the militaristic policy of attempting to secure military superiority and winning a dominant position in the world and striving to realize their dangerous ideas of "a policy based on strength", "crusades" and "psychological warfare", the forces of imperialism are taking action, including the use of armed force, designed to undermine the socio-political system of other countries, thus putting into practice the policy of State terrorism. A look at any part of the world will make it obvious that, by destabilizing the situation throughout the world, Washington's militaristic policies are terrorizing nations and peoples. The existing hotbeds of tension and crisis situations are being aggravated and new ones are being created; undeclared wars are being waged against a number of independent States.

148. Co-ordinating its actions with its "strategic ally" in Tel Aviv, Washington is seeking to remove from the agenda the question of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people to create their own State, which is the key to a Middle East settlement. Despite the efforts of the Secretary-General, the United States is frustrating the implementation of the United Nations decision to convene an international conference on the Middle East with the participation of all interested parties, including the PLO. Moreover, the United States itself has brutally shelled Lebanese territory and continues to encourage Israel in its aggressive policy against Arab peoples and in carrying out its "creeping annexation", naked terror and violence in the occupied Arab lands.

149. Increasing pressure is also being felt by independent Mediterranean States. Owing to an accelerated process of militarization, the Mediterranean is turning into a zone of immediate danger to the peoples inhabiting that region. Acts of military provocation have been undertaken against Libya. The situation in Cyprus continues to remain unresolved, and the right of the Cypriot people to territorial integrity and unity without foreign military presence and interference in the internal affairs of that non-aligned State is being trampled on.

150. Turning to another region—Central America—here too, in an attempt to suppress the struggle of peoples for socio-economic changes, for freedom and independence, the United States is working to exacerbate the situation. Socialist Cuba continues to be subjected to wanton attacks and acts of hostility.

151. Undisguised attacks are being organized and carried out against Nicaragua, including the mining of its harbours. The waters of the Pacific and the Caribbean are being plied by United States naval flotillas with marines on board. Their main task is to terrorize and intimidate the people of that country, whose sole desire is to be master of its own destiny. In order to prop up its stooges, the blood-stained butchers of the people of El Salvador, Washington is continuing its shameless interference in the affairs of that country. The land of Grenada, a small, peace-loving country, which has never in any way threatened anyone, is being trampled upon by the iron-heeled boot of United States Marines.

152. The United States is stubbornly refusing to accept the peace initiatives of Cuba and Nicaragua as well as those of the Contadora Group with respect to a peaceful settlement in Central America. That is not surprising because the United States has already used military force 82 times against 11 Latin American countries, and it wants to be able to continue this practice of banditry in the future.

153. Another region of open and increasingly wide and dangerous interference by the imperialist forces is the African continent, where attempts are being made to impose neo-colonialist bonds on the newly independent peoples, limit their sovereignty and deprive them of the right to take their own decisions. South Africa and its protectors are blocking the independence of Namibia. The "constructive co-operation" between Washington and Pretoria and the moves to prevent the Security Council from taking effective measures against the *apartheid* régime encourage the racists in their open aggression against neighbouring countries and create new and dangerous hotbeds of tension.

154. United States monopolies have invested approximately $14 billion in South Africa's economy and are making a fortune out of exploiting the indigenous population of South Africa. It is not surprising, then, that already at this session of the General Assembly, the United States delegation has refused to support an African draft resolution calling for the struggle against the policy of *apartheid*.

155. Recently, all kinds of pressure have been applied with increasing persistence against some Asian countries in order to draw them into global adventurist designs and to step up the militarization of the Far East. The United States is strongly opposed to acceptance of the proposal of the Mongolian People's Republic for the conclusion of a convention on mutual non-aggression and the non-use of force in relations between the States of Asia and the Pacific.

156. It is frustrating the efforts of the Indian Ocean nations to turn that region into a zone of peace because, according to the head of the Pentagon, "this is a region where the terms 'parity' and 'equality' are unacceptable to us; we must have military and naval supremacy".

157. The unresolved Korean question is not adding to stability in the Far East. The proposals of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, which provide for the withdrawal of United States forces from South Korea and peaceful reunification of the country without any outside interference, are a good basis for the solution of that problem.

158. Dangerous intrigues continue unabated around the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. The foes of the Afghan people, including those who boast about their commitment to democracy, are trying to disrupt the construction of a new, genuinely democratic life in that country. While paying lip-service to a political solution to the problems which have arisen around Afghanistan, they are in effect doing everything possible to impede it.

159. There are possibilities of such a solution. They are offered by the constructive proposals of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, and we fully support them. In fact, only one thing is necessary, namely, the cessation of the foreign armed intervention against Afghanistan and interference in the internal affairs of that sovereign non-aligned State.

160. The only way to ease tension in South-East Asia is to renounce the policy of State terrorism. We strongly support the well-known proposals by Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea for a peaceful settlement

of the problems of that region and its transformation into a zone of peace, stability and co-operation. The attempts to impose politically bankrupt outcasts, no matter how they are dressed up nowadays, on the people of Kampuchea through all kinds of illegal moves and manipulations are intolerable. It is high time they were thrown out of the United Nations and the People's Republic of Kampuchea given its place in international organizations.

161. The intensified military activities in the Persian Gulf, the waters of which are increasingly patrolled by large United States naval formations, have a destabilizing effect on South-West Asian countries. Such is also the purpose of the United States Central Command, which seeks to turn that vast region into a military and political springboard and to threaten the security interests, sovereign rights and independence of the peoples of the region.

162. In order to protect the sovereign rights of the peoples and to put an end to the imperialist habit of dictating to other States, the General Assembly must emphatically censure as inadmissible the policy of State terrorism and any actions by States aimed at undermining the social and political system in other sovereign States. This is the aim of the relevant proposal made by the Soviet Union [*A/39/244*] and supported by a number of delegations.

163. It is noteworthy that at this session—more often and more extensively than at any other session—representatives of imperialist Powers are hypocritically referring to some "sudden" and "unexpected" economic, financial and debt problems of the developing countries. These ringing declarations cannot conceal the fact that through so-called free enterprise the imperialists are severely exploiting the economically weak countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America, from which they extract each year up to $300 billion. The London Economic Summit of the seven Western countries, held last June, has not made things easier for those who belong to the Group of 77. Nor does the United States spare even its highly developed "partners."

164. The socialist States consistently advocate the restructuring of international economic relations on an equitable, democratic basis and support the corresponding demands of the developing countries. The high-level Economic Conference of the member countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, held last June in Moscow, supported the progressive demands of the developing countries that their full sovereignty over their natural resources and economic activities be ensured. The Declaration of the Conference, entitled "Maintenance of peace and international economic co-operation" [*see A/39/323, annex II*], underscores the need to ensure the economic and social development of every country, whereas to all appearances the United States and its allies intend to pursue their policy of exploitation. The net result can only be a wider gap between industrialized capitalist countries and developing nations, which will be in even greater difficulty tomorrow. The arms race, which is being escalated by Washington and its NATO allies, is having a pernicious effect, too, forcing the developing countries to spend more money on arms than they receive as development aid.

165. The whole world is aware who is working for peace and who is dreaming of military solutions. In this context, we cannot but point out that all sensible people are greatly concerned over the increasing attempts by the United States and its NATO allies to call into question the entire structure of agreements aimed at ensuring peaceful, stable progress in Europe. The United States and some of its NATO allies are virtually conniving with the neo-Fascist forces that are reappearing and seeking revenge. The countries of the socialist community and all others that cherish the cause of peace resolutely condemn any manifestations of a policy aimed at undermining the foundations of the post-war European settlement. They will not allow the tragedies of the past to happen again.

166. It is a cause of serious concern that last summer, in disregard of international agreements and decisions, the Council of the Western European Union, at the request of the Federal Republic of Germany, lifted the ban which prevented that country from manufacturing strategic bombers and long-range missiles. Thus, the Federal Republic of Germany will be able to build and deploy its own long-range offensive weapons capable of threatening the security of not only neighbouring but also distant States. It should be recalled that the Federal Republic of Germany, as one of the successors of the former Reich, is bound by the Potsdam Agreement, which decreed that never again would German soil become the source of a threat to neighbouring countries and to the world at large. This prohibition must be strictly observed.

167. Nikolai Slyunkov, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, has said the following:

> "We are not dramatizing the existing situation. At the same time, there are no grounds for carelessness or complacency. The lessons of the past and the aggressive designs of imperialism oblige us to be vigilant and ready for anything that may happen."

168. This year the Byelorussian SSR is commemorating the fortieth anniversary of its liberation from the Fascist invaders. The Soviet people paid by the millions with their lives, grief and suffering for this liberation. Since the Second World War, there has been a 33-fold increase, as compared with 1940, in the industrial potential of the working people of the Republic, despite the loss of one quarter of its population and one half of its national wealth during the destruction inflicted by the war. We are successfully dealing with the tasks of economic and social development in the current five-year plan. The commemoration of the fortieth anniversary of our liberation has also demonstrated the will of the people to peace and its determination to prevent another war.

169. In 1985 mankind will be celebrating the fortieth anniversary of the great victory of the forces of reason and peace in the Second World War and the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations, which is part of the post-war peace arrangements for the world. We must take advantage of these forthcoming events to strengthen our ranks on the basis of unswerving observance by all peace-loving forces of the Charter and the progressive decisions of the United Nations, so that by concrete deeds we may promote the strengthening of international peace and security and eliminate the nuclear threat.

170. No question, however important it may be, can be allowed to overshadow the issue at the basis of the founding of the United Nations—that is, the question of how to preserve peace. It is the duty of every State individually and of all the States Members of the United Nations to do everything they can to ensure that people can live in peace in the remaining 15 years of the twentieth century and can enter the third millenium, not with fear for the future of civilization but, rather, with certainty about the limitless prospects for the development of civilization.

171. The Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic is ready to co-operate with other States to achieve those goals.

172. Mr. BEMANANJARA (Madagascar) (*interpretation from French*): The General Assembly's choice of Mr. Paul Lusaka to preside over the work of its thirty-ninth session gives us cause for real pride, because the recognition of his distinguished qualities is a tribute paid not only to his country, Zambia, but to Africa as a whole. We assure him that the delegation of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar will exert every effort to support the actions he will take under his mandate and on behalf of our common ideals.

173. We express again to Mr. Jorge Illueca our thanks for the responsible, clear-sighted and committed way in which he presided over the thirty-eighth session, despite the strains involved in his lofty duties.

174. Finally, my Government is particularly aware of the initiatives taken by the Secretary-General for the benefit of Madagascar and Africa as a whole, and we once again express to him our support and our confidence in his mission of peace and in his determination to return multilateralism to its place of honour.

175. The exchanges of view that have been taking place during the general debate confirm our belief that, despite certain signs that in other circumstances might have been encouraging, uncertainty persists and disquiet and pessimism are the order of the day. Indeed, in analysing, as we must, the causes for the divisions in our world, we must note that the North and the South are not getting down to a dialogue on the establishment of a new order; the organization of the developing countries is still in an embryonic stage or is split up; there has been a chronic blockage of East-West relations for five years now; and outmoded and inadequate solutions to regional conflicts, the by-products of that tension, are envisaged.

176. There are some who have settled down into this state of generalized deadlock, and peoples might have adapted to this if it could have been proved to them that the world in which they were living was the best reflection of their rights and aspirations. But during the past few months we have witnessed an onslaught of phenomena, the mere listing of which gives an idea of the insecurity all around us: the repetition of rigid positions; the quest for unilateral advantage; the strengthening of the policy of blocs; the refusal of concessions or compromise; displays of force alternating with appeasement; the diplomacy of brinkmanship and preparation for confrontation. Everything that is happening makes it appear that the three pillars of international co-operation—peace, security and justice—have been reshaped to justify actions motivated by the utmost egotism and a kind of Messianism.

177. As a non-aligned but committed country, we believe that in East-West relations the natural differences of interests cannot be disregarded and, hence, that nothing can replace peaceful coexistence and détente, which can re-establish peaceful conditions without confusing myth with reality. Much has been said this year about confidence- and security-building measures. Some advocate a global approach based on principles; others prefer a selective, and therefore limited, method. But the peoples, whose consciousness has been raised by the peace movement, need above all the confidence that can replace entrenched positions, deterrence and balance.

178. Is it not true that if the security interests of everyone, and not merely the great Powers, were taken into account, nuclear deterrence would lose its raison d'être? Is it not true, too, that confidence would make it possible to emerge from a process which, in the name of balance, has accelerated the race in nuclear and conventional weapons? Finally, is it not true that a commitment to collective, rather than polarized, security could induce peoples to subscribe more frequently to negotiations and to hope for their success, denouncing all provocations that could derail them?

179. On many occasions we have said that we cannot blindly follow the experts and technicians on their ground. In the United Nations we are obliged to reason in terms of policies that are responsible and designed to ensure the survival of civilization. That is why we wish to lend our support and solidarity to any undertaking that would bring us closer to the fundamental aspiration of the peoples—that is, the restoration of peace. That holds true for the proposals on the prohibition of the militarization of space, the halting of the course of naval armament, the banning of chemical weapons, and a nuclear freeze.

180. Argument about the complexity of the problems does not justify avoidance of their consideration. Declarations of intention must necessarily be followed by action. Negotiations will be difficult, and the obstacles along the way cannot be minimized. Negotiations will have the merit of making international public opinion better aware and will facilitate application of our collective intelligence to the solution of conflicts in the South.

181. But let us not be misunderstood. The relaxation of tensions in the North can be brought about only through the reduction of conflicts, and such reduction will be meaningful only if it takes place within the framework of a global approach. We cannot merely say that the solution of regional conflicts depends on the will of the great Powers alone. We all intend to shoulder our responsibilities.

182. If one thinks about it, the situation in southern Africa would not be what it is if, apart from spheres of influence, some of us were not tempted to be led by the notion of traditional strategic responsibility. Despite our protests, our denunciations and our condemnations, extenuating circumstances are always found for the *apartheid* régime, which it would seem it would be best to control in order to stabilize the region, putting aside, if need be, black consciousness. Is this not tantamount to ensuring the survival of the minority racist Power in order better to defend values some label democratic in an environment that is viewed as hostile?

183. But this is only one of many contradictions. We want to put an end to the cycle of violence, yet some discreetly or openly applaud when the cycle of injustice is coupled with the adoption of so-called constitutional reform. Very little importance is attached to the military and economic pressures on the *apartheid* régime, but these are included in a strategy that should presumably lead to mediation and negotiation. Some advocate pragmatism and patience, but in the name of the struggle against international terrorism they want to do away with SWAPO and the ANC, whose authenticity, representational character and historic role in the liberation of Africa need no longer be demonstrated. The front-line States are being subjected to intolerable blackmail, and none can be fooled as to its purpose. Who could for a single moment believe that the Pretoria régime has suddenly seen the light and the virtues of dialogue, non-aggression and good-neighbourliness? In truth, the only possible answer is an immediate increase in support and international assistance for the front-line States in order to give them the means to face up to aggression that is all the more pernicious since some might support it.

184. For us, as for the great majority of the Members of the United Nations, the course to be followed is clear. Whatever stratagems may be used, Namibia will become independent. The democratization of political, economic and social relations in South Africa will bring about the day when the black, the white, the Coloured and the Asian populations are free of the *apartheid* régime and its collaborators. Our dignity as Africans is incompatible with the continuing detention of Nelson Mandela, and we demand his immediate release. We affirm that southern Africa can be an area of true harmony, peace and co-operation only when an end has been put to the political and economic hegemony of the racist régime and to foreign interference.

185. We also continue to believe that the interplay of strategic and political interests has made decolonization go astray in Western Sahara. After years of bitter discussions, confrontations followed by accommodation, at its last summit conference, Africa succeeded in achieving unanimous agreement on ways and means of restoring peace in the region. Is the scheme proposed by the OAU perhaps not fully in keeping with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and respect for the inalienable rights of the Saharan people? Has the United Nations perhaps been wrong in supporting it, with the few reservations we are all familiar with?

186. Such a thesis cannot be sustained, nor can it explain the intransigence of Morocco, the ostracism of certain circles *vis-à-vis* the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic or the rumours designed to give credit to the argument that the OAU should drop this case in favour of other bodies. The application of the African solution to the Saharan problem should not be unduly delayed by considerations that would mean our shirking our responsibility *vis-à-vis* the Saharan people. Because we intend to meet this responsibility, we maintain the common African position, which is that there should be a cease-fire and withdrawal of the Moroccan troops from Western Sahara so that there may be a peaceful and fair referendum.

187. In this connection I should like, on behalf the Democratic Republic of Madagascar, to hail the withdrawal of foreign troops from Chad, which will make it possible for the various factions and groups to meet and try to find a solution that will be in the interests of the people of Chad and in keeping with the resolutions of the OAU, without replacing African and even international solidarity with paternalism.

188. Finally, as a representative of my President, Mr. Didier Ratsiraka, and of my Government and as a son of that great continent that is the object of so much greed and struggles for influence, I cannot fail to invite my brothers and sisters to settle our political problems first and foremost among ourselves.

189. The Democratic Republic of Madagascar would be failing in its duty if it did not appeal for awareness of the solidarity and affirmation of the identity of African men and women and their ability to contribute to the solution of the problems afflicting our continent.

190. The similarities between the situations in southern Africa and western Asia have been mentioned on several occasions, and in such precise and objective terms that it seems unnecessary to revert to them in great detail. I shall therefore confine myself to certain considerations that might help bring about understanding of our position and lay the foundations for analysis.

191. In 40 years, the fundamental facts of the question of Palestine, at least as regards the United Nations, have remained unchanged. Arbitrariness, domination and exploitation persist in that region, while adjustments introduced following various tensions but with disregard for law and equity have hardly contributed to an acceptable solution. At the same time, the PLO, like every liberation movement, is going through a difficult period which the play of powers in the region have not helped. Thus, there is oscillation between solicitude and ostracism, between sympathy and indifference, between ambiguity and support. Finally, the programme drawn up by the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People is relegated to dead-letter status, as is the international conference proposed by the non-aligned countries. Prospects for negotiations at the Security Council level are hampered by the exclusion of the PLO.

192. The result is a diplomatic void on the international level, one that cannot be filled by reaffirming Security Council resolution 242 (1967)—at this point largely outdated—nor by the increasing number of unilateral or bilateral initiatives. Such negative factors reflect the internal and external tensions in the region and are being used either to force us to accept *faits accomplis* or to make us better accustomed to the state of latent war, or even to accept the worst of paradoxes in which a people who have been promised a homeland now have a State, while another people, whose right to a State has been expressly recognized by the United Nations, find themselves being offered a homeland as a kind of consolation prize. In the face of this impermissible disparity, the only solution is the restoration of the rights of the Palestinians and an international guarantee of those rights in order that an end may be put to the suffering and devastation to which the Lebanese and the Palestinians have been subjected for so long.

193. For the same reasons, in the Iran-Iraq conflict we are following very closely the response to the Secretary-General's three-part appeal for the protection of the civilian populations victimized by a

frenzied fratricidal struggle that is casting an unnecessary shadow over the image of non-aligned unity.

194. In other parts of Asia, we find peoples being caught up between present and past interests that pursue their course without regard to those peoples. From Afghanistan to Korea, the peoples' aspirations to normal relations, to peace, to co-operation and to stability are constantly being frustrated by ideological or strategic considerations.

195. No one can accept a situation such as that in Cyprus, where a succession of *faits accomplis* and unilateral steps have taken us ever further from a solution that should have been freely accepted by both communities, equal in rights and obligations. No one can be against the idea that the situation around Afghanistan should return to normal and that the Secretary-General's mediation in that matter should be allowed to continue and lead to direct negotiations. No one thinks of thwarting the joint efforts being made by the States of Indo-China and the States members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations to narrow their differences and to organize co-operation and coexistence among them in accordance with respect for each party's freedom of choice. However, we can demand that in all such actions account be taken of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of non-alignment, and, in particular, the principles of sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-interference.

196. Those are also the principles to which we appeal when we assert the need to normalize the situation in the Korean peninsula and to bring about peaceful, independent reunification there, free from outside interference. In that connection, the proposals recently put forward by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for tripartite talks constitute a positive contribution towards the resumption of dialogue between North and South Korea.

197. In Central America and the Caribbean, events in recent months have sounded a note of alarm for the development of international relations. We believed that the proposals of the Contadora Group had been accepted by the parties concerned, and we were already gratified at the fact that Nicaragua had risked the alternative of peace by subscribing to the terms of the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America [*A/39/562, annex*]. Unfortunately, other pre-conditions have been raised, and we very much fear that the opportunity to find a peaceful political solution to all the problems in Central America and the Caribbean may have been frittered away.

198. Before ending my remarks on this subject, I should like to refer to the question of the Indian Ocean and the Malagasy Islands. My Government reaffirms its determination to continue, within the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Indian Ocean, to work for the implementation of General Assembly resolution 2832 (XXVI), containing the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace. Any demonstration or escalation of great-Power presence in that area, such as foreign military bases and installations, logistical support services and the stockpiling of nuclear weapons and weapons of mass destruction, contrary to the oft-expressed will of the States of the region, would constitute a flagrant violation of that Declaration. Such activities are liable to jeopardize the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and peaceful development of the States of the region. We are convinced that the immediate convening of the Conference on the Indian Ocean, scheduled to be held at Colombo in the first half of 1985, is the only way of reducing tension in the area. In this connection, the Government of Madagascar regrets that some States, through their negative attitude, have tried in an unwarranted manner to delay the convening of that Conference and, thereby, the summit meeting of interested and concerned States proposed by the President of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar.

199. As to the Malagasy Islands in the Mozambique Channel and the Indian Ocean, their status as belonging to Madagascar has been confirmed by relevant resolutions of the United Nations and the OAU, as well as by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. My Government hopes that the exploratory talks recently held in Paris will be pursued and will contribute to drawing up a solution in keeping with respect for the principles of sovereignty, territorial integrity and mutual advantage.

200. Lastly, as an island State that contributed to the negotiation and conclusion of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea,[4] Madagascar wishes to reaffirm its support for that legal instrument and to state, further, that the resources of the sea-bed beyond the limits of national jurisdiction are and remain forever the common heritage of mankind. It is for that reason that we deplore any arrangement or mini-treaty, past, present or future, that may be prejudicial to the provisions of that Convention.

201. Like the continued existence of so-called regional conflicts, the economic problems afflicting developing countries remain a subject of great concern for the future of international peace and security. The tentative recovery to be observed in certain industrialized countries has not restored order to monetary and financial markets, nor has it halted the wild fluctuations of exchange rates or brought interest rates down to tolerable levels. The prices of raw-material commodities have continued to fall and the terms of trade have continued to decline, while the spectre of protectionism has arisen.

202. When the crisis got under way, the third-world countries were urged to carry out economic adjustments, and most of them did so with courage and logic. Their sacrifices, however, have not been recompensed. How, indeed, can the conditions for a sound and lasting economic recovery be re-established when the international environment is not propitious, when the minute growth in exports is swallowed up by the burdensome weight of indebtedness, when the real flow of capital to the developing countries has never been as low as it is today, when so-called austerity measures have increased domestic social tensions and when structural problems inherited from a lengthy colonial period remain? If we add to that the effects of disasters of all kinds, we find we have very little ground for hope and perseverance.

203. Of course, at times we do see signs of encouragement. The international community seems to have awakened to the daily tragedy of our countries. Africa, which is at the very bottom of the scale of development, is now the focus of attention of assistance organizations. There are many programmes of action, and so-called emergency assistance measures are proliferating.

204. Without underestimating the need for these measures, we cannot overemphasize, as was done in the Special Memorandum on Africa's Economic and Social Crisis, adopted by the Conference of Ministers of the Economic Commission for Africa,[7] the importance of producing in the United Nations a general, consistent and concerted framework for action to rehabilitate and revitalize African economies. At the same time, we must pursue a global approach to the problem of indebtedness, which cannot be dissociated from that of interest rates.

205. Indeed, if the industrialized countries refuse to take the necessary measures, or claim that they are powerless to bring down these rates to more tolerable levels, they should at least agree that their effects should be mitigated for the developing countries. Moreover, all of us on both sides must be realistic. Through realism, we can conceive of machinery which would preserve the interests of both the creditors and the debtors, by establishing, for example, a link between debt-servicing and the level of export earnings. This would have the effect of revising certain rules applied by the Club of Paris. Through realism, we should also recognize that the developed countries have something to gain by increasing the flow of assistance for development to the least privileged countries. Through realism once again, we should concede that the conditions attaching to the assistance rendered by Bretton Woods organisms often leads to results contrary to those sought. Through realism, finally, we should not seek to camouflage the asymmetrical and inequitable nature of the processes of adjustment and multilateral control.

206. These thoughts should not be allowed to obscure the importance of South-South co-operation. Within this context, we recall the proposal of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar for the creation of funds for the development and stabilization of commodity prices. Five years after it was put forward, this proposal remains as relevant and as urgent as ever, because far from wishing to replace arbitrarily international monetary and financial organizations, the machinery proposed would be complementary to them and would represent the contribution of the South to the necessary reform of the current system. A summit conference of third-world countries on economic questions would undoubtedly enable us to go into further detail on our commitment to South-South co-operation.

207. The solution to our economic problems remains, first and foremost, the responsibility of each country and each Government. For our part, in spite of the political, economic and social costs of adjustment programmes, we have taken important measures for adjustment which have made it possible to obtain encouraging results: reduction of the budgetary deficit, increase of the gross national product, and improvement of current accounts and the trade balance.

208. An analysis of the conduct of States Members of the United Nations demonstrates that some see the Organization merely as an idea, an abstraction, and would deny it a role in the promotion of harmonious international relations. But this is a paradox which verges on contradiction. Those very States that would deny an institutional role to the United Nations attach disproportionate importance to the votes cast here, instead of considering them, if those States wish to be consistent, as having a purely indicative value with regard to a given situation. Others, however, rise above the essentially evanescent nature of ideas and are struggling to confer on the Organization a positive role of vigilance and monitoring which would reflect the international conscience and make of it a true assembly of peoples, a privileged forum for the exchange and clash of ideas and views among nations.

209. Our position on all the questions debated at the United Nations is in keeping with the principles of sovereignty, mutual respect and non-interference. We respect the diversity of opinions and divergence of interests which are manifested in this body. We understand that a country can, without necessarily being hostile to us, adopt a mode of conduct different from our own, because outside the bilateral context it acts in accordance with its own principles, its particular commitments and specific priorities.

210. A member of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, we remain true to ourselves by our refusal to become a pawn in the East-West confrontation. Our determined devotion to multilateralism and internationalism reflects our allegiance to the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations, and we share the views and concerns expressed on the subject by the Secretary-General. In the final analysis, the goal of the United Nations, as set forth in the provisions of the Charter, is not to provide a convenient forum for the venting of differences between Member States, or crystallizing their differences; rather, its purpose is to guide us towards the necessary common will to respond to the fundamental aspirations of all our peoples for a world of peace, security and justice. For our part, we assure anyone sharing these views of our readiness and, indeed, our commitment to meet this challenge.

211. Next year we shall be celebrating the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations. We should mark this event by making of the Organization the symbol of hope for a desperate mankind threatened with sudden annihilation by unbridled technology; the symbol of a better world where man, having finally restored his dignity, will be able to devote himself increasingly to the service of the common good, that is, the good of the peoples; in short, the symbol of responsibility genuinely shared among nations working together for the most noble causes.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.

NOTES

[1] See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-eighth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1983*, document S/16041, annex.

[2] See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twentieth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 105, document A/5975.

[3] For the text, see resolution 38/40, para. 1.

[4] *Official Records of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea*, vol. XVII (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.84.V.3), document A/CONF.62/122.

[5] *Ibid.*, document A/CONF.62/121, annex I.

[6] E/1984/66.

[7] E/1984/110, annex.

United Nations
GENERAL ASSEMBLY
THIRTY-NINTH SESSION
Official Records

25th
PLENARY MEETING
Monday, 8 October 1984,
at 3.25 p.m.
NEW YORK

President: Mr. Paul J. F. LUSAKA (Zambia).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Miss CHIEPE (Botswana): I should like, Sir, to join preceding speakers in extending to you the congratulations of the delegation of Botswana on your election to the presidency of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. The honour and pride that we feel in seeing you presiding over our deliberations derive not only from the fact that you are a Zambian and that Zambia and Botswana are bound together by deep-rooted ties of friendship, culture and history, but also from the happy realization that you are the first son of southern Africa to assume this high office. We repose in you our confidence that the thirty-ninth session will, commensurate with the brilliance of your stewardship, produce the desired results.

2. I should like to express my sincere gratitude to your predecessor, Mr. Jorge Illueca, for the efficient manner in which he presided over the proceedings of the thirty-eighth session.

3. I should like to pay an especial tribute to the Secretary-General for his stable and enlightened leadership of the United Nations. We particularly commend him for his thought-provoking report on the work of the Organization [*A/39/1*]. The message conveyed by his report is timely and must receive the attention it so richly deserves as we embark upon the preparations for the commemoration of the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations.

4. The admission of the new independent State of Brunei Darussalam as the 159th Member of the United Nations is an occasion for joy and celebration, for it represents another nail in the coffin of colonialism. It is a confirmation of the fact that the existence of the United Nations is incompatible with the existence anywhere in the world of colonial outposts tenaciously dedicated to the preservation of socio-political values, beliefs and practices that have long been discredited and consigned to the scrapheap of history. But in welcoming Brunei Darussalam to our midst let us also reaffirm our determination to struggle even harder to rid the world of all the remaining pockets of colonial resistance.

5. There has been no improvement in the world situation since the last session of the General Assembly. The arms race between the super-Powers has continued unabated, while the fury of the cold war has persistently threatened to consume all of us. Admittedly, the super-Powers have now started what we hope will be sustained overtures to each other; otherwise, world stability will remain seriously at stake as the East and the West continue to communicate with each other across the widening ideological divide with virulent verbal abuse.

6. Almost everywhere else on our globe, bloody conflicts persist, conflicts which may or may not have anything to do with super-Power rivalry, as nations large and small seek habitually to settle their disputes on the battlefield. Wasteful ideological wars have become the popular means to which nations resort in the pursuit of dubious and narrow national objectives. Warmongering seems to have become a habit, an addiction, in many places.

7. My own part of the world, the region of southern Africa, has endured much conflict and bloodshed in the last two decades. Since the early 1960s, we have had continuous wars of liberation, some of which have happily ended in victories, as in the case of the people of the former Portuguese colonies and of Southern Rhodesia. But, although the Portuguese empire in Africa is no more and Southern Rhodesia has become the proud, independent Republic of Zimbabwe, southern Africa remains poised on the edge of a dangerous precipice. Thanks to South Africa's intransigence, the international Territory of Namibia is yet to be delivered from foreign occupation, while South Africa itself continues to totter on the brink of a revolution.

8. The question of Namibia has been a burning issue in the United Nations, particularly in the past six years. It is six years since the Security Council adopted resolution 435 (1978) as a blueprint for the peaceful decolonization of Namibia. That resolution has not been implemented, but not because the people of Namibia do not want independence or because our friends of the South West Africa People's Organization [*SWAPO*] have been found deficient or wanting in their commitment to the peaceful liberation of that country. There has been no progress towards the implementation of the resolution for two reasons: first, South Africa continues to refuse to cooperate in the implementation of resolution 435 (1978), the provisions of which it accepted without reservation six years ago; and secondly, the resolution no longer stands on its own; it is linked to an issue on which neither SWAPO nor South Africa, and neither the Western contact group nor the front-line States, have *locus standi:* the issue of the presence of Cuban troops in Angola.

9. The Foreign Minister of South Africa was reported recently as having said that, because of the uncertainty about the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola, "an all-out effort should be made now to achieve a cease-fire"—not the United Nations supervised cease-fire, but one prior and in addition

to it. This is another linkage—a cease-fire designed to stop the liberation struggle in Namibia in return for a new lease on life for the *status quo* in that Territory.

10. Botswana remains adamant in its view that a solution to the Namibian question acceptable to all can come only out of the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), undiluted by the injection into it of extraneous and irrelevant elements. The surest way to kill the resolution and thus destroy the whole process of peaceful change in Namibia is to encumber the resolution with endless pre-conditions. If South Africa wants peace in Namibia, the road to the achievement of that peace is via the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

11. And the occupation of Namibia by South Africa must end for another reason. The front-line State of Angola has suffered a great deal as a result of South Africa's acts of aggression committed from the territory of Namibia long used by South Africa as a military base from which the bandits of UNITA[1] are supplied, and Angola is subjected to an endless series of incursions and invasions. Even at this moment, South African troops are still ensconced in N'giva, in southern Angola, seven months after their promised withdrawal. And they have wreaked untold havoc in that part of Angola which they have occupied for more than two years.

12. The situation in South Africa itself has developed into a crisis of frightening proportions. At their Summit Meeting, held at Arusha on 29 April 1984, the front-line States reiterated in their Final Communiqué[2] that "the root cause of the problems in South Africa is *apartheid* itself". And yet, five weeks ago, the world watched helplessly as the minority white rulers of South Africa introduced a new constitution, the obvious purpose of which is to consolidate and entrench *apartheid* by confirming the irreversible permanence of Bantustans and the disenfranchisement in perpetuity of the overwhelming majority of the people of South Africa. Instead of initiating steps to abolish the abhorrent system by which the people of South Africa are graded like animals, the white minority rulers of South Africa have recruited South Africans of Asian origin and the so-called Coloureds into the ranks of the white minority as junior partners in a futile attempt to escape reality.

13. The historic Manifesto on Southern Africa makes our position abundantly clear. We persist in our demand—the collective demand of the people of Africa—that an unfettered opportunity be afforded all the people of South Africa, "together as equal individual citizens, to work out for themselves the institutions and the system of Government under which they will, by general consent, live together and work together to build a harmonious society".[3] The so-called reforms now going on in that country beg the question. They amount to nothing more than tinkering—reckless tinkering with a very dangerous situation.

14. The 23 million black South Africans who have been so callously left out of the new constitutional dispensation are not likely to suffer in silence, for, as one wise man has aptly observed:

> "It is one of the oldest laws of history that where there is no democracy to provide for the counting of heads, men denied those rights and brutalized by oppression inevitably turn to violence as what they believe, however wrongly, to be their only way to obtain their rights."

So it is that black South Africans treated as aliens in their own country are being given no other choice but to resort to violence, the weapon of desperation, to recover their rights—violence which, tragically, knows or respects no frontiers, violence against whose ghastly consequences the independent States of southern Africa cannot be insulated.

15. Indeed, many of them have already fallen victim, not to the consequences of liberation violence as such, but to South Africa's acts of aggression known as destabilization. Dissident movements, the purpose of which is clearly to force South Africa's neighbours to coexist submissively with *apartheid*, are being spawned everywhere in the region.

16. Then there is Pretoria's sudden obsession with the signing of non-aggression pacts with its neighbours. My own country has been under pressure in the past several months to sign a non-aggression pact with South Africa, a country with which Botswana has historically maintained peaceful relations despite the political and philosophical differences that characterize those relations. The harsh facts of history and geography which confronted us as we regained our independence 18 years ago have dictated that we coexist in peace with South Africa, for not only do we depend almost entirely on that country for our economic survival, but it would be sheer lunacy on our part even to dream of seeking confrontation with a country as lethally powerful as South Africa. That is why, like most of our sister countries of southern Africa, we decided at independence that we would not allow our country to be used as a military base for attacks against our neighbours. We have strictly enforced this policy, for we are in mortal fear of the alternative to it. We have often taken strong measures against those who violate it and have done so publicly, secure in the knowledge that the international community appreciates our geographical predicament.

17. This is why we cannot comprehend South Africa's insistence that we sign the so-called treaty of good-neighbourliness as if we have been a bad neighbour. In sum, we refuse to sign a non-aggression pact or a good-neighbourliness treaty for the following reasons.

18. First, we have never committed an act of aggression—not even one—against South Africa. We are incapable of committing acts of aggression against South Africa.

19. Secondly, to sign a non-aggression pact or treaty of good-neighbourliness with South Africa would imply that we have been found seriously wanting in our enforcement of our policy of not allowing our country to be used as a stepping-stone for guerrilla attacks against South Africa—which is far from being the case. The record is there to attest to the strictness of our enforcement of the policy.

20. Thirdly, signing a non-aggression treaty with South Africa would compromise the peace and stability of our country, as we would be seen, wrongly or rightly, to be joining the ranks of the white minority in South Africa in its confrontation with the black majority. So far, our policy of not allowing guerrillas in our country is respected because the reasons for it are understood. This understanding would be impaired if we signed a treaty which would virtually force us to join the South African Govern-

ment in its war against South African liberation movements.

21. Fourthly, if, unbeknown to us, freedom fighters pass through our country and perpetrate acts of sabotage in South Africa, we could not be any more to blame than South Africa, whose wider and finer net—sophistication, financial and manpower prowess—they continue to elude.

22. Change will come from within South Africa. In March 1984, *The United Democratic Front News* in the Western Cape aptly had this to say:

> "The *apartheid* Government can make as many peace agreements as it likes, it can talk to as many leaders of other countries as it wants to. We know that it is to us and our leaders that the *apartheid* Government must talk. There will not be any peace while our leaders are banned, gaoled and in exile. There will not be peace while *apartheid* rules our land. In the end Mr. P. W. Botha must make peace with the people of South Africa."

23. For the sake of the security and survival of our country, we are committed to continuing co-operation with South Africa to ensure that the spirit of good-neighbourliness which has, on the whole, characterized the relations between our two countries for so long is not disturbed.

24. If I have spoken at length on the situation in southern Africa it is because the situation causes a great deal of concern to us. The international community has to be sensitized to it and to the very serious ramifications of its persistence and intractability. But perhaps even more intractable is the situation in the Middle East, to which I must now turn.

25. The Middle East situation remains volatile and tense, as no movement whatsoever was recorded in the past year in the search for a lasting solution to the Palestinian question. The Palestinian people remain homeless and stateless, and there does not seem to be any end in sight to their misery. The dehumanizing squalor of refugee camps and the hopelessness, precariousness and emptiness of life in the diaspora have become their persistent lot. Thousands of them have been brutally hounded out of their sanctuaries in Lebanon, while hundreds of others have lost their lives in a brutal cycle of violence perpetrated against a people whose only crime is to want to regain its freedom and its home in its ancestral homeland, Palestine.

26. The Middle East will never know peace as long as one of its nations, the Palestinian nation, remains a nation of refugees. None of the countries of the region, including Israel, will enjoy peace and stability as long as the aspirations of millions of Palestinians remain frustrated. The building of Jewish settlements in the West Bank and Gaza will not enhance security for Israel; it will engender more violent bitterness among the Palestinians towards the Jewish State.

27. So will the occupation and annexation of the Golan Heights, which can never give Israel the security it so desperately needs; Syria is rightly embittered by the usurping of its territory and will employ every means to regain it. The occupation and ransacking of southern Lebanon by the Israeli army during the past two years also can only have earned Israel the bitter enmity of the people of Lebanon. All these are the deeds of a country which seems bent on ensuring security for itself literally at all costs—not only at the cost of the very security it seeks but also to the detriment of the security of all its neighbours.

28. We support Israel's right to exist, but only within internationally recognized boundaries. Yes, like all the countries of the Middle East without exception, Israel deserves the right to exist in security and peace, but not at the expense of the security and peace of its neighbours. In other words, just as we shall never support the destruction of the State of Israel, the State of Israel must in turn understand that we shall never support its expansionist wars.

29. The war between Iran and Iraq has in the past several months shown that it still has the potential to set the world aflame, as it has increasingly involved third countries which have nothing to do with it. The sinking of innocent oil tankers owned by countries as far away from the Gulf as Japan and Panama can only fuel the flames and escalate the conflict. The war must be stopped before it goes too far.

30. South-East Asia also remains at war with itself. Kampuchea is yet to be relieved of the unwanted presence of foreign troops on its soil, the purpose of which is to maintain in power, a régime which derives its authority to govern from the will of a foreign Power. The General Assembly must once again insist on the withdrawal of foreign troops from Kampuchea and must continue to call for the convening of an international conference on Kampuchea to enable the people of that tormented country to shape their political future at the conference table rather than on the battlefield.

31. The non-aligned country of Afghanistan continues to bleed, as the troops of a super-Power seek "to pacify" its people against their will. Once again, we deem it our duty, in the name of peace and non-alignment, to call on the super-Powers to respect the independence and territorial integrity of small, peace-loving, non-aligned countries. We join in the call of the non-aligned for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan so that the efforts of the Secretary-General may bear fruit.

32. The Korean question remains troublesome. The two Koreas have long accepted the desirability of peaceful negotiations to attain the reunification of Korea, and yet every year they talk about negotiating without actually getting anywhere near the negotiating table. The North has recently proposed tripartite negotiations, in which the United States would be involved, while the South has continued to call for the resumption of "direct inter-Korean negotiations with a view to taking measures to remove the existing mistrust and antagonism". Both sides are thus agreed on the need to talk peace, and yet nothing beyond talking to each other across the forbidding tension of the demilitarized zone has been achieved.

33. Botswana continues to support the peaceful reunification of Korea, for we shudder to contemplate the alternative. We will support any plan, any proposal, regardless of its author, which is genuinely designed to achieve that end.

34. The situation in the Central American region has caused us a great deal of anxiety for some time now. The endless bloodshed in El Salvador and the persistent unwarranted provocations to which Nicaragua has been subjected since the fall of the Somoza dictatorship have seriously compromised the peace and stability of the region. The southern African region desires for the people of Central America the very same peace, progress and prosperity it has

wished for its own people for so long with very little success. That is why we fully support the Contadora Group's laudable exertions for peace and commend Nicaragua for promptly agreeing to sign the historic Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America prepared by the Group [*A/39/562, annex*]. We call on all others concerned to give the Contadora Act a chance.

35. The state of the world's economy today continues to place the developing countries in a position of extreme hardship. Despite some evidence of economic recovery in the countries of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, the developing world on the whole has yet to see improvement. Indeed, the shortfalls in resources for development have increased more rapidly, while the need for assistance has grown.

36. In large parts of the developing world, levels of per capita output fell for the third consecutive year and are below those recorded in 1979. The impact of this continuous economic erosion is increasingly being felt in the social and economic spheres. Unemployment, underemployment and poverty are on the rise in many of those countries. Social infrastructures and public services are frequently under severe pressure. There is growing evidence of difficulty in insulating health and education from the effects of the economic crisis. Physical investment is also being severely constrained in a large number of countries, reflecting both a drying up of private investment in the face of economic recession or contraction and the falling of public investment following pressures to reduce public spending. The impact of the crisis on health, education and investment places future development in jeopardy.

37. The forces underlying this severe set-back to development have been gathering momentum for a number of years. Although the precise causes vary from region to region and from country to country, severe strains in external payments are a common factor. The debt crisis in Africa, Latin America and some parts of Asia has been characterized by a cutback in new private and public financial flows, which has led to a slow-down in economic activity.

38. No region has had to face this stark reality more directly than Africa. The Secretary-General has clearly described the magnitude of the challenges facing most of sub-Saharan African countries. As is well documented by reports prepared by the Secretary-General, the African economic crisis calls for simultaneous action on several levels. In the most immediate time-frame, the international community must work closely with the affected countries to respond to the emergency needs. Among the requirements are adequate supplies of food and water and steps to counteract desertification, as well as others related to population displacement, unemployment and debt-servicing. In the medium- and long-term, we must seriously address the need for developing institutional infrastructure which will enable these countries to deal more effectively with future emergencies.

39. In reviewing the African economic crisis, it is highly important to appreciate that the emergency, short-, medium- and long-term implications and ramifications are not only interrelated but are very closely intertwined. Any measures to be taken, be they at the national, regional or international level, must ensure internal consistency between the different requirements in the short-, medium- and long-term.

40. Indeed, as long ago as April 1981, the Conference of Ministers of the Economic Commission for Africa, at its seventh meeting, held at Freetown, when considering a paper entitled "Africa's rapidly escalating crisis—proposals for a short-term immediate programme for survival", emphasized the linkage between emergency programmes and short-, medium- and long-term structural adjustment programmes. What was stated then remains as valid today as it was in 1981. Emergency programmes of action in the critical areas of food, drought, energy and balance-of-payments difficulties are not in any way meant to replace development strategies and plans of action adopted by the various United Nations agencies. These emergency programmes should be envisaged to clear the ground and lay the necessary foundations for the successful implementation of the long-term strategies and programmes of action.

41. Underlying the current crisis is Africa's underdevelopment and economic backwardness, its failure to achieve a clear break from its colonial, dependent economic inheritance, with a production structure heavily dominated by export-oriented agriculture, a small industrial base, fractured and only minimally linked with its natural resources base, with mining output being predominantly for export and with the most open and exposed economy in the world. As is well known, external trade normally constitutes a major stimulus to spur internal socio-economic progress even where this is affected by the narrowness of export commodities and dramatic price shifts over which Africa has no control.

42. The economic and social transformation of Africa, which started in the 1960s after the attainment of political independence by most African countries, is not only coming to a halt but also gradually reversing. Throughout the 1970s, Africa, particularly sub-Saharan Africa, experienced a deterioration in all major economic and social indicators. While the gross domestic product grew at an average annual rate of 3 per cent between 1970 and 1980, this rate has persistently fallen and is at present negative. On the other hand, population has been rising consistently at an annual rate of 3 per cent. Consequently, per capita income has been declining. Today, 26 of Africa's 50 independent countries are classified by the United Nations as least developed among developing countries. Because of the severe drought which has negatively affected agricultural production in a large number of countries in sub-Saharan Africa since 1982, food is the most critical aspect of the crisis.

43. The Special FAO/WFP Task Force, established in 1983, estimated food deficit for 1983/84 for the 24 food-aid dependent African countries at about 5.4 million tons. Despite reports of good rains in West Africa, the projections remain valid for the 1984/85 period. I wish at this juncture to thank the international community, especially the donor countries, for responding very generously and expeditiously to our appeals. Without their assistance whole populations would have perished. However, there remains a lot to be done, and I hope we can continue to count on the generous support demonstrated so far. Because of the continued drought, poor harvests are expected for the 1984/85 period in eastern and southern Africa, resulting in a food deficit of about 2.6 million tons,

of which 1.35 million tons are required as food aid. My country, Botswana, is among the most affected.

44. In most of the 24 food-aid dependent countries, deteriorating health conditions and severe malnutrition are reported. UNICEF and WHO, with the financial support of the donor community, especially the non-governmental organizations, have been very active in providing relief. We are most grateful to them.

45. The rehabilitation, reconstruction and revitalization measures for the African economies will have to focus on three major sectors: food and agriculture, industry, and the provision of essential infrastructure. Such measures must tackle not just the symptoms of the crisis but also its root causes if they are to be consistent with long-term policy objectives. In this connection, one cannot over-emphasize the crucial role of domestic policy reforms for accelerating the process of rehabilitating, reconstructing and revitalizing the African economies.

46. A consensus has long emerged among African countries as to what these measures should be. The Lagos Plan of Action[4] and the Final Act of Lagos[5] are clear testimony to the resolve by Africa to tackle its problems squarely. It is heartening to note that a similar consensus has emerged among major donor agencies such as the World Bank, the European Economic Community, the Asian Development Bank and the Arab Bank for Economic Development in Africa on what needs to be done to pull the African continent out of the economic pit in which it finds itself.

47. In order to restore growth and to enable African countries to rely mainly on their own resources, it is essential to devise special short-term measures which will ensure that their export earnings are stabilized at remunerative levels. Export earnings of most African commodities have dropped by as much as 20 to 47 per cent since 1980.

48. In this connection, the implementation of the Integrated Programme for Commodities, especially the entry into operation of the Common Fund for Commodities, as well as the early conclusion of new commodity agreements, are an important element in the realization of this objective. Also important is the removal of tariff and non-tariff barriers against African agricultural and mineral products.

49. To enable African countries to face the Herculean tasks of rehabilitating, reconstructing and revitalizing their disintegrated economies, massive external resources will be needed. The Special Memorandum on Africa's Economic and Social Crisis, adopted by the Conference of Ministers of the Economic Commission for Africa in May of this year,[6] proposes some concrete measures, which include: first, an increased flow of concessionary resources to the African least developed countries, especially those most seriously affected by natural calamities; secondly, the increase of resources by the World Bank to Africa to enable it to cope with the current external debt crisis; to that end, we urge that structural-adjustment lending should be expanded to constitute a major lending programme and that it should be spread over a longer period; thirdly, the substantial increase in IDA resource flows to Africa for the implementation of the World Bank Special Programme for Sub-Saharan Africa; fourthly, the expeditious completion of negotiations for supplementary funding of at least $3 billion for the seventh IDA replenishment and the taking into account of the current crisis in Africa in allocating the existing and the new IDA resources; fifthly, the increase in Africa's share of special drawing rights to meet its current economic crises; sixthly, the full implementation of the Substantial New Programme of Action for the 1980s for the Least Developed Countries,[7] especially the transfer by 1985 of 0.15 per cent of the gross national product of the developed countries as official development assistance to least developed countries; seventhly, the early replenishment of IFAD and a substantial allocation therefrom to Africa; and eighthly, liberation of IMF conditionalities, including facilitation of access to other IMF windows, such as the cereal window; and the restructuring of lending programmes and policies as well as aid-disbursement procedures by the World Bank, regional development banks and other multilateral financial institutions with a view to a speedier and more flexible flow of resources to Africa.

50. It is essential that the international community accept the fact that the economic crisis facing the African continent is a challenge not only to African Governments but to humanity as a whole. The international community must respond positively, magnanimously and speedily to the various proposals put forward by the various United Nations agencies in order to resolve the present economic and social crisis that is crippling the African continent. It is also important, and even more important, that the African Governments themselves should continue with their efforts to institute fundamental domestic policy reforms which enable them to accelerate the process of structural change for achieving the objectives set forth in the Lagos Plan of Action. In this vein, at Lusaka on 1 April 1980, the Heads of State and Government of the nine independent countries of southern Africa adopted the Lusaka Declaration, entitled "Southern Africa: Toward Economic Liberation",[8] which established the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference [*SADCC*] and set in motion a historic process of growth and change and a strategy for integrated regional development. The objectives enunciated in the Declaration include: the reduction of economic dependence, particularly, but not only, on South Africa; the forging of links to create genuine and equitable regional integration; the mobilization of resources to promote the attainment or implementation of national, inter-State and regional policies; and concerted action to secure international co-operation within the framework of a strategy for economic liberation.

51. The southern African leaders knew their strengths and weaknesses. They knew the power of collective self-reliance as well as the value of extra-regional co-operation. They were aware that their nine countries constituted a population approaching 60 million people, inhabiting a geographical area replete with rich natural resources—agricultural and mineral—which could be harnessed efficiently and equitably for the benefit of the masses of the local populations and, indeed, for mankind as a whole.

52. The member States of SADCC realized that pragmatic, realistic and attainable objectives were essential for the attainment of their noble goals. They picked on selected and specific tasks and functions to be undertaken by chosen members among themselves. SADCC recognized, to begin with, that one of the first economic objectives to be pursued by member States was the provision of basic infrastruc-

ture without which their economies could not function.

53. Transport and communication was selected as a priority among priorities. Anybody who has travelled in our part of the world will easily understand why. Energy and food security are among the top priorities. This, however, does not diminish the importance of other sectors.

54. For the African countries to be able to achieve their noble objective of collective self-reliance they will, more than ever before, need the full support of the member States of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, the member States of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and the other developing countries in a position to do so, as well as that of bilateral and multilateral institutions.

55. I am convinced that, given the necessary support, Africa is capable, in the not-too-distant future, of moving from its current position of an economically crisis-ridden continent to that of an economically dynamic one. It is within the means of the international community to help African Governments to turn the current despair into hope and I have no doubt they will do so.

56. Let me conclude my statement by reaffirming my country's undiminished fidelity to the principles and purposes of this, our United Nations. A great deal has been achieved by the Organization in the past 39 years of its existence in its search for solutions to the many problems that face our troubled world. But that is obviously not enough. A great deal more remains to be done to bring into reality the kind of world envisaged almost 40 years ago by the founding fathers of the United Nations—a world without colonialism and imperialism, without racism and intolerance, without hunger, disease and ignorance, a free, peaceful and safe world.

57. The PRESIDENT: I have great pleasure in welcoming Mr. Daniel Francis Annan, Vice-Chairman of the Provisional National Defence Council of Ghana, and I invite him to address the General Assembly.

58. Mr. ANNAN (Ghana): Mr. President, on behalf of the Provisional National Defence Council and the people of Ghana, I bring you warmest congratulations on your election to the presidency of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. Your election is indeed a tribute to your personal qualities and your outstanding contribution to the cause of freedom in Africa. It is also an honour for your country and for Africa as a whole.

59. I should like to take this opportunity also to express the gratitude and appreciation of my delegation to your predecessor, Mr. Jorge Illueca, President of Panama, for the skill, fair-mindedness and wisdom with which he conducted the proceedings of the thirty-eighth session of the Assembly.

60. Ghana is particularly proud and happy to welcome Brunei Darussalam as a new Member of the United Nations. This addition to our number not only enhances the universal character of the Organization but also reinforces the principles of self-determination and independence, which are basic to the Charter of the United Nations.

61. It is indeed because of our unflinching commitment to those principles that we cannot countenance the continued denial to the people of South Africa and Namibia of their inalienable rights to the enjoyment of political freedom and human dignity. The racist régime's undisguised ambition to play the totally unacceptable role of a regional super-Power in southern Africa should be recognized as the driving force behind its brutal terrorism against its neighbours. We would be untrue to ourselves if we failed to observe this fact. The destabilization of the front-line States through terror and oppression and the indiscriminate killing of defenceless women and children in villages across southern Africa is the direct result of South Africa's determination to maintain its policy of racism and its system of *apartheid.*

62. Those who had given *apartheid* South Africa the benefit of the doubt must have realized in recent months that, even after the Agreement on Non-Aggression and Good Neighbourliness between Mozambique and South Africa signed at Nkomati on 16 March 1984 [*A/39/159, annex I*], the people of Mozambique continue to suffer from acts of terrorism perpetrated by the so-called National Resistance Movement, a movement financed and equipped entirely by South Africa. Now an even more dangerous situation has been created for the liberation struggle in southern Africa by the reported cease-fire arranged by racist South Africa between Mozambique and the dissident National Resistance Movement.

63. We therefore now expect that the international community, particularly those States which claim to have influence with Pretoria, will recognize this fact and adopt such policies in support of the United Nations as would bring a speedy and meaningful change in South Africa.

64. We salute the valiant Asian and Coloured communities in South Africa for their massive boycott of the recent elections to the so-called three-chamber, but radically segregated, Parliament. It is a show of solidarity and unity with their black compatriots which must be applauded by all those who seek to uphold the principle of racial equality. It should be obvious that the purported separate Asian and Coloured representation in Parliament is nothing more than a device to entrench *apartheid* more firmly in South Africa.

65. The Government of Ghana remains ever committed to the total eradication of *apartheid* and to the establishment of a democratic society under majority rule in South Africa. We believe that this is the only way in which all of its peoples, irrespective of their race, colour, sex or creed, can enjoy equally and fully all the fundamental human rights and freedoms provided under the Charter and other covenants of the United Nations.

66. With regard to Namibia, South Africa continues to raise uncertain hopes and expectations, but the reality is that there has been no practical change in the situation in spite of recent talks between SWAPO and representatives of the *apartheid* South African régime. The Territory regrettably remains in bondage and its people still under racist oppression and far from freedom and independence.

67. As we understand from the reports of the Secretary-General, all outstanding issues over Namibia have been cleared to the satisfaction of even racist South Africa. Why, then, does the *apartheid* régime of South Africa continue to use the extraneous and irrelevant presence of Cuban troops in Angola as an excuse for delaying freedom, justice and

sovereign independence to the people of Namibia? Ghana cannot accept that there should be any trade-off between the inalienable rights of the people of Namibia to independence and the unfettered exercise of Angola's sovereign right to enter into genuine security arrangements for the preservation of its independence and territorial integrity. We again recommend strongly that steps be taken without further delay by the Security Council to implement its resolution 435 (1978) in order to bring Namibia rapidly to independence.

68. With regard to the struggle of the people of Western Sahara, the Government of Ghana remains equally committed to respect for their inalienable rights to self-determination and sovereign independence. We therefore once again call on the two parties to the dispute to enter into direct negotiations in accordance with the resolution of the Organization of African Unity on the matter.[9]

69. With regard to Chad, we remain convinced that a lasting and peaceful settlement of the conflict can only be found on the basis of national reconciliation and territorial integrity. We welcome the reported agreement between France and Libya to withdraw their respective forces from Chad as a positive step in easing tension in that country and creating the necessary conditions for a negotiated settlement. We urge all the internal parties to the conflict and the people of Chad as a whole to seize this opportunity to work together to find a fraternal and peaceful solution to their differences.

70. It is distressing to see that, in the Middle East, Israel continues to practise a reign of terror and intimidation against the Arab countries and the Palestinian people of the area. Its illegal occupation of Palestinian and other Arab territories continues to undermine stability and to pose a grave threat to international peace and security. There can be no basis for a peaceful settlement in the Middle East unless Israel withdraws from all the Arab territories it has illegally occupied and annexed by acts of war. Israel must comply with Security Council resolution 242 (1967) and other relevant United Nations resolutions. It must also now resolve the core of the Middle East problem, which is the denial to the Palestinian people of their inalienable right to their homeland, self-determination and national independence.

71. Developments in Cyprus in recent months have also given the Government of Ghana cause for grave concern. As we have stated before, the unilateral declaration of independence by the Turkish minority in Cyprus is clearly the unfortunate and regrettable culmination of efforts on the part of Turkey to maintain a permanent division of the island and to achieve a complete separation of its Greek and Turkish communities. The decision of the Turkish-Cypriot minority puts in permanent jeopardy the peaceful coexistence of Turks and Greeks on the island. It undercuts all decisions and efforts of the United Nations, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the Commonwealth to preserve the unity and territorial integrity of Cyprus. Ghana, for its part, will continue to support a unified and independent Cyprus, free of external interference, and the resolution of communal differences by peaceful dialogue. It is our sincere hope that the Turkish-Cypriot leadership will reconsider its decision and work for the unity and territorial integrity of Cyprus.

72. The relentless fratricidal war between Iran and Iraq continues to cause the Government and people of Ghana great anguish. It is a war that is as unnecessary as it is wasteful of some of the human and material resources that the third world so vitally needs for urgent productive and developmental purposes. Faced with this unending carnage, we appeal once again to all our brothers and sisters in Iran and Iraq to end the war and resolve their differences by peaceful means.

73. Central America continues to be an area of turmoil and conflict that poses a serious threat to international peace and security. The search for a peaceful solution to the conflicts in the region through the Contadora process must be supported and not undermined by acts of sabotage and destruction of infrastructure, calculated to do the greatest economic damage to the real interests of Nicaragua. The efforts of the people of Nicaragua to establish a truly democratic society which correctly reflects the realities of the historical experiences of Nicaragua must be supported and properly assessed and the reactionary forces of oppression and destruction must be condemned. We endorse the process of democratization of Central America and repeat the call for foreign military interference in that process to cease in favour of a negotiated settlement of the conflicts in the region by the people of that region.

74. Ghana cannot condemn foreign intervention in Central America, be it covert or overt, and condone the foreign occupation of Kampuchea and Afghanistan, in persistent defiance of United Nations resolutions. We are particularly disappointed that, in spite of the efforts of the Secretary-General and his Personal Representative, a dialogue on the future of Afghanistan has still proved elusive. The people of both Afghanistan and Kampuchea deserve to live under conditions which will permit them to determine freely their own system of government.

75. Overshadowing all these troubling but none the less local conflicts in various regions of the world is the threat of nuclear war. Unlike the threat posed by all the conflicts I have already mentioned and many others which are no less serious, the threat of nuclear war does not endanger international peace and security alone; it menaces humanity with total annihilation. In addition, it consumes such vast sums of money as to constitute an obstacle to the global developmental process.

76. It is for these reasons that we appeal to the international community as a whole, and the super-Powers and other nuclear States in particular, to make a supreme effort to save mankind from nuclear extinction.

77. We are encouraged by the recent resumption of high-level contact between the United States and the Soviet Union, and we hope that it will soon lead to a return to the bilateral nuclear-arms negotiations of Geneva, as well as to a meaningful thaw in the relations between the two super-Powers.

78. While we recognize the value of the bilateral approach within the context of the Strategic Arms Reduction Talks at Geneva, it is our firm conviction that other disarmament issues should be discussed within the multilateral framework of the United Nations. Only when the United Nations is involved will the voice of the non-nuclear-weapon States be heard and their interests and concerns taken into account in the search for those agreements that will,

it is to be hoped, bring an end to the arms race in all its forms, as well as save the world from nuclear war.

79. Turning to the global economic situation, we cannot but bemoan the fact that over the past year most developing countries have remained in the throes of severe economic crisis. The majority of them continue to be caught in a vicious spiral of declining production, employment and trade. As a result, most have had to undertake further contractional adjustments, at a heavy cost to their economies and with adverse social and political consequences. Their import capacity has been further impaired. They have had sharply to curtail investments in agriculture, industry and basic services, which are at the heart of the development process. And many of them have had to seek a rescheduling of debt-service payments. Nowhere has the crisis been more devastating than in the low-income countries, particularly those in Africa.

80. To be sure, there has been improvement in the economic performance of a few developed market-economy countries, but this recovery has not spread convincingly to other countries in that category. It has not pulled up commodity prices appreciably, nor has it been accompanied by a meaningful decline in interest rates. International mechanisms for the transmission of growth have in any case been weakened by recent developments. The recovery has therefore barely touched the developing world, and the prospects of most of these countries remain dim. In many African countries, these set-backs have been aggravated by prolonged drought and desertification, by the widening gap between food production and population growth, by acute dependence on food imports and by the consequent threat to their social and economic systems.

81. Immediate steps are accordingly required on a number of fronts. The stance of macro-economic policies in the developed market-economy countries needs to be shifted so as to broaden and deepen the incipient upturn in economic activity. More than that, action must be taken to relieve the strains on the external financial positions of developing countries. Deliberate and vigorous measures must be pursued to revitalize the development process in the third world. In particular, there is need to augment the financial resources of the multilateral lending institutions and to improve access to them by developing countries; there is need for a fresh and substantial allocation of special drawing rights; there is need for systematic debt relief for low-income countries; and there is need to replace the present *ad hoc* treatment of commercial bank debt with longer-term approaches. Moreover, recent developments show that the present trade and payments system is serving increasingly to destabilize the developing countries rather than protect them, as it should. It is important, therefore, that the necessary processes of reform in the international economic system be set in motion with urgency. All these measures require intensified international co-operation; yet, paradoxically, multilateralism has been weakening.

82. In these circumstances, the critical economic situation in Africa cannot but arouse grave concern. Living standards in sub-Saharan Africa have shown a sharp decline. Net capital flows to the region are still substantially below the volume required to have an impact on the developmental process. The Secretary-General and the Director-General of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations are to be warmly commended for the role they have played in drawing international attention to the human tragedy unfolding in that part of the world. But it is no less important that an agreed framework for purposeful international action, taking into account the recent initiative by the World Bank, be developed urgently to support the efforts of the African countries in dealing with the situation.

83. We in Africa are fully conscious that it is our primary responsibility to tackle our economic problems ourselves. In the Special Memorandum on Africa's Economic and Social Crisis, adopted by the Conference of Ministers of the Economic Commission for Africa in May 1984,[6] and in the Lagos Plan of Action[4] this fact has been given full recognition.

84. Even more important, African countries, Ghana included, are making strenuous efforts to meet the exigencies of their current plight. In Ghana, the Provisional National Defence Council initiated two years ago a series of comprehensive and far-reaching economic reforms which included decisive measures to rehabilitate the productive sectors of the economy by giving remunerative prices to producers for their efforts, improving their access to essential inputs, realigning the currency to restore incentives to export and improving revenue collection, and revamping the administration and management of the economy. The broad aim of these reforms is to create the material conditions for implementing the national objectives of social and political transformation, including the restructuring of the basic institutions of the economy. We have made considerable progress towards this objective, but, as in other African countries in a similar position, the full success of our efforts depends on whole-hearted international support. Unless such support is forthcoming, the credibility of those who urge policy reform and adjustment on African countries will be sharply compromised.

85. In this regard, we are encouraged that, after a period of scepticism, our efforts in Ghana have now won the respect and support of the financial community. We hope that support will be even more forthcoming in the critical months and years ahead.

86. The last 12 months or so have been especially traumatic for Africa, and we must together seek solutions to its critical problems. The Secretary-General has stressed this international responsibility several times, and we must help to save millions from starvation and misery. I hope that Africa can count on the General Assembly to lead the way.

87. Turning now to the domestic political scene in Ghana, our revolution is a process initiated by citizens of Ghana, some in uniform and others not in uniform, who courageously took up the challenge, one no longer to be denied or devalued, posed by the continued inability of successive Governments and the political organizations that sponsored them to resolve the economic, social and cultural issues which have for some time now obstructed the development of our nation in the true interests of our people.

88. I wish to reiterate that the ultimate and irrevocable objective of the Ghanaian revolution is the development of a viable democratic system which genuinely reflects the political will and creative power of all our people, a system that derives its strength from their active and dedicated participation in a Government which is fully committed to the cause of our people and which therefore makes

democracy a living reality in the day-to-day lives of the ordinary citizen.

89. It is no longer open to us to continue to legitimize social and economic injustices and acquired cultural attitudes and irrelevancies by uncritical adherence to constitutional transfers which nominally guarantee norms and institutions but which have completely failed to institutionalize true democratic values of social justice, accountability and responsibility as an objective reality in the formulation and implementation of national policies by the elected representatives of the people. It is the ardent desire of the Provisional National Defence Council to work ceaselessly against the re-emergence on our national scene of those situations and conditions which have resulted in the past in recourse to the military as an instrument of change and so to preempt the very real danger of institutionalizing military rule as a political fact of life in our society.

90. In conclusion, I wish to assure the General Assembly of my Government's commitment to the United Nations and to multilateralism generally. The United Nations may have failed to find solutions to all the problems of mankind, but it has thereby merely reflected the reality of international relations. On balance, it has achieved more for the international community than any other international organization of its kind. It should be clear to the critics, therefore, that the United Nations can only be as effective as its Members allow it to be. We thus have a common duty to ensure that this priceless instrument for international peace and advancement should be reinforced and made more effective if we are indeed to save succeeding generations from conflict and perdition.

91. As we prepare to celebrate the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations next year, it is necessary for all States to rededicate themselves to the ideals of peace enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations.

92. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the Vice-Chairman of the Provisional National Defence Council of Ghana for the important statement he has just made.

93. Mr. GAMBARI (Nigeria): On behalf of the Nigerian delegation, I wish to congratulate you, Sir, on your unanimous election as President of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. My delegation fully shares in the accolades and warm sentiments expressed by preceding speakers on your personal ability, competence and well-known achievements as an outstanding diplomat and untiring fighter for peace and freedom. I pay tribute to your dedicated service in the cause of the United Nations as the indefatigable President of the United Nations Council for Namibia and also to the consistent voice and role of your country in the common search for regional and global peace, justice and understanding. I feel confident that under your wise and able guidance this session will witness movement in most of the issues before the Assembly. It is therefore with great pleasure that I pledge to you the full support and co-operation of the delegation of Nigeria in the discharge of your difficult task.

94. Permit me also to pay tribute to your eminent predecessor, Mr. Jorge Illueca, President of Panama, for the skilful manner in which he conducted the work of the thirty-eighth session of the Assembly.

95. My gratitude also goes to our distinguished Secretary-General for his work on behalf of the Organization in the cause of world peace and for persistently drawing attention to the economic problems confronting the world, and particularly the economic problems of Africa.

96. We welcome Brunei Darussalam to the comity of nations. Its admission as the 159th Member of the United Nations stands out as a reaffirmation of the principles of universality and self-determination, which constitute the corner-stones of the Organization. Nigeria extends its hand of goodwill to the new Member of this body and looks forward to working closely with Brunei Darussalam in the promotion of peace, progress, and economic and social justice in the world.

97. The world is today gripped by fear and uncertainties arising from an unprecedented degree of tension in relations between the super-Powers and their allies. In particular, the unending cycle of the growing military competition between the super-Powers has led to a new round of deployment of intermediate-range nuclear weapons in Europe, feverish work on new systems of strategic nuclear weapons and intensified research into anti-satellite weapons. Ominous calls for the fresh accumulation of chemical weapons are being made by the leaders of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in a manner that is certain further to hinder the negotiations on a convention on chemical weapons. The result of this intensified competition is reflected in the enormous sum of almost $700 billion, which represents world military expenditure for 1983. All this race to destruction is proceeding notwithstanding the existing arsenals of the two super-Powers, which are enough to create a nuclear winter that will engulf both the northern and southern hemispheres and perhaps end all civilization. It is no longer only the imagination of those whom some may call alarmists but also the well-documented research of eminent scientists that have shown the possibility that up to half of humanity may be the immediate victim of a major nuclear war. The other half will, to a lesser or greater extent, become secondary victims sooner or later. What is sure is that there will be no hiding place for any of us even though we have no part in, and indeed have continued to warn against, this irrational diversion of human and material resources for the accumulation of these terrible weapons of destruction.

98. For us in Africa it is particularly painful that this unprecedented threat to the existence of humanity coupled with greater diversion of resources should coincide with Africa's acute economic crisis. Natural calamities such as the widespread and persistent drought, the destabilizing policies of the *apartheid* régime of South Africa in relation to its neighbours, and the world economic recession, with the attendant selfish policies of the industrialized countries, have combined to produce a desperate economic condition, which alarmed the Secretary-General when he visited some African countries at the beginning of the year. True to his vocation, he immediately called the attention of the international community to the explosive situation and set up a high-powered group to make specific recommendations.

99. The current economic crisis in Africa has its immediate as well as its medium- and long-term dimensions. The emergency aspect emanates mainly from the devastating impact of the drought, which

within the last decade has progressively spread to areas hitherto not affected by it. The prolonged drought has exacerbated the already inadequate food situation in the region. Over the years, food production has lagged behind the increase in population, and by 1983 the drought-stricken countries were importing over 28.7 million tons of cereals, as against only 4 million tons in 1970.

100. In addition to the climatic disaster suffered by African countries, there has been the profound impact of the adverse economic recession on the region. As the most exposed in the world, because of its unusually high degree of dependence on external sources for almost all critical and essential input for development activities, the African economy has been the principal victim of the global recession. The export earnings of African countries have tumbled with the collapse of commodity prices. The stagnation and decline in official development assistance in real terms and the increasing privatization of capital flows have hit Africa hardest, while escalating debt and debt-servicing and unprecedentedly high interest rates have spelt financial disaster for most of the countries of the continent.

101. Recognizing that the primary responsibility for the development of their economies rests on themselves, African countries have looked inwards and, at the tenth meeting of the Conference of Ministers of the Economic Commission for Africa, held in May 1984, their Ministers of economic development and planning formulated and adopted a Special Memorandum on Africa's Economic and Social Crisis,[6] which is a framework for action for dealing with the crisis in its emergency, short-, medium- and long-term dimensions. This was closely followed by the Conference of African Ministers of Finance, held at Addis Ababa from 18 to 20 June 1984, during which the Addis Ababa Declaration on Africa's External Indebtedness was adopted[10] to focus special attention on the region's growing external debt of over $150 billion and to suggest ways to address the problem concretely.

102. Africa is not alone in feeling the crushing impact of the severe debt crisis. Most developing countries have had to bear the same burden. The huge size of the debt of the developing countries and its impact on their economies make it imperative for the international community, as well as the international financial institutions, to address the subject with urgency and great imagination. In this connection, we recognize the important role of the IMF in helping members cope with their balance-of-payments problems. However, in so doing, the IMF should endeavour to show greater flexibility in its approach when prescribing adjustment programmes for each country.

103. Unfortunately, the experiences of several developing countries, including my own, that have had to resort to the IMF have shown a certain deliberate insensitivity on its part to the possible consequences of its prescribed package as the price for its loan. Let me hasten to say that the present military régime in Nigeria accepts, and has indeed taken the initiative in instituting, realistic sacrifices to turn back the slide in the economy. However, such sacrifices must be within tolerable economic and social limits. The application of the IMF's conditions is unfortunately rather stereotyped and should be reviewed with the objective of paying more attention than ever before to the underlying circumstances of each State, in order to prevent severe and avoidable unrest stemming from the corrective measures and to provide the stability necessary for the achievement of the State's domestic economic, social and political goals. It is a bad doctor indeed who prescribes the same medicine for all his patients, irrespective of their ailments. This is what the IMF has been doing.

104. As we observe the world economic situation unfold, what emerges for most developing countries, particularly African countries, is that prospects of significant progress are extremely bleak. Even though it is being said that recovery by most industrialized countries from the recent global economic recession has manifested itself and taken hold, we must continue to ask when the light at the end of the dark economic tunnel will appear for developing countries. It is now clear that recovery in other regions does not necessarily produce a positive impetus or act as a catalyst, even in tentative forms, for economic development in developing countries, because of the fundamental barriers to their participation in international economic activities.

105. We cannot run away from the truth that for genuine economic recovery to take place in the world there must be willingness on the part of all members of the international community to redress those structural imbalances that contribute and condemn African and other developing countries to a life of poverty and economic underdevelopment.

106. The only way that vigorous global economic growth can be achieved and sustained over time is by the active participation of all countries, developed and developing, in mutually beneficial and equal partnership in global economic processes and activities. This calls for the adoption and the faithful implementation of a package of measures, both short- and long-term, which truly respond to the needs of all countries and regions, and of developing countries in particular. There must be a deliberate attempt and effort to resist the growing tendency to resort to protectionism, in the interests of a truly free world trade. The drift from the multilateral spirit must be arrested. We cannot reduce international relations increasingly to the bilateral level in a tumultuous world such as this one. Let us bear in mind that universal understanding and willingness to co-operate have been—and still can be—an engine for so much change and so much good. We must not, therefore, wittingly or unwittingly, turn our backs on this rich heritage and reservoir of multilateral partnership which holds so much hope for our universe. We must return to the spirit of co-operation which is enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations.

107. It is for this reason that Nigeria, along with other members of the Group of 77, has consistently underscored the necessity for a global dialogue that will lead to reform of the structural imbalance which lies at the heart of the global economic malaise. My Government strongly believes that, until the structural imbalance in the economic relations between countries is redressed, friction and ill-will will remain to trouble and undermine the real and steady growth of the world economy. It is, therefore, unfortunate that, in spite of almost five years of strenuous efforts, nothing positive has taken place to permit the launching of the global negotiations. My delegation appeals to the Assembly to live up to the spirit of the Charter and embark on a course that will permit the early launching of genuine negotiations, so as to

accelerate the attainment of the new international economic order.

108. The situation in southern Africa, particularly the question of *apartheid* and the issue of the independence of Namibia, is as explosive as ever. The inhuman system of *apartheid*, which is at the heart of the southern African problem, continues to thrive and to develop deep roots, partly through the manoeuvres of the *apartheid* régime, but also thanks to the support of certain Members of the United Nations. Those Member States, which profess a commitment to freedom and human rights and which therefore should be in the vanguard of the struggle to eliminate *apartheid*, have unfortunately chosen to appease and reinforce that inhuman system through their open collaboration with it. How else are we to interpret the visit by the leader of the *apartheid* régime to Portugal, Belgium, the Federal Republic of Germany and the United Kingdom and the warm reception accorded to him? By their action, these countries have helped Botha to break out of the isolation to which the international community had condemned him and his inhuman régime.

109. There seems to be a well-orchestrated attempt to hoodwink the world about a non-existent process of democratization in South Africa. It is a strange democracy which enshrines in its constitution the exclusion from the electoral process of 23 million blacks, who constitute over 73 per cent of the population. We are therefore not surprised that the Coloureds and the Asians, whom the apostles of *apartheid* tried to delude, saw through the mask and massively boycotted the elections in their separate assemblies. That was an eloquent verdict on the so-called constitutional reform. The non-white people of South Africa have refused to be fooled. The international community has endorsed their judgement and unreservedly condemned this chicanery. However, the international community should go further and totally reject the deceptive image of peace-maker in southern Africa which South Africa tries so hard to project. By a sheer war of attrition, by aggression, by sabotage and by every conceivable means of destabilization, South Africa has succeeded in forcing unequal agreements on some of its neighbours. Even as the General Assembly is in session, the *apartheid* régime is continuing to exert pressure on Lesotho to enter into a defence pact with it.

110. South Africa is unrelenting in its bellicose posture, its subversion and its expansionist policies. Its post-Nkomati tactic has been to deceive the other party to the so-called non-aggression pact. In spite of that pact, South Africa has surreptitiously strengthened the Mozambique National Resistance Movement. The consequence of this has been an increase of pressure on the Government of Mozambique and the stage-managing of another sham truce. Last week's scenario, which was intended to create a cease-fire, was hypocritical and clearly promoted South Africa's ultimate objective of destabilization of the entire region. The world community must not allow an illegitimate régime, which tortures, dehumanizes, denationalizes and engages in numerous other atrocities against humanity, to assume for itself the mantle of a regional peace-maker and peace-broker.

111. The Government of Nigeria calls upon the international community to play a decisive role in the liquidation of *apartheid*. This is an inescapable obligation to Africa and to the world as a whole. Nigeria wants to make it abundantly clear that appeasement, concession and accommodation will only set back the clock of progress towards the final liquidation of *apartheid*.

112. Let South Africa be warned that, notwithstanding the millions of dollars spent on subverting and misleading world public opinion and the world's conscience, one thing is certain: it will not get away with its heinous crimes against humanity.

113. Let the international community bear in mind that in this age of global interdependence no one will be spared the consequences of a racial war in southern Africa. Let the world know that history will not fail to record the Western world's unpardonable neglect of its responsibility to Africa, to the international community and to the United Nations over this issue of *apartheid* and racial discrimination in South Africa.

114. Nigeria has always been in the forefront of the struggle to wipe out *apartheid*. The present federal Government, in its determination to explore new ways to combat *apartheid*, sponsored, together with the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, a Seminar on the Legal Status of the *Apartheid* Régime and Other Legal Aspects of the Struggle against *Apartheid*, held at Lagos from 13 to 16 August 1984. The seminar brought together jurists and social scientists representing the main legal systems all over the world.

115. In its Declaration [*see A/39/423 and Corr. 1*], the seminar concluded that the institution and operation of *apartheid* made the South African Government a colonial régime; that its constitution, unique in the world, excluded the overwhelming majority from the exercise of sovereignty, specifically because they were of indigenous origin. Thus, the 23 million Africans in South Africa, representing 73 per cent of the population, have been treated as a colonialized people since the Union of South Africa was created in 1910. The seminar accepted that *apartheid*, the most monstrous form of racial discrimination, which also contains elements of genocide, constituted a special case of the violation of *jus cogens*. Moreover, the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid*, adopted in 1973 [*resolution 3068 (XXVIII), annex*], linked that crime to a serious threat to international peace and security and imposed international criminal responsibility on all who committed the crime of *apartheid* and their accomplices. The seminar agreed that the General Assembly, speaking for the international community, was entitled to proclaim the South African régime as having placed itself in a situation of illegality. By its persistent violation of *jus cogens*, the South African régime has therefore isolated itself from the system of fundamental values which constitute the very essence of the international community. A State Member of the United Nations which has placed itself in a situation of illegality could be and should be expelled from the Organization.

116. Those are the conclusions of eminent jurists from all over the world. The General Assembly must take appropriate action.

117. Fourteen years ago, the Assembly rejected the credentials of South Africa because those who purported to represent that country were in fact unrepresentative. Ten years ago, the General Assembly adopted resolution 3207 (XXIX), in which it called

upon the Security Council "to review the relationship between the United Nations and South Africa in the light of the constant violation by South Africa of the principles of the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights."

118. The Security Council considered in depth the request of the General Assembly, and it was clear that the overwhelming majority of members concluded that the application of Article 6 of the Charter of the United Nations was the answer. A draft resolution to that effect was, most unfortunately, vetoed by three permanent members of the Council—France, the United Kingdom and the United States. Thus, the *apartheid* régime continues to enjoy the honour of membership of an organization whose basic norms it violates. With a solid legal opinion to proceed upon, the United Nations should now be in a position to rid itself, once and for all, of this canker. The time for the expulsion of South Africa from the United Nations is overdue.

119. Another component of the problem of southern Africa is the issue of the independence of Namibia. The efforts of the international community to achieve independence for Namibia have been consistently frustrated by the intransigence of South Africa, through the introduction of extraneous considerations. Recently we have witnessed nefarious attempts by the South African régime to settle the Namibian question outside the framework of the United Nations. The question of Namibia is a classic case of decolonization, falling squarely within the purview of the United Nations; therefore, any attempt to bring about the independence of Namibia outside the framework of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) constitutes a serious challenge to the international community and must not be allowed to succeed; otherwise, we shall be abdicating our responsibility towards the oppressed people of Namibia.

120. My Government totally rejects the pernicious attempts to establish a link between the withdrawal of Cuban defensive forces in Angola and the independence of Namibia. The United Nations must take positive action to end South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia and bring about the immediate and unconditional implementation of resolution 435 (1978).

121. Turning to the Middle East, we note with regret that the situation today remains as volatile as it has been in previous years. The question of Palestine, which is the core of the problem, has so far defied a just, equitable and comprehensive solution, owing largely to the continued intransigence of Israel and the total support which it receives from the United States.

122. The international community has in the recent past witnessed the futility of attempting to find a military solution or of imposing a lopsided super-Power solution to the Middle East problem. The invasion of Lebanon by Israel in 1982 and the tragic failure of the ill-advised mission of the so-called multinational force in Lebanon are both classic examples of the limits to the use of military power.

123. The solution lies in a negotiated peace, a peace that is just, equitable and fair, a peace that recognizes the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination, to return to their homeland and to establish their own independent State in Palestine. The United Nations has already called for such a negotiated peace. The International Conference on the Question of Palestine, held at Geneva from 29 August to 7 September 1983, called among other things for the convening of an international peace conference on the Middle East. Such a conference should include the Palestinians themselves, the other interested parties in the region, the Soviet Union and the United States. We strongly support that proposal and call upon the United Nations to convene such a conference without further delay. We also call upon the international community and upon all concerned, particularly Israel and its supporters, to respond positively to this challenge of peace, under the auspices of the United Nations. To conclude in advance that such a conference will be unfair to any of the parties is to underrate the determination of the United Nations to find a permanent solution to this problem.

124. The situation in Kampuchea also remains troubling. We urge the Secretary-General and the *Ad Hoc* Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea to redouble their efforts to find a comprehensive political solution to the problem. Such a solution should be based on the principles of the Charter of the United Nations which call for respect for national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity for all States, non-recourse to the threat or use of force in international relations, and the peaceful settlement of disputes. On this basis, my delegation supports the relevant General Assembly resolution on Kampuchea [*resolution 35/6*], which called, among other things, for the convening of an international conference on Kampuchea, with the participation of all the conflicting parties and other interested parties, with the aim of finding a comprehensive political solution to the Kampuchean problem. We also strongly support the call for the total withdrawal of all foreign troops from Kampuchea and for the strict observance of fundamental human rights, which should lead to the holding of United Nations supervised free elections that will enable the people of Kampuchea to exercise their right of self-determination and restore peace and stability to the region.

125. The unsettled political situation in almost every part of the world is unfortunate evidence of the persistent violation of the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, whose fortieth anniversary we plan to commemorate next year. Whether in southern Africa or the Middle East, whether in South-East Asia or Central America, whether in Korea or Cyprus, the resort to force or the threat of the use of force, the violation of the right of self-determination and the violation of the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of States continue to pose a severe threat to international peace and security. But much more alarming is the escalation of the arms race, particularly the nuclear arms race.

126. The world, which is our common heritage, is being ominously imperilled by the nuclear-arms race, which has become the pastime of a few countries. There is great apprehension, which is fast becoming panic, that the world is on the brink of a catastrophe of immense and universal proportions arising from the unprecedented nuclear rivalry of the two super-Powers. No country can afford to be unconcerned about the present precarious situation, which may give the super-Powers and their allies cause for doctrinal or strategic satisfaction but which for the rest of the world evokes a constant nightmare. The

concept of security, in the eyes of the super-Powers, is unfortunately related to the narrow interests of their alliances. The rest of the world is expected to feel secure as long as the two super-Powers continue their nuclear balancing act in the name of the doctrine of deterrence.

127. The fact that the need to ensure peace and security globally may be unrelated to the level of nuclear armament is totally ignored by the super-Powers in their pursuit of the ever-elusive parity in nuclear-weapons deployment. Yet, as the Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries stated during their Seventh Conference, held at New Delhi in March 1983, it is unacceptable that the security of all States and the very survival of mankind should be held hostage to the security interests of a handful of nuclear-weapon States. Nuclear disarmament and the prevention of nuclear war must therefore remain a priority task for the international community, particularly at this time when détente has collapsed and confrontation has become the watchword of the super-Powers. The General Assembly must insist that active negotiations on nuclear disarmament be resumed at the bilateral level between the super-Powers. The Assembly should also deplore the hindrances being placed in the way of meaningful negotiations in the Conference on Disarmament.

128. In this connection, Nigeria believes that the super-Powers must show determination to undertake the most basic step towards the non-proliferation, both vertical and horizontal, of nuclear weapons. Over the years, such a basic step has been identified as the conclusion of a comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty. It is already 21 years since the conclusion of the Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and under Water,[11] in which the parties expressed the objective of "Seeking to achieve the discontinuance of all test explosions of nuclear weapons for all time". The General Assembly has since made the achievement of the test-ban treaty the topmost priority. All the technical studies that can facilitate the conclusion of such an agreement have been undertaken. Yet no progress has been made. The vital missing element is the political will on the part of some nuclear-weapon States to reach an agreement. Yet it must be made clear that those who obstruct the conclusion of a nuclear-test-ban treaty cannot at the same time claim to be the champions of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. For so long as they show unwillingness to honour their commitment under article VI of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*] whereby they undertook "to pursue negotiations in good faith on effective measures relating to cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date and to nuclear disarmament . . . " for so long will they constitute impediments to an effective non-proliferation régime. If the viability of the Non-Proliferation Treaty is to be maintained, the nuclear-weapon States must, in the course of this session of the General Assembly, commit themselves firmly to negotiations in the Conference on Disarmament on a comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty.

129. It is clear from all available evidence that the only effective defence against nuclear weapons is never to use them; any use would constitute the greatest crime against humanity. To that end, the decision of the General Assembly with regard to negotiations on a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons should be pursued with the utmost vigour. Any obstacle placed in the way of the work of the Conference on Disarmament in this respect should be seen as a great disservice to the maintenance of international peace and security. Similarly, negotiations on the prevention of an arms race in outer space and on a convention on chemical weapons should be an urgent concern of the international community. Progress in these areas is of the utmost importance for global security.

130. I have highlighted some of the major problems facing the international community today in the belief that we can honestly work together to solve them. The United Nations serves as a unique forum for the promotion of understanding and peace among all nations. It also provides a unique opportunity for Member States to engage in constructive dialogue and co-operation in our common quest for a better world. We must, therefore, strive to work together to uphold the principles of the Charter in the interest of mankind. I am confident that, with determination and given the necessary political will, we can overcome all obstacles in the way of lasting international peace and security and the achievement of an equitable international economic order.

131. Mr. JAMEEL (Maldives): It is indeed a great honour for me and my delegation to felicitate you, Sir, on your election to the esteemed office of President of the General Assembly. We endorse the confidence placed in you by this body. Your election represents a well-deserved tribute not only to your reputation as a distinguished diplomat with a long association with the United Nations but also to your country, Zambia, which contributes through its vital role in the promotion of the true aspirations of Africa in particular and the third world in general. We are confident that your formidable knowledge and diplomatic skills will enable you to steer the work of the current session to a fruitful conclusion.

132. My delegation associates itself with previous speakers who have more eloquently expressed their sincere appreciation for the excellent manner in which your predecessor carried out his enormous task, despite his new responsibilities as Head of his Government. We salute Mr. Illueca, the President of Panama, on the wise and able manner in which he conducted the work of the Assembly's thirty-eighth session.

133. Maldives is proud and happy to welcome the newest Member of the United Nations, Brunei Darussalam, which has many things in common with us in history and culture. Its admission is a strengthening link in the chain of universality of nations, furthering the noble objectives of the Charter of the United Nations.

134. We are meeting at a time when the Organization is reaching the mature age of 40 years. My country is fortunate to have shared with it the last 20 years of its varied but rewarding experience. The Secretary-General, in his report on the work of the Organization [*A/39/1*], has most aptly and wisely cautioned us about the enormous importance of the continued existence of the Organization. We are of the opinion that the United Nations cannot and must not be replaced, in view of the important institutional responsibilities that it was founded to fulfil. We believe that the great problems that we confront as a world community, such as those of the obstacles to economic development and the nuclear-arms race

and the need for disarmament, cannot be solved through bilateral or regional efforts alone. My country is happy to record its appreciation of and admiration for the clear and thorough manner in which the Secretary-General has informed us through his report on the work of the Organization. He has spared no effort in carrying out his diverse and complex responsibilities as the executive head of the United Nations.

135. We endorse his submission that our prime objective at this crucial moment should be to reconstruct the concept of collective action for peace and security to make the United Nations more capable of carrying out its primary mission of maintaining international peace and security.

136. We are gathered here at a time of increasing tension and anxiety. The problems and challenges which face us today are so pressing that we need more than ever before a sharing of responsibility and a high level of political will. All available means must be utilized to stem the growth of forces which undermine the United Nations and peaceful international relations. The imbalances in the state of affairs we are currently experiencing are leading the world to an intolerable situation, and, unless we all sincerely join together to eliminate its causes, the future generations of mankind will have no choice but to suffer the consequences of our failure, for which they will rightly condemn us.

137. We should assert the principles of peace, justice and equality. These and other noble principles which humanity has evolved from its sufferings and experiences are clearly inscribed in the Charter of this great Organization. It is our solemn duty to uphold these principles and to fulfil our commitments to our peoples.

138. As a true non-aligned developing country, Maldives believes that amongst the major issues confronting our universal body special emphasis should be given to the problem of disarmament and the escalating nuclear-arms race. We cannot help expressing our anxiety over the lack of a viable solution to that problem, for countries such as my own must admit that the contribution they can make to bringing the situation closer to solution is rather limited. However, we humbly share our concern and pledge our support to any endeavour to eliminate the shadow of the threat and the perils of a nuclear confrontation.

139. We urge all States Members of the United Nations, particularly the nuclear-weapon States, to co-operate and enter into relevant international agreements and arrangements that will be instrumental in limiting the production and stockpiling of nuclear and other destructive weapons in order to insure the world against global suicide.

140. We live today in the presence of a chilling and unprecedented phenomenon. It is very unfortunate that, at the pinnacle of world power, there exist enough nuclear weapons to destroy all life on our planet. At the intermediate level of world power, there exist vast quantities of sophisticated, so-called conventional weapons. These weapons are, by comparison with those of former times, immensely destructive, as their use has so horrifically demonstrated. They are also the object of a highly profitable international trade.

141. Yet, at another level, we have the poverty of the vast proportion of the world's population. We must not be deterred from continuing to emphasize the immorality of mankind's precious resources being used in the production of weapons of destruction at a time when so much of humanity has a dire need for those same resources to be used in the war against poverty and disease. It is not only a political but also a moral objective, which we must never relinquish.

142. We strongly support nuclear-weapon-free zones in Asia, in the Pacific and in other regions. Our support of the resolutions calling for the establishment of such zones, and of all actions at fulfilling that objective, is based on a strong conviction that they will contribute towards the reduction of arms and armed conflicts. We strongly oppose the continued testing of nuclear weapons, not only because of the direct dangers they pose but also because of the destruction such testing could finally cause to man and his environment.

143. Maldives firmly supports the initiatives and efforts of the United Nations in the search for general and complete disarmament, including the banning of nuclear testing and the prevention of an arms race in outer space.

144. The question of Palestine continues to remain one of the outstanding major international concerns. The situation in the Middle East in all its aspects, including the tragedy of Lebanon, continues to give rise to frustration. The Israeli invasion of Lebanon and the continued Israeli presence in Lebanese territory have aggravated further the already explosive situation created by Israel's refusal to withdraw from the occupied Palestinian and other Arab territories, including Jerusalem.

145. The legitimate rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination and freedom remain at the heart of the issue. The key to any lasting solution and for peace in that crucial area is, as evidently seen through the sequence of events, the realization of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to have their own independent homeland.

146. The world witnessed with anger and dismay the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, while it continued its illegal occupation of Palestine, including the Gaza Strip, the West Bank, the city of Jerusalem and the Golan Heights. Israel continues to perpetuate its policies of expansionism through the establishment of illegal settlements, ignoring and rejecting numerous United Nations resolutions and violating all norms of international behaviour. Maldives joins the international community in its repeated condemnation of the Israeli aggression against Arab territories and Israeli atrocities in the occupied land.

147. The invasion of Lebanon under the cruel pretext of liquidating the Palestine Liberation Organization [*PLO*], which symbolizes the legitimate will of the Palestinians, has clearly revealed the true nature of Israeli policies in that area.

Mr. Sallam (Yemen), Vice-President, took the Chair.

148. Every State Member of the United Nations has pledged its commitment to the provisions of the Charter. Therefore, action should not be delayed any further regarding the delicate situation in the Middle East. The Security Council should invoke the relevant provisions of the Charter with regard to the arrogance and defiance with which Israel is trampling underfoot the inalienable rights of the Palestinians.

149. The PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, has the full right to participate in any step that may be taken to achieve a lasting solution. In the opinion of my delegation, the Geneva Declaration on Palestine, adopted by the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, held at Geneva from 29 August to 7 September 1983,[12] represents a sound framework for the international community and the parties concerned to work for a durable solution.

150. My country associates itself with other nations in expressing its deep regret at the continued bitter armed conflict between Iran and Iraq. We urge the parties concerned to bring about a cease-fire and to find a solution to their dispute by peaceful means. Maldives pledges its support to the United Nations mediation efforts and to the Secretary-General's recent personal appeals to spare civilians. Both Iran and Iraq must heed the appeals of the United Nations, the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and halt this seemingly purposeless conflict. These bodies are trying to bring about an honourable settlement of the dispute, and we wish them every success.

151. The question of Namibia and the tragic plight of the people of South Africa have remained a matter of grave concern to the world community. The task of the United Nations to seek a negotiated settlement of the question of Namibia remains a special responsibility. The continuation by the racist régime of South Africa of its illegal occupation of Namibia, despite the vigorous efforts to grant independence to the deprived people of that Territory, constitutes a flagrant violation of international law and endangers the security of the southern African region. Here again, like Israel, the racist minority régime in Pretoria has scorned the numerous resolutions adopted by this august body in full accord with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations.

152. It is our bounden duty to maintain and enforce political and economic pressure on South Africa, with a view to forcing it to concede to the logic of humane behaviour. We must continue our support for the people of Namibia, under the leadership of SWAPO.

153. The hope for a peaceful future in southern Africa lies in political change and the creation of greater trust through regional co-operation and international support. We believe that it can be achieved peacefully. My delegation joins in the unanimous insistence on an early implementation of the plan endorsed by Security Council resolution 435 (1978). This would enable the people of Namibia to decide their destiny in a free, fair and democratic manner. The delay in the realization of the plan is greatly disappointing. It would be most unfortunate if at this late stage the process leading to the independence of Namibia were to be impeded by issues extraneous to the question itself. My delegation fully recognizes the continued efforts of the Secretary-General for an early solution to this vital issue.

154. *Apartheid* is a crime against humanity itself. Maldives is firmly convinced that peace and stability in southern Africa require the total eradication of *apartheid* and the exercise of the right to self-determination by the people of South Africa, irrespective of their race, colour or creed.

155. My delegation wishes to express its concern over the situation in Afghanistan and Kampuchea, two countries which, in the view of my Government, have been victims of foreign military intervention and invasion. We express our deepest concern and fully endorse the United Nations resolutions which condemn foreign intervention and call for the withdrawal of foreign forces from those countries. That will enable the peoples of Afghanistan and Kampuchea freely to decide their own destiny. The peoples of Afghanistan and Kampuchea must be given the opportunity to exercise their rights without outside interference, including the right of the refugees to return to their homes with security and honour. My delegation notes with deep appreciation and commendation the unceasing efforts of the Secretary-General and his special representatives to find political solutions to those two major issues.

156. It is with alarm, dismay and frustration that we witness the increasing instances of foreign intervention in Africa and Latin America. We recall here the Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention and Interference in the Internal Affairs of States [*resolution 36/103, annex*]. There is no difference, in my opinion, between intervention and interference. The final result in either case is tragically the same: tension, unrest, internal strife, conflict and even bloodshed.

157. We view such developments with the utmost concern because they destroy the very fabric not only of international peace and security but also of the concept of peaceful coexistence. Never for a moment should we forget that we are a family of interrelated and interdependent nations, with diverse political ideologies, economies and social systems, which must live together in an atmosphere devoid of suspicion, envy and animosity.

158. In Cyprus, the United Nations has been tirelessly trying to promote a settlement and the Secretary-General continues to maintain his personal involvement. My Government welcomes those unceasing efforts. Despite some limited progress in intercommunal talks held under United Nations auspices, a peaceful and lasting settlement regrettably still appears to be distant. My delegation would like to reiterate its support for the people of Cyprus in their efforts to consolidate their independence within the framework of national unity and equal rights for all Cypriots.

159. While making reference to the solution of conflicts by peaceful means, may I mention also the yet unsolved question of Korea. Peaceful reunification has been, and continues to be, a matter of great concern to us. My Government feels that all efforts must be made, collectively and individually, to facilitate a dialogue between the divided North and South. The international community should extend every possible support, opportunity and encouragement to the people of Korea to achieve their objective of peaceful reunification.

160. With regard to our part of the world—the Indian Ocean—Maldives is committed to the policy of non-alignment and is determined to keep its territory free from nuclear weapons or the establishment of any foreign military base on it. Furthermore, Maldives will continue to work with the littoral and hinterland States of the Indian Ocean towards making the Indian Ocean a zone of peace. We are concerned over the escalating tension created by the great-Power rivalry for military superiority in the Indian Ocean and the introduction of nuclear weap-

ons there. We reaffirm our full support for the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace [*resolution 2832 (XXVI)*] and support the efforts of the United Nations to implement that Declaration.

161. It is our earnest hope that, through co-operation among the countries of the Indian Ocean and other concerned parties, we will be able to find practical ways to fulfil the aspirations of the peoples of our region. The proposed Conference on the Indian Ocean, to be held at Colombo in early 1985, will, we believe, form a corner-stone in the path to realizing our cherished objective. We appeal to the world community to support us in achieving that objective.

162. The world economy has experienced increasing difficulties during the last decade. The period has been characterized by a generally unsatisfactory and erratic growth of output and trade, high rates of inflation and fluctuating exchange rates. While the crisis has affected all countries, it has inevitably had the most serious impact on the developing countries, whose economies are particularly vulnerable. The developed countries have experienced unprecedented rates of unemployment and idle industrial capacity, accompanied by high interest rates. The developing countries have faced increasing balance-of-payments deficits, mounting debt burden and deteriorating terms of trade.

163. The economic gap between the developed and developing countries is widening and the latter are being denied effective and equitable participation in the benefits of international development.

164. At a recent meeting held at Malé, in my country, the Foreign Ministers of Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Nepal, Pakistan, Sri Lanka and Maldives, member countries of the South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation, expressed their concern over the conditions in the developing countries. In the final communiqué, the Ministers reviewed the current world economic situation and expressed their concern over the deteriorating economic and social conditions in the developing countries. In the past three years, sharply falling commodity prices, deterioration in the terms of trade, intensification of protectionist measures, excessive debt burden and a decline in the flow of financial resources had caused unprecedented balance-of-payment problems and serious loss of development momentum in the developing countries. It was agreed that without redoubling of efforts by the international community, including immediate measures, the goals and targets of the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade [*resolution 35/56, annex*] and the Substantial New Programme of Action for the 1980s for the Least Developed Countries[7] could not be attained. They expressed their deep disappointment at the lack of progress in putting international support measures into place and at the continued stalemate in the negotiations on international co-operation. In this connection, they noted with deep regret that no appreciable progress had been made in meeting the concerns of the developing countries at the London Economic Summit of the industrialized countries, held from 7 to 9 June 1984, despite urgent actions suggested by various leaders from the non-aligned and developing countries.

165. That important meeting at Malé endorsed the desire to communicate with leaders of industrialized countries the immediate concern of the States of South Asia, namely, that the financing of the seventh replenishment of IDA had not been augmented to a degree whereby an increase in real terms was achieved over the level of the sixth replenishment of IDA. This timely request has already been conveyed by my Government as the Foreign Ministers desired.

166. That co-operative endeavour in our part of the region aims at harnessing support and co-operation in economic development, and cultural and social exchange. The Foreign Ministers at the Malé meeting recorded their satisfaction with the progress that had been made in a relatively short period of time in the areas of co-operation identified.

167. I am happy to inform the Assembly, on behalf of my country as the current Chairman, of the important leverage that the recent meeting provided to the eventual holding of a summit meeting of the South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation countries by late 1985.

168. Mr. Maumoon Abdul Gayoom, President of Maldives, in his opening address at the ministerial meeting, said of the member countries: "Our societies are quite diverse but their hopes and expectations do not vary. Together our peoples are sure of themselves, confident of their identities and confident too of their ability to control their own destinies." He said, further, that the moving spirit and the objective of the very principles which gave birth to our association is one of working together, which has as its basic foundation the promotion of the interests of our region, an essential aspect of which is the maintenance and, indeed, the strengthening of our people's political, social and economic independence. These words of wisdom give us confidence that the outcome of the forthcoming summit will further strengthen the global aspirations and efforts made by the United Nations.

169. The Government of Maldives whole-heartedly supports the call of the non-aligned countries and the Group of 77 for the removal of the structural imbalances and inequalities of the present pluralist economic system and the restructuring of the world economy through the establishment of a new international economic order. This should be done through North-South dialogue and global negotiations among developed and developing countries. Maldives also considers co-operation among developing countries themselves, both for economic and social development and to minimize their dependence on developed countries, to be vital. Maldives welcomes the establishment of the South Bank as a practical step in the right direction and hopes that it will prove very useful to developing countries.

170. The delegation of Maldives noted with satisfaction the adoption, in 1982, of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea[13] as a historic achievement in the progressive development of the law of the sea. The Convention was adopted by an overwhelming majority of States and has already been signed by 136 States, including my own, and ratified by a number of them. My Government is now in the process of ratifying it. The Convention establishes a new legal order for the rational use of the seas as an instrument of justice, peace, development and international co-operation. It represents a rare example of global interests and ideologies striking innumerable practical bargains. It is a most comprehensive international Convention, consisting

of 320 articles and nine annexes, with four related resolutions.[14]

171. The delegation of Maldives appeals to all States which have signed the Convention to expedite the process of ratification so as to enable the Convention to become effective and operative.

172. The continent of Antarctica has considerable environmental, climatic, scientific and potential economic significance for the world. The delegation of Maldives firmly believes that, in the interest of all mankind, Antarctica should continue for ever to be used exclusively for peaceful purposes, should not become the scene or object of international disputes and should be accessible to all nations. The exploration of the area and the exploitation of its resources should be carried out for the benefit of all mankind and in a manner consistent with the protection of the environment of Antarctica.

173. Maldives supported the proposal for a comprehensive study on Antarctica by the United Nations, taking into account all relevant factors, with a view to widening international co-operation in the area.

174. Like Antarctica, outer space should be used for peaceful purposes only. Recent proposals for intensified militarization of outer space are a cause of grave concern, and measures should be undertaken with urgency for the rejection of such proposals.

175. My delegation also notes that the distribution of the benefits of outer space among the countries of the world has to date been uneven. To remove that imbalance, the principle of guaranteed and equitable access should be the essence of any new regulatory mechanism, which should take into account the particular needs of the developing countries, especially those of an equatorial nature. We firmly believe and sincerely hope that the benefits resulting from the peaceful use of outer space will be shared equitably for the benefit of mankind as a whole.

176. My delegation is fully convinced that the United Nations is indispensable in a world fraught with tensions and peril. Institutions such as this are not built in a day; they require constant constructive work and fidelity to the principles on which they are based. We must seriously consider the practical ways in which the Organization should develop its capacity and be used as an essential institution in a stormy and explosive world.

177. Primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security has been entrusted to the Security Council. We believe it is still the best device for defusing tensions, solving problems and maintaining peace and security. While it tends not to have much of a pre-emptive capacity, it is our duty as Members of the United Nations to strengthen its role by resisting the attempts of individual countries to assume the primary responsibility of the Security Council. If the Security Council fails to act or react in a given situation, it is not the institution that is at fault but the countries that constitute it. It is for us to convince ourselves and the generation we are responsible for that the world is interdependent, and to act accordingly and be guided by that reality.

178. The United Nations system should play the role of a catalyst in creating mutual understanding and co-operation. We should not allow it to become the arena in which to battle out our differences. Rather, it should and must be a place where hatred and animosity towards others are avoided. The agencies of the United Nations came into existence not only because the prominent men who created them were wise but because those agencies are directly related to the aspirations of mankind, irrespective of race or region.

179. We are concerned by the trend that has emerged recently as a result of the fact that certain Member countries repeatedly express their pessimism about the viable functioning of important specialized bodies of the United Nations system. We hold the view that their development justifies the wisdom by which they were created and that they need to be strengthened now more than ever before. My Government does not believe in any endeavour to politicize specialized bodies whose executive functions are purely technical in nature. It is therefore essential to maintain a high degree of professionalism and to orient programmes carried out by those bodies towards the achievement of more tangible results.

180. We in Maldives are happy to be associated in the noble tasks prescribed under the WHO Global Strategy for Health for All by the Year 2000, which should ensure humanity a better world in which to live. We are confident that the work of UNICEF, whose primary responsibility lies in the care and welfare of the children of the world, will strengthen the future of humanity through its dynamic programme launched in 1983 as the child survival revolution.

181. My delegation still believes that amid the various perils that now threaten the orderly progress of humanity, we can rally once again to the standards of the Charter of the United Nations, beginning with the peaceful settlement of disputes and steadily progressing towards the other objectives of that prophetic document.

182. In all sincerity, Maldives pledges its fullest co-operation and support to the United Nations system.

183. Mr. OULD MINNIH (Mauritania) (*interpretation from Arabic*): I should like at the outset to congratulate Mr. Lusaka, on behalf of the Mauritanian delegation, on his election as President of the General Assembly at its thirty-ninth session. We are indeed proud that this lofty post is occupied by one of the sons of our struggling African continent. We are fully confident that, with his outstanding personal qualities, he will guide the work of the General Assembly with great experience and wisdom.

184. To his predecessor, Mr. Illueca, the President of Panama, we also extend our congratulations for the excellent manner in which he guided the work of the Assembly at its thirty-eighth session.

185. We should like to thank the Secretary-General, who discharges his enormous responsibilities with complete devotion to the Organization. It gives me pleasure, on behalf of the Mauritanian delegation, again to assure him of our renewed support for the great efforts he is exerting in order to realize the goals of the Organization and to surmount the difficulties of the current international situation.

186. On behalf of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, I should like to congratulate the fraternal Muslim State of Brunei Darussalam on its admission to the United Nations. We are indeed confident that it will lend its support to the cause of right, justice and peace in the world.

187. A glance at the international scene gives little cause for optimism concerning the future of mankind. The continuing deterioration of the world economy, and especially the collapse of the econo-

70

mies of most of the developing countries, the escalating arms race and the continuing hotbeds of tension in various parts of the world, all portend the perils that jeopardize mankind's future and threaten the destruction of the very bases of human civilization.

188. The international economic situation is deteriorating day by day, and therefore a true dialogue aimed at arriving at acceptable solutions is now more necessary than ever before. The economic recovery that has begun in some industrialized countries has not had a positive effect on the economies of the developing countries. With great regret, we note the absence of any constructive dialogue between the developed and the developing countries with a view to arriving at solutions to international economic problems. We had hoped that global negotiations would begin and that there would be a positive response from the industrialized countries to the desire for dialogue expressed by the Group of 77. Regardless of our dismay at the obstacles some have placed in the way of global negotiations and the injustice of present international economic relations, we are happy at the increase in voluntary contributions to UNDP. It is our hope that the improvement that has occurred in the situation of UNDP will constitute the beginning of a new era of international co-operation and an incentive that will encourage the rich countries to increase their contributions to UNDP with a view to consolidating its funding activities in the developing countries.

189. Mauritania believes that comprehensive and radical reform of the world economic system would lead to the establishment of a new international economic order based on justice and equality and that that is the only path that will lead to progress, stability and security for all.

190. The Sahelian countries, in addition to suffering from the international crisis and the continuing deterioration of international economic relations, are experiencing a relentless and unprecedented drought, which has destroyed all vegetation. The situation is aggravated by a continuing decline in the prices of raw materials, a reduction in international development aid and higher interest rates on foreign loans, all of which has imposed an enormous burden on the economies of those countries, placing them in an intolerable situation.

191. With regard to the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, the advancing deserts, the decline in groundwater levels and the sparse and irregular precipitation have to a great extent reduced arable lands and destroyed vast pasturelands, wiping out more than 70 per cent of the livestock. All of this has adversely affected conditions of life in a country that used to be essentially pastoral and agricultural.

192. We have mobilized all our limited resources to confront this natural disaster. The numerous appeals launched by the President of Mauritania, Mohamed Khouna Ould Haydalla, calling for self-reliance and support for the rural population have had a positive result in alleviating the sufferings of the victims of the devastating drought. All levels of our society, within the framework of mass guidance structures, have responded to these appeals, extending different forms of assistance and carrying out many social projects such as the drilling of wells and the building of earthen dams. Assistance in various forms from fraternal and friendly countries and international organizations, though still insufficient, has played an important and positive role in supporting our efforts in the face of this problem.

193. Here I should like to thank all who have stood alongside us as we have confronted the lean years, years unprecedented in the history of our region. The past year has been no more fortunate than previous years. Rainfall was restricted to certain areas and came too late and was too scattered. The peasants have not been able to profit from the rainfall, and there have been serious human and material losses in the northern region of Adrar.

194. In addition to the efforts deployed at the national level, Mauritania has in recent years, in co-operation with fraternal Sahelian countries, consolidated and developed the efforts of regional organizations working for the development and implementation of a comprehensive plan aimed at reducing the impact of drought and desertification on the population of the region.

195. In this context, we have the activities of the Permanent Inter-State Committee on Drought Control in the Sahel, which is attempting to mobilize the financial resources needed to implement national and regional projects to combat drought in the region. I would like to pay a tribute to the important role played by the United Nations Sudano-Sahelian Office in support of such efforts.

196. We would also like to avail ourselves of this opportunity to commend the positive results achieved by the conference held recently at Dakar, organized by the fraternal Government of Senegal, which took the form of a comprehensive diagnosis of the phenomenon of desertification and the identification of ways and means of combating it in the short, medium and long term. The Islamic Republic of Mauritania, which participated in that conference, expresses its satisfaction at the inclusion of this question on the agenda of the General Assembly. We hope that, in view of its importance, especially with regard to the future of the Sahelian region now afflicted by drought and desertification, the international community will make special efforts to implement the recommendations of that conference.

197. There can be no doubt that efforts to confront the economic crisis now facing the African continent, and especially the fight against drought and desertification, require enormous resources that far exceed the region's potential. We should therefore like to praise the role played by the Secretary-General in mobilizing world public opinion to cope with the tragic situation now confronting most of the countries of Africa. We support the efforts of the *ad hoc* consultative working group established to monitor the situation in the countries afflicted and the appointment of a personal representative of the Secretary-General to co-ordinate financial and technical assistance.

198. At a time when the world economic crisis is becoming ever more acute and hunger, disease and ignorance still prevail in most developing countries, vast sums are being squandered to develop and stockpile the means to destroy mankind. Is it not amazing that lethal weapons consume $1 trillion a year—that is, more than $2 billion a day? The arms race constitutes one of the major obstacles hindering the implementation of development programmes to serve human progress. That is why we call upon all countries, and especially the super-Powers, to enter into serious negotiations to reduce nuclear arma-

ments with a view to achieving genuine disarmament.

199. The international situation continues to be characterized by uncertainty and instability. Many countries and peoples continue to suffer from colonialism, expansionism and hegemony, while international peace and security continue to be hostage to super-Power rivalry and confrontation. In many parts of the world, countries and entities are engaging in aggressive activities against neighbouring States in violation of all international laws, rules and customs. Tension continues to mount and hotbeds of war continue to rage in more than one region, consuming enormous human and material resources in countries that are striving towards development and that see their efforts to build their countries hampered and thwarted.

200. In the Middle East, international peace and security are constantly being threatened because of the intransigence of Israel and its defiance of world public opinion and of the Charter and resolutions of the United Nations and its organs, including the Security Council. Everyone is aware that for the past 37 years Israel has persisted in its aggression and expansion, occupying ever more Palestinian and other Arab territories and attempting to distort their demographic and historic structures with a view to final annexation, to such an extent that even the sacred Muslim and Christian sites in Al-Quds al-Sharif have not escaped desecration and destruction.

201. The policy of intransigence and *fait accompli* jeopardizes respect for the United Nations and its credibility and thus represents a serious threat to international peace and stability. Any just and lasting solution to the Palestinian question and the problem of the Middle East must be based on recognition of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to self-determination, national sovereignty and the establishment of their independent State on their land under the leadership of the PLO, their sole, legitimate representative, as well as the unconditional withdrawal of Israel from all occupied Arab territories, including Al-Quds al-Sharif.

202. In Lebanon, we are pleased at the efforts being made by the fraternal Lebanese people and its Government to achieve reconciliation and to preserve the country's territorial integrity despite the yoke of the Israeli occupation, which affects not only Lebanese territory but extends to the repression of Lebanese national resistance. Israel has this year intentionally carried out a scheme to take possession of the waters of southern Lebanon by diverting the courses of certain rivers in the area under Israeli control to serve that country's aggressive designs in occupied Palestine. The international community must resist such pressure and remain faithful to its noble position in the face of Israeli practices in southern Lebanon.

203. In southern Africa, the racist Pretoria régime is continuing its odious policy and intransigence with a view to consolidating racial discrimination, on the one hand, and hindering Namibia's movement towards independence, on the other. The farce of the so-called constitutional reforms does not delude the people in southern Africa, who have heroically resisted them despite campaigns of intimidation and massacres in various parts of their homeland. The malevolent intent behind such manoeuvres has been clear to the international community, which has condemned them from the very beginning. We are convinced that the policy of racial discrimination, as an unjust philosophy of Government, is not capable of partial amelioration. Any measure purporting to achieve that will represent a new challenge to the dignity of man and the freedom of peoples. Mauritania is convinced that any just and lasting solution to the South African problem will depend on the complete elimination of the policy of racial discrimination and the establishment of a democratic system based on justice and equality.

204. With regard to the question of Namibia, the international community and, first, the countries that bear special responsibilities under the Charter of the United Nations, should seriously strive to implement the resolutions of the international organizations and put an end to the violation of international law and legitimacy.

205. We reaffirm our full support for the struggle of the Namibian people, under the leadership of SWAPO, its sole legitimate representative, for independence, freedom and territorial integrity, in accordance with Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

206. With regard to Chad, my country continues to make earnest efforts in the interest of the restoration of peace in that brother country. We hope that the withdrawal of foreign forces will mark the dawning of a new era of national harmony, stability and security in all parts of that African land.

207. As for the conflict in the Gulf, the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, while deploring the continuing bloodshed and wastage of the human and material resources of the two brother peoples of Iraq and Iran, wishes to record its satisfaction at the agreement by one of the parties to the conflict to enter into peaceful negotiations. We repeat our appeal to our brothers to put an end to that destructive war, which only serves the interests of the enemies of our Islamic nation. We stress the need to prevent the conflict from spreading throughout the region and to respect the sovereignty and independence of neighbouring States.

208. On the Afghanistan question, the Islamic Republic of Mauritania continues to urge respect for the sovereignty of that brother Islamic country and the withdrawal of foreign forces from Afghan territory.

209. With regard to Kampuchea, the Islamic Republic of Mauritania reiterates its support for the relevant General Assembly resolutions and for the Declaration on Kampuchea, adopted by the International Conference on Kampuchea, held in New York in 1981.[15] We reaffirm the need for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Democratic Kampuchea, respect for its territorial integrity and the cessation of foreign intervention in its internal affairs.

210. My country is concerned about the situation in Central America and hopes that the efforts being made there will lead to peace and security in that region.

211. Directly across our borders, the Saharan war continues between the Kingdom of Morocco and the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic. That fratricidal war drains enormous human resources, overburdens the Moroccan and Saharan peoples and jeopardizes security in the whole region. This year in particular has seen an alarming rise in tension, thus dampening

the hopes that we all shared after the nineteenth ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, held at Addis Ababa from 6 to 12 June 1983. The historic resolution of that session[9] not only determined the two parties to the conflict but also clearly defined the framework and measures for a just settlement of that dispute by peaceful means. As is well known, that resolution was endorsed by the Assembly at its last session.

212. It is indeed regrettable that the efforts to give effect to that resolution have not yet borne fruit because they have come up against the refusal of one side to implement it. Those who put obstacles in the way of implementation of that resolution must bear the consequences historically of such acts, which harm the interests of the people of the region and the future peace and security of the African continent.

213. Having contributed to the adoption of the Addis Ababa resolution, Mauritania remains convinced that direct, frank and constructive negotiations between the Kingdom of Morocco and the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic are the only way to bring about a cease-fire and practical arrangements for a comprehensive referendum to enable the people to exercise the right of self-determination free from any administrative or military pressure.

214. Our country, which pursues a policy of open co-operation, good-neighbourliness and understanding with all the countries of the region, is determined to continue its efforts to bring about the lasting, peaceful solution of this painful conflict, thus allowing our peoples to devote their efforts to building the great Arab Maghreb. Mauritania works for such a Maghreb by participating in the laying of sound, strong foundations, for which purpose we have joined our brothers in Algeria and Tunisia in a treaty of brotherhood and understanding. The conclusion of that treaty was not dictated by transient interests at the expense of the independence of peoples and the stability of States, as is the case with certain agreements in the region. On the contrary, it fully recognizes the objective facts and truly fulfils the hopes and aspirations of the peoples.

215. The clouds that loom large over international economic and political horizons make it essential for us to fulfil our responsibilities so as to enhance the authority of the Organization and ensure compliance with all with its decisions.

216. Salvation lies in establishing a system of economic relations that is more just, replacing selfishness with fruitful co-operation, sterile differences with constructive dialogue, hatred and fanaticism with concord and brotherhood, in accordance with the principles on which the United Nations is based and with its high ideals and human values, so that the human community may enjoy peace, security and justice.

217. In our view, this is the only way to fulfil our duty to future generations. Let us never forget that the annals of history will record our acts and that sooner or later history will pronounce its verdict.

The meeting rose at 6.30 p.m.

NOTES

[1] União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola.

[2] A/AC.115/L.611.

[3] See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 106, document A/7754, para. 8.

[4] Lagos Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Monrovia Strategy for the Economic Development of Africa, adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity in April 1980. For the text, see A/S-11/14, annex I).

[5] A/S-11/14, annex II.

[6] E/1984/110, annex.

[7] See *Report of the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries, Paris, 1–14 September 1981* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.82.I.8), part one, sect. A.

[8] A/38/493, annex I.

[9] For the text, see General Assembly resolution 38/40, para. 1.

[10] E/1984/110/Add. 1.

[11] United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 480, No. 6964.

[12] See *Report of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.83.I.21), chap. I, sect. A.

[13] *Official Records of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea*, vol. XVII (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.84.V.3), document A/CONF.62/122.

[14] *Ibid.*, document A/CONF.62/121, annex I.

[15] *Report of the International Conference on Kampuchea* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.81.I.20), annex I.

United Nations
GENERAL ASSEMBLY
THIRTY-NINTH SESSION
Official Records

26th
PLENARY MEETING

Tuesday, 9 October 1984,
at 10.25 a.m.

NEW YORK

President: Mr. Paul J. F. LUSAKA (Zambia).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. NGARUKIYINTWALI (Rwanda) (*interpretation from French*): In accordance with a solid tradition, the delegations of States Members of the United Nations are meeting for the thirty-ninth time since it was founded for an annual evaluation by international diplomacy of the record established by the great family of nations since the last session of the General Assembly, in connection with the Organization's task of promoting peace and progress in the world on the basis of constructive dialogue and peaceful coexistence.

2. This is not a purely routine gathering nor a mere ritual repeated automatically every 12 months. Rather, the annual session of the General Assembly is an ideal opportunity for Member States to exchange opinions on the serious, major concerns of our day and solemnly to reaffirm their faith in the purposes laid down in the Charter of the United Nations. It is in that spirit that the Rwandese Republic is taking part in the work of this session.

3. At the present time, the international community is confronted with many major threats—threats that result from the increase in hotbeds of tension, from the persistence of conflicts for which attempts at settlement and mediation have remained ineffective, and from the crisis that continues to undermine the international economy.

4. Given these threats, only tireless efforts, within the framework of the objectives of the United Nations, allow for a measure of optimism as to the prospects for a calmer and more harmonious atmosphere in international relations.

5. While, at the political level, serious dangers continue to threaten international peace and security, on the economic level the situation remains characterized by stagnation that persists and worsens as the years go by.

6. The negative repercussions of this situation, which is a tragedy for the least developed countries, whose socio-economic prospects remain particularly grim, are many. I will mention but a few: galloping inflation, the constant deterioration of the terms of trade, the heavy indebtedness that is a source of concern for many developing countries, the slowdown in economic growth—not to mention the deficits and food shortages facing different parts of the world, and above all the African continent, which is haunted by the spectre of hunger caused, in particular, by its unpredictable climate.

7. The size and seriousness of these problems, which are made more acute by the structural imbalances that now characterize international relations and by the protectionist designs of the industrialized countries, mean that comprehensive, lasting solutions are urgently needed.

8. The rich and industrialized countries, in close co-operation with their partners in the third world, must adopt new strategies to ensure the implementation of programmes and action plans better adapted to the objective of promoting the economic development of the developing countries, which, in fact, are becoming poorer day by day, and of reducing the gap, which is widening steadily at the expense of those countries on the economic level.

9. This objective is a challenge. It would not be difficult, much less impossible, to meet that challenge. It is a question of will, of determination and of political commitment, which should be reflected specifically in the stabilization and upward revaluation of the prices of commodities and raw materials on international markets, in an increase, in terms of volume and quality, of development assistance, especially for the least developed countries, and in the reduction of the interest rates on the international financial markets.

10. Above and beyond these measures, the objective of giving new impetus to the world economy, taking into account the interests and needs of all the partners, is dependent on the structural and fundamental reforms that are necessary to make the present system more harmonious and to establish a new international economic order based on complementarity and active and effective solidarity.

11. Global negotiations on international economic co-operation for development, the principle of which was decided on at the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly, remain the appropriate framework for the promotion of that new international economic order.

12. We therefore deplore the fact that those global negotiations have not yet begun. Such negotiations should make it possible to adopt specific provisions to promote, within the framework of mutually beneficial co-operation and firmer solidarity, the economic launching of the so-called developing countries and the steady development of their partners in the industrialized world.

13. It is in this spirit that the Rwandese Republic attaches a great deal of interest and importance to the North-South dialogue, the long-overdue relaunching of which would be in the interests of the entire international community.

14. In spite of the efforts made by the United Nations, especially within the framework of the tasks of its specialized agencies, such as UNDP, UNCTAD and UNIDO, we must recognize that this dialogue is now at an impasse. Thus, the Fourth General Conference of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization, held at Vienna from 2 to 19 August 1984, concluded its work without having arrived at concrete results, contrary to the hopes and expectations of the developing countries, whose industrialization needs remain considerable because the transfer of the capital and technology that would make it possible for them to ensure the development of their natural resources has not taken place.

15. Apart from the North-South dialogue, Rwanda attaches a great deal of importance to the promotion and strengthening of horizontal co-operation among the countries of the third world. We support the objectives of the Lagos Plan of Action for the implementation of the Monrovia Strategy for the Economic Development of Africa, adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity in April 1980, with a view to the progressive promotion of the socio-economic integration that will make it possible for our continent to achieve collective self-reliance. Furthermore, Rwanda seeks the continuous development of its relations of co-operation with other third-world countries, on the bilateral as well as the multilateral level and especially within the framework of Arab-African co-operation.

16. The crisis that is undermining the world economy and that worsens steadily as the years go by is certainly a generalized one. However, its impact is felt in different degrees according to the specific problems that stem from it or that it exacerbates for given countries, given regions or given categories of countries.

17. Hence, the effects of the crisis are particularly serious for a country which, like Rwanda, is one of the group of least developed countries and is confronting various handicaps, such as being landlocked, lacking natural resources and suffering from a shortage of arable land, a problem that is all the more important since agriculture constitutes the main economic activity of a population with a particularly high growth rate and a disproportionate economic growth rate.

18. Faced with these handicaps, Rwanda relies above all on the national effort to ensure the development of its economy, but the resources that can be thus mobilized are tragically inadequate given the magnitude of our needs. For example, we are compelled to have recourse to intervention by our foreign partners for more than 60 per cent of the finance needed to implement the most important and urgent part of our five-year development plan.

19. In these conditions, an increase in international development aid is of crucial importance for a country such as Rwanda. We are therefore extremely concerned at the steady trend towards reduction in the financing capacity of international agencies such as UNDP, the World Bank and, more precisely, its subsidiary the IDA, whose work is particularly appreciated by the developing countries which are not in a position to meet the terms for credit at market rates. At the same time, with rare exceptions, we have witnessed a stagnation of resources devoted to development aid in the framework of bilateral co-operation.

20. In this context, few industrialized countries have been able to meet the target and commitment to devote 0.7 per cent of their gross national product to development aid and, furthermore, pledges made at the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries, held in Paris in September 1981, have not yet been followed by concrete action with a view to reducing the constraints faced by that category of countries.

21. Far from yielding to pessimism, as far as we are concerned, Rwanda remains convinced that the efforts and initiatives aimed at promoting effective solidarity in the international community will make it possible to stem the negative effects of the present crisis and to offer to the third-world countries the resources they need to escape from underdevelopment.

22. On the basis of this conviction—which is at the same time an expression of hope—on behalf of the Government and people of Rwanda, I should like from this rostrum to reiterate the most heartfelt and sincere thanks of our people to all the partners, friendly countries and international organizations that support our country and will continue to back it in its development efforts.

23. The African continent, where most of the countries in the least developed category, as defined by the United Nations, are located, is particularly harshly affected by the effects of the international economic crisis. In addition to the negative factors inherent in this generalized and persistent crisis, Africa is at grips with natural disasters such as drought and desertification, which, because they considerably reduce agricultural production, year after year worsen the problem—and I would even call it the tragedy—of hunger, which, according to available statistics, threatens approximately one third of the total population of the continent.

24. In the course of years, the number of African countries facing the dramatic effects of climate changes increases steadily. Thus, this year, as a result of a long and unusual drought, Rwanda, my own country, registered a deficit of 60 per cent in its normal agricultural production. Given that situation, the Government of Rwanda was compelled to request emergency food aid from its foreign partners in order to make it possible for the hardest hit population to confront the present shortages.

25. My delegation wishes here to renew the sincere thanks of the Government and people of Rwanda to all the friendly countries and international agencies that responded so generously to our appeal.

26. Rwanda feels that international co-operation in respect of food strategy is necessary in order to promote the adoption and implementation of appropriate programmes of action that can make it possible for the countries experiencing climate disturbances and a progressive reduction in their agricultural production to guarantee food self-sufficiency.

27. At the political level, the situation prevailing in the international community is still marked by a number of crises, the persistence of tension in various parts of the world and the pursuance of overt conflicts that bear the seeds and the growing danger of a new world cataclysm. These tensions and conflicts stem from differing interests or from the

determination of oppressed peoples to obtain, at all costs, recognition of and respect for their most fundamental rights, such as the right to freedom and independence.

28. Countries which express complete support for the ideals of the United Nations cannot remain indifferent to the fate of those peoples. It is in this context that the Government of Rwanda is very attentively following initiatives aimed at promoting a policy of détente in southern Africa and at putting an end to the violence that so seriously imperils development in that long-suffering region of the African continent.

29. For several months, that policy seems to have been prevailing, even in that racist minority South African régime which has accustomed us to its arrogant will to defy continually principles of morality and international ethics.

30. Should we believe that that régime has now changed for the better and that it is now inspired by a real and effective will to commit itself to constructive changes with regard to respect for rights recognized for all peoples under the Charter of the United Nations? Raising this question is tantamount to voicing the hope and the wish that the course of dialogue, to which South Africa seems to be committing itself, will enable its neighbours to remove those obstacles which it is placing in the way of their security and development and, at the same time, that this dialogue will turn out to be a constructive one, making it possible to achieve the legitimate aspirations of the Namibian people to independence, as well as those of the majority of the South African population to live in a society in which the value of man and his dignity will no longer be determined by his race or the colour of his skin.

31. If this hope and aspiration are not achieved, it would be an illusion to expect a positive effect from what, for South Africa's part, would be a parody of dialogue and a game of duplicity likely to jeopardize the development taking place in southern Africa that would promote and facilitate the implementation of the process laid down by the United Nations in Security Council resolution 435 (1978) aimed at ensuring Namibia's accession to independence. At the same time, that evolution should commit South Africa to a policy of genuine democracy, putting an end to the humiliations and acts of oppression imposed in that country by a minority régime which practices anachronistic racism.

32. The Rwandese Republic reaffirms its solidarity with the South West Africa People's Organization [*SWAPO*], which is recognized by the international community as the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people, in its struggle, in particular at the diplomatic level, for recognition of the right of that people to self-determination and independence, in accordance with the relevant decisions of the United Nations and without the imposition by South Africa—which is in military occupation of and illegally administering the Territory of Namibia—of conditions extraneous to the problem of the independence of Namibia, which would constitute unacceptable interference in matters relating to the sovereignty of another country.

33. The Rwandese Republic would also like to reiterate its solidarity with the authentic liberation movements recognized by the international community which are struggling for the triumph of human rights, dignity, freedom and justice in South Africa. Thus, the Rwandese Government condemns as a ruse which deceives no one the constitutional amendments to which the Pretoria régime has resorted in desperation, as well as the electoral masquerade in which it has engaged within the framework of a strategy designed to perpetuate its odious policy of *apartheid* and racial discrimination. The Rwandese Republic demands the cessation of this policy and the establishment in South Africa of a genuinely democratic society based on equality of rights and respect for the dignity of all South Africans.

34. The amendments made to the South African constitution are only internal minor changes in a system whose basic principles have in no way changed. Thus, because they are black, the majority of South Africans continue to be treated as foreigners in their own country, kept outside political institutions by a régime which exploits them to the hilt and denies them their most fundamental rights. Furthermore, the policy of forced migration of populations and the establishment of bantustans with sham independence continues unabated. This is why the Rwandese Republic continues to denounce the reactionary, unacceptable policy of the South African Government. In the present context, this consistent attitude of the Government of Rwanda is accompanied by the fervent wish that the staunch supporters of the doctrine of *apartheid* will heed the voice of reason and the legitimate claims of the oppressed people. At the same time, we hope that South Africa will do everything necessary to fulfil the commitments it has undertaken *vis-à-vis* certain front-line States, in order to establish a climate likely to ensure genuine and effective détente in southern Africa, in a spirit of mutual respect and in the interest of the sacred cause of independence and freedom.

35. It is in this spirit that the General Assembly calls for profound, substantive changes in South African policy to ensure the positive development of the situation prevailing in that region and the establishment of a just and democratic society in South Africa to end the vicious circle of excessive violence.

36. The Rwandese Republic firmly believes in the virtues of dialogue as long as it is constructive and free from ulterior motives designed to compromise established principles and concepts.

37. The Government of Rwanda believes that it is in the context of such a frank and constructive dialogue that other major political problems facing Africa should be satisfactorily solved. I have in mind here the conflicts in Western Sahara and in Chad, which, along with the problems of southern Africa, are matters of great concern to the Organization of African Unity [*OAU*].

38. The conflict in Western Sahara is a problem of decolonization, and it can be solved only through respect for and the application of the universal principle of the right of all peoples to self-determination. By virtue of this principle—and we deplore the fact that it can be applied in a selective manner, to the detriment of the people of the Sahara—the necessary steps should be taken in good faith and a spirit of confidence to enable that people freely to decide its own future.

39. To this end, at its nineteenth ordinary session, held at Addis Ababa in June 1983, the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization

of African Unity adopted a resolution advocating a direct dialogue between the protagonists in the conflict and the organization of a referendum in Western Sahara.[1] The timetable established in this connection has not been respected, but the resolution nevertheless constitutes a suitable basis for an equitable solution that deals justly with the Saharan people and enables them to exercise their rights. In the same spirit, the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly adopted resolution 38/40 on 7 December 1983.

40. Deeply committed to the universal principle which recognizes and establishes the right of all peoples without exception to self-determination, the Rwandese Republic cherishes the hope that Morocco and the Frente POLISARIO[2] will embark resolutely on negotiations in order to achieve a cease-fire without delay and organize a referendum on self-determination in Western Sahara, in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations and the OAU.

41. For some 20 years, Chad has been in the grip of a fratricidal conflict resulting from divisions and disputes which sap its energies, despite the appeals for dialogue and national reconciliation constantly made by the international community, particularly from this rostrum.

42. Thus, during the thirty-eighth session [*30th meeting*], on behalf of the Rwandese Republic, I noted that the continuance of this conflict seriously impeded the development of that brother country, which needs the contributions of all its sons and daughters to ensure its reconstruction and guarantee the rehabilitation of its economy, which has been devastated by so many years of war. Last year I also stressed that this work of national reconstruction and rehabilitation constituted a challenge which all the people of Chad had to meet in order to ensure their future. There is one prerequisite in this regard: the people of Chad must overcome the divisions and disputes which fuel the struggles for power and the futile quarrels. Indeed, the settlement of the Chadian problem is first and foremost a matter for the Chadians themselves, united in their efforts to achieve the fundamental goal of effective and lasting national reconciliation and in the search for a political settlement that will enable the people of Chad to safeguard the higher interests of their country, preserve Chad's territorial integrity and consolidate its independence, while guaranteeing that all their vital energies will be devoted to rebuilding its institutions and developing its economy.

43. In the Horn of Africa, the political climate is still marked by continuing tension, which causes grave concern. The Rwandese Republic believes that the parties involved should adopt, within the context of brotherly dialogue, a strategy that can bring peace, security, détente and stability to this area, which is one of the most sensitive in Africa. This strategy should be worked out and adopted on the basis of the principles of non-interference in the internal affairs of other States, respect for their sovereignty and territorial integrity and the peaceful settlement of disputes, as advocated by the United Nations, the OAU and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. The delegation of the Rwandese Republic is convinced that respect for these universal principles, which form the basis of international morality and ethics, will promote within the comity of nations fruitful relations transcending the political and ideological differences that result in the kind of disputes of which we see examples in the present situation in the Horn of Africa.

44. While we must deplore the problems that hinder the promotion of a climate of security in Africa, we have to say that the continent does not have a monopoly of tensions and conflict situations. The objective of promoting genuine, effective and constructive détente within the international community is hampered by latent or declared conflicts which are developing or are being carried on in other parts of the world.

45. For more than 30 years, faithful to the principles of international law, the countries that love peace, justice and freedom have deplored the situation prevailing in the Middle East. It is a dangerously explosive situation, which seriously threatens the security of the States of the region, and even international security, because of the denial of justice to an entire people—the Palestinian people—through the unacceptable, arrogant policy of a State, Israel, whose policy has become the law of force, replacing the force of law. The rejection of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, the occupation of Arab territories, the annexation of the Holy City of Jerusalem, an aggressive policy in constant defiance of the principles of international law—these are some aspects of a continuing crisis which the United Nations constantly deplores, a crisis that is the responsibility of one State that has not drawn the lessons of its own history and has therefore become an implacable and unyielding enemy of a people fighting for the recognition of its most elementary and fundamental rights.

46. In the view of the Government of Rwanda, whose solidarity with the Palestinian people results from an objective analysis of the factors involved in the crisis and whose position on the matter has been constant, any solution to the Middle East conflict aimed at establishing a comprehensive, lasting peace in the region must be based on recognition of, and respect for, the inalienable, fundamental rights of the Palestinian people. These include the right to its own homeland, in which it may establish the institutional and governmental structures of its own choice, with respect for the principles of international law, under the auspices of its legitimate and authentic representatives. In this spirit, I repeat, on behalf of the Government and people of Rwanda, the unswerving support of the Rwandese Republic for efforts to preserve cohesion within the Palestinian resistance, as well as our solidarity with the Palestinian people, which, under the banner of the Palestine Liberation Organization [*PLO*], is pursuing its just struggle, in legitimate self-defence, to secure recognition of its rights, in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, the OAU and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

47. The State of Israel, which rejects out of hand decisions concerning respect for the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, is also notable for a blatant disregard for the principles of respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of other States. It seems to have set itself the goal of placing Lebanon under its protection, jeopardizing the efforts of the leaders of that martyred country to implement a comprehensive plan that would guarantee security and stability for the benefit of all Lebanese and would open the way to national reconciliation. Part of that country's territory has been under Israeli occupation since the tragic events of June 1982. Faced with this situation, the delegation of Rwanda

believes that the total, unconditional withdrawal of the foreign troops of aggression that occupy nearly one third of Lebanese territory will enable the Government of Lebanon to exercise its sovereignty over the whole of its territory, preserve the independence of its country and work to rebuild its economy in a climate of peace, security and national reconciliation.

48. Five years ago, the differences that for more than 100 years had been a source of tension between Iraq and Iran erupted into an open conflict which has caused ever-increasing casualties and material losses. Recent developments in this conflict, and the prospect of a merciless war of extermination, give rise to grave apprehensions about the risk of its leading to a larger-scale confrontation, which would be a serious threat to international peace and security. The United Nations, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the Organization of the Islamic Conference have spared no effort to persuade the two belligerents to take part in negotiations to end an absurd and costly war which seriously jeopardizes the interests of two brother countries that are raising the stakes in a way that harms the interests of their peoples. Once again, the delegation of Rwanda expresses the hope that Iraq and Iran will be persuaded by the repeated appeals to return to the path of peace and once and for all to abandon the path of hate and bloody and destructive conflict.

49. Since the thirty-fifth session, among the serious problems which, because they interrupt the momentum gradually acquired by the policy of détente, stand in the way of international peace and security, the Organization has been dealing each year with the crisis which broke out at the end of 1979 in Afghanistan. The majority of Member States have taken a clear stance in favour of the total and unconditional withdrawal from that country of foreign forces, in order to enable the Afghan people to settle its problems in full sovereignty and free from all foreign interference.

50. In South-East Asia, since December 1978, the Cambodian people has been tragically undergoing foreign interference in a political crisis which has turned into a bloody power struggle.

51. We regret to have to note that there has been no tangible and substantive progress towards a settlement—settlement remains entirely theoretical—of the situation in Afghanistan and Cambodia, which sows the seeds of tension and instability in Asia, harming the spirit of détente and harmony which should underlie international relations.

52. In this context, it is urgently necessary that the needed steps be taken to foster and facilitate the search for political solutions to the Afghan crisis and the Cambodian problem, with scrupulous respect for the principles of non-interference in the internal affairs of other States and of the peaceful settlement of disputes.

53. That same reliance on the fundamental principles set out in the Charter of the United Nations should also be seen in the context of bringing together in unity nations which are still divided.

54. In line with these principles—whose complete implementation would promote the effective establishment of an atmosphere of peace and détente throughout the world—the Rwandese Republic greatly appreciates and supports the tireless efforts and initiatives aimed at promoting gradual normalization of relations between the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic, while waiting for the realization of the legitimate aspiration of the German people to regain its unity at the end of a process in which dialogue and respect for the right of all divided nations to seek the ways and means to regain their unity in peace and free from all outside interference and pressure constitute a principal element.

55. Rwanda firmly believes in the virtues of dialogue and is devoted to the principle that divided nations have the right to seek, by themselves and without outside interference or pressure, the best formula to promote the reunification of their countries and the participation of their peoples in building a world of peace, complementarity and effective solidarity. That is why we also support realistic initiatives aimed at ensuring, in that spirit, the peaceful and independent reunification of the Korean nation.

56. Since 1974, the island of Cyprus has faced *de facto* partition. Despite the efforts made by the United Nations, this problem persists, and there seems to have been no progress along the lines hoped for by the international community as a whole towards the achievement of a solution which would allow every Cypriot citizen to return to his home and to live in a country where communal characteristics complement one another rather than sowing fratricidal quarrels.

57. The problem of Cyprus is one in which reunification should be brought about through peaceful negotiations, without outside interference and with respect for the territorial integrity of the country.

58. The serious concern aroused by the persistence of open crises and by the proliferation of hotbeds of tension in various regions of the world has been exacerbated by the present escalation of the arms race, a frenzied race which is dragging mankind towards a new conflagration—towards its own annihilation. The arms race will lead to massive genocide; it has already had a negative impact, with a continuing and increasing buildup in the struggle for influence.

59. In spite of the efforts made by nations which cherish peace and which are aware of the effects of this arms race and of this escalation, there has yet to be any substantial progress towards disarmament. It is time—high time—that negotiations were resumed and that they resulted in the adoption of effective, specific measures in the context of true and effective détente, in accordance with the relevant General Assembly resolutions, resolutions which are in keeping with the wishes and aspirations of the international community.

60. The preservation and promotion of peace requires a staunch and persistent will to negotiate in order to achieve the gradual and balanced reduction of the arsenals which were established and which grow day by day in an atmosphere of mistrust and fear, pressing the Powers directly involved unceasingly to arm themselves further.

61. In this process, we see a spiral which I would not hesitate to call frenzied; it takes up major human, material, scientific and financial resources which would be more usefully employed for humanitarian ends, especially the promotion of social and economic development, in particular for the disadvantaged countries.

62. The Rwandese Republic is convinced that the frenzied arms race can in no way guarantee international security and that, on the contrary, it is leading mankind inexorably to the brink of the abyss, and we share the same concerns and the same aspirations of all the other countries that are actively pressing for the limitation and reduction of expenditures on arms, which should be reallocated to peaceful and humanitarian objectives. This reallocation would be a highly significant and positive factor towards curing the ills of the world economy, particularly in the present period of continuing crisis.

63. In referring to the great political, social and economic problems now at the heart of the concerns of the international community, I wished to review, on behalf of the Rwandese Republic, the main challenges which the United Nations must contribute to meeting in order to remove the major obstacles to the promotion of more harmonious international relations, marked by an effective will to establish a climate of peace and security and to provide for the social and economic development of all peoples in a spirit of mutual trust and active solidarity.

64. In spite of the very real difficulties we must continue to confront with hope and optimism, the Organization has a generally positive record in this regard, in so far as it remains within the context in which, for 39 years, the Assembly has regularly adopted resolutions and decisions defining appropriate means of settlement for the great political, social and economic problems of today.

65. The Rwandese Republic regrets that most of these resolutions and decisions remain dead letters. But this should not make the United Nations lose sight of the noble objectives of the Charter and thus to inspire hope for a better world, a world based on the great vision of peace, security, and social and economic progress in a climate of dialogue, mutual trust, complementarity and solidarity among peoples.

66. It is in that spirit that today, on behalf of Major-General Juvénal Habyarimana, President of the Rwandese Republic and President-Founder of the National Revolutionary Movement for Development, I solemnly renew the commitment of the Rwandese Republic to continue to contribute, to the best of its ability, to efforts to consolidate and strengthen confidence in the United Nations, on the basis of the fundamental principles enshrined in its Charter. In this respect, the delegation of Rwanda hopes that the work of the General Assembly at the present session will lead to decisions that will enable the United Nations to establish new landmarks on mankind's journey to the effective and complete implementation of the objectives which flow from those principles.

67. In that context, Mr. President, you have been entrusted with a very important task, that of guiding the work and the debates of this Assembly. In view of your talents and your experience as a wise and knowledgeable diplomat, the delegation of Rwanda is convinced that you will be able to discharge, in an outstanding manner, the difficult task entrusted to you, which is a tribute to your outstanding personal qualities and your competence, and a tribute also to the constructive role played by your country, Zambia, in the United Nations.

68. In expressing in my turn, as other speakers before me have done, our warm and fraternal congratulations on your election as President of this thirty-ninth session, I should like to stress that your election does outstanding honour to our continent and, in particular, to a country with which the Rwandese Republic is gratified and honoured to have excellent relations of brotherly friendship.

69. I should like also to pay a tribute to Mr. Jorge E. Illueca, who presided over the work of the thirty-eighth session with most commendable efficiency.

70. I should like also to take this opportunity to renew to the Secretary-General the expression of the great esteem which the Rwandese Republic has for the far-sightedness, competence and dynamism with which he dedicates himself to the achievement of his noble and onerous task.

71. Finally, before leaving this rostrum, I should like, on behalf of the Rwandese Republic, to welcome into the United Nations its 159th Member State, the independent Sultanate of Brunei Darussalam. The Rwandese Republic heralded its accession to independence on 1 January 1984 as a further step in the achievement of one of the fundamental aims of the United Nations, the liberation of all peoples from the yoke of colonialism. Its admission bears witness to the universality of the Organization as well as to our unswerving devotion to the principles enshrined in the Charter.

72. Mr. MKAPA (United Republic of Tanzania): It gives me great pleasure, Sir, to see you, an illustrious son of Africa, occupying the post of President of the General Assembly at its thirty-ninth session. I congratulate you most sincerely. Your election is well-deserved recognition of the vast diplomatic experience and stature which you have acquired in the course of many years of association with the United Nations. Your election is, at the same time, deserving recognition of your country, Zambia. Our two countries are linked, not only by territory, people and history, but also by a common resolve to struggle against oppression, colonialism and racism and to promote justice and the economic well-being of the deprived part of humanity, which is the greater part. This oneness of purpose and complementarity of efforts has joined us in the group of front-line States, the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference, the OAU and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. In welcoming your leadership of this session, my delegation pledges its fullest co-operation.

73. I wish also to record the deep appreciation of my Government to your predecessor, Mr. Jorge Illueca, of Panama, who with dedication and competence so effectively conducted the proceedings of the thirty-eighth session of the Assembly.

74. Allow me also to pay a well-deserved tribute to the Secretary-General. It takes hard work, dedication and perseverance to ensure the smooth operation of the United Nations, especially at a time when the Organization is undergoing financial problems and facing crises of political confidence even *vis-à-vis* some of its own Members. We are pleased to note that he has shouldered his responsibility with commitment and resourcefulness.

75. My delegation is happy to join other delegations in extending a warm welcome to the new nation of Brunei Darussalam. Its admission brings us a step closer to the total eradication of the scourge of colonialism and towards the ultimate goal of universality of membership of the United Nations. We look forward to friendly relations with the Government of

Brunei Darussalam and its delegation here at the United Nations and in other forums.

76. Since the last session, the political and economic problems facing the international community have increased in complexity, critical initiatives have stagnated, and our capacity to provide hope to a weary world has diminished. Indeed, the enemies and critics of the United Nations have been reinforced by its apparent helplessness in the face of continuing conflict, insecurity and poverty in the world.

77. Perhaps our resolve is needed nowhere more than in southern Africa. Since the last session, there have been significant developments in the region—significant not because we have as a result of them come any closer to the elimination of *apartheid* or colonialism but because those developments have, in fact, been seized upon by the detractors of African freedom to retard the liberation struggle. The countries directly involved have put the present situation in its proper context and their statements before this Assembly stand for the record.

78. The history of South African oppression and aggression against the black people inside and outside South Africa is well known. In fighting the war in Mozambique and Angola, South Africa has wanted to create a buffer zone for *apartheid*. The triumph of the MPLA[3] and FRELIMO[4] in Angola and Mozambique, respectively, has obviously been a great blow to the sinister desire of the *apartheid* régime to surround itself either with economically dependent and totally submissive African States or with puppet governments.

79. Today, South Africa has not ceased to react to internal and external opposition to *apartheid* by seeking to control its neighbours through a variety of methods, including a combination of false promises, destabilization and outright military attacks and occupation.

80. The choice facing the countries of southern Africa is clear. Either they bow to the evil of *apartheid* or they must be prepared to become its victims. They have paid dearly for their commitment to the struggle against *apartheid*.

81. In this regard, Tanzania is deeply distressed that, out of the so-called concern for strategic, economic and security requirements, which in fact is a front for long-held political misconceptions, a policy of acceptance of or accommodation with *apartheid* is now being assiduously fostered. The invitation to Prime Minister Botha to visit some Western European countries, as well as some of the statements we have already heard from this rostrum, is but another aspect of that policy.

82. The situation in southern Africa admits of no neutrality. In essence, *apartheid* represents a negation of our common humanity, which we seek to safeguard and foster by our commitment to the ideals of the Charter of the United Nations. The struggle against *apartheid* is, therefore, the responsibility of the international community as a whole and not the burden of the countries of southern Africa alone.

83. That the *apartheid* régime is supposedly now ready to talk to the Governments of the countries of southern Africa which it thought it could obliterate at the time of independence is in itself a measure of the failure of the régime to subdue them. Yet, we reject the premise that these overtures by *apartheid* South Africa mean that it is now freedom-loving or peace-loving, for *apartheid* can offer no peace to its victims, and neither can they. The victims of *apartheid* are primarily the black people of South Africa. If the racist régime is willing to talk peace, it is addressing the request for dialogue to the wrong people. Angola, Botswana, Swaziland, Lesotho, Mozambique or Zimbabwe do not threaten the South African régime. It is the black people inside South Africa that the régime has to settle with. South Africa has to talk with the people of South Africa through their national liberation movement. For its part, Tanzania reaffirms its total support for the South African liberation movement.

84. The events in southern Africa must continue to be seen in their true context of South African aggression and not with an assumed image of South Africa as a peace-maker. There can be no peace or accommodation with *apartheid*, and those who now echo the empty propagandistic pronouncements of the racist régime should know that they are in fact contributing to the undoing of all that has been achieved in the global campaign to isolate *apartheid*. To preach accommodation or neutrality with regard to racism is immoral and politically unacceptable. My President, Julius K. Nyerere, said in an address to the Fifth Summit of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference, held at Gaborone on 6 July 1984:

> "It is irrelevant that *apartheid* South Africa has strong allies and that the economic and military muscle of *apartheid* is sustained to a very great extent by Western States through trade and other forms of co-operation; *apartheid* remains immoral and any support given to South Africa is immoral. It is rejected by public opinion even in the very States which give support to South Africa, as well as the vast majority of the South Africans. Immorality is immorality—even when it has powerful supporters—and *apartheid* is immoral."

85. For Namibia, we have a plan which has been accepted by the parties concerned and upon which there exists an international consensus. SWAPO, the front-line States, Africa and, indeed, the international community as a whole have invested a great deal of work, patience, hope and time in the evolution of the plan for the independence of Namibia. That plan would have been implemented several years ago but for the extraneous linkages and conditionalities mooted to thwart the letter and spirit of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). Let me reiterate my country's stand. We reject the use of the withdrawal of Cuban troops from the sovereign State of Angola as a bargaining chip in the implementation of the United Nations independence plan for Namibia. We also reject as illegal and unacceptable the continued occupation of southern Angola by South African troops, and we consider entirely reprehensible the attempt to tie the withdrawal of these aggressor troops to a cease-fire between the patriotic troops of SWAPO and the South African occupation forces in Namibia. We vigorously denounce the support given to the counter-revolutionary movement of UNITA.[5] We reaffirm our unremitting support for SWAPO, the sole and authentic representative of the struggling people of Namibia. If the patience of the colonized and oppressed people of Namibia is not to run out, if their faith, trust and confidence in the United Nations and in the solidarity of the international community are to be sustained, the United Nations plan should be implemented without further delay.

In this, the responsibility of the Western Five, and particularly the United States, to see to it that the plan for the independence of Namibia is not further obstructed cannot be overemphasized.

86. The Saharan people continue to be denied their independence. We regret that, despite the existence of United Nations and OAU formulas for the self-determination and independence of the Saharan people, one party to the conflict—Morocco—continues its obstructionist policies. We renew our appeal to the parties concerned, and in particular Morocco, to facilitate the work of the OAU Implementation Committee.

87. We are equally concerned about the future of the Comoros island of Mayotte. While we welcome the ongoing bilateral negotiations between the Islamic Federal Republic of the Comoros and France, we urge the parties in question to expedite the negotiations for the eventual restoration of the national unity and territorial integrity of the Comoros.

88. In Chad, the fratricidal conflict persists with the regrettable *de facto* partitioning of that country. My Government has followed with keen interest the efforts of the current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity to bring the warring parties to the conference table. We commend him for his tireless efforts. We appeal to the leaders of the contending Chadian groups to put patriotism first, to come together and to agree on a future for their country which preserves unity and territorial integrity and militarily excludes foreign interference and involvement.

89. In the Middle East, we believe that a comprehensive and lasting peace can be achieved only if Israel unconditionally withdraws from all the Arab territories occupied since 1967 and recognizes the legitimate and inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination, including the right to establish an independent State of their own. Israel must end its illegal settlement policy in the occupied territories. The need for all States in the region, including Israel, to live within secure and internationally recognized borders should be acknowledged. Meanwhile, we reiterate our support for the PLO as the sole and authentic representative of the Palestinian people.

90. The war between Iran and Iraq, two non-aligned and developing States, has already caused tremendous devastation of human life and property. My Government has all along encouraged the mediation efforts of the United Nations, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the individual countries which have offered their services in the search for an amicable resolution of the conflict. While we continue to encourage these efforts, we renew our earnest appeal to both Iran and Iraq to agree to a peaceful settlement. At the same time, we hope that all countries, particularly the major Powers, will desist from actions which might exacerbate the tensions in the region and widen the conflict.

91. Although the situation in the Middle East remains unsettled, my delegation is encouraged by the new spirit of reconciliation and national unity among the Lebanese people. This new spirit offers new hope for the future stability, national unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity of their country. Therefore, we call upon the international community as a whole to give whole-hearted encouragement and support to the Lebanese people as they embark on the arduous road of national reconstruction. That process should be facilitated by the immediate cessation of the Israeli military occupation of southern Lebanon.

92. In Cyprus, intercommunal differences, exacerbated by foreign involvement, have led to the current unfortunate state of division. In a statement issued at the time of the unilateral action on the part of the Turkish Cypriots, my Government regretted their unilateral declaration of independence. We hope that the Cypriot communities will continue negotiations within the framework of the good offices of the Secretary-General with a view to finding a viable and lasting solution which will preserve the ethnic diversity, territorial integrity and independence of the Republic of Cyprus. In this endeavour, however, those foreign countries most directly concerned, namely, Turkey and Greece, and the international community as a whole, should give the Cypriot people a genuine chance for dialogue and compromise. We hope the Secretary-General will continue to offer his good offices for that objective.

93. Tanzania supports the efforts of the Korean people towards peaceful reunification of their homeland. We are encouraged by the steadily growing willingness of the two parts of Korea to initiate constructive dialogue.

94. Central America remains engulfed in war or the threat of war. The civil war in El Salvador continues, and the threats of foreign intervention in Nicaragua and the unprecedented arms buildup around its borders and along its shores continue to be a source of serious concern. Over the years, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the United Nations have reaffirmed the right of Nicaragua and all other countries of the region to live in peace, free from outside interference. We continue to see the persistent threat to the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of Nicaragua as ensuing from the deliberate refusal of some countries outside the region to accept the existence of ideological pluralism in the region. It is in this context that Tanzania will continue to reject any attempts to infringe on the sovereignty of Nicaragua or to undermine the independence of that country. The right of each State to choose its social, economic and political system without outside interference must be respected.

95. The Government of Tanzania has supported the initiatives of the Contadora Group and, in particular, the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America [*A/39/562, annex*], which the group has issued. The countries of the Contadora Group recognize that ideological pluralism is a reality in the region which must be accepted. These countries realize that respect for the right of peoples of the region to self-determination and political as well as economic independence are the firm basis for any successful negotiations among the countries involved for genuine and permanent arrangements for peace.

96. In Africa, as in many parts of the developing world, the refugee problem continues to preoccupy the Governments affected by the forced human migrations. More could have been achieved in terms of offering hope to the long-term needs of the refugees. We appreciate, none the less, the spirit of co-operation and generosity demonstrated at the Second International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa, held at Geneva from 9 to 11 July

1984, by the Governments which responded readily and generously to the appeal of the Conference.

97. At the same time, we regard the Mexico City Declaration on Population and Development, adopted by the International Conference on Population, held from 6 to 14 August 1984,[6] as providing a workable guideline for the future elaboration by countries of appropriate population policies, taking into account the particular circumstances of each country.

98. This session marks the tenth anniversary of the Declaration and the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [*resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)*]. This is also the tenth anniversary of the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [*resolution 3281 (XXIX)*]. The first review and appraisal of the implementation of the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade [*resolution 35/56, annex*] will be carried out at this session. These are all important policy instruments aimed primarily at the acceleration of the development of the developing countries and the promotion of co-operation among all members of the international community on the basis of sovereign equality, justice and interdependence.

99. Unfortunately, the international community has failed to turn these policy instruments into effective action. What we have witnessed over the last 10 years is a disappointing record of inconclusive negotiations and persistent inaction. This failure to take appropriate and timely action has plunged the world economy into a deeper crisis and severely strained North-South relations. The deterioration in the economies of most developing countries has reached grave proportions. Severe balance-of-payments difficulties and unbearable debt burdens have become some of the most common features in most developing countries. And, while many developing countries, particularly in Africa, are suffering from an acute shortage of food, the preoccupation in Europe and North America is with reduction of supplies of foodstuffs in order to maintain farmers' incomes.

100. These are some of the realities of the present international order. But there are those who would wish to dismiss these lightly as third-world problems. Their relationship to, and impact on, the economies of the developed countries are often ignored as if the North and the South lived in two isolated planets. Thus, for example, although developing countries take over one third of the exports from the European Economic Community, the relationship between high levels of unemployment in these industrialized countries and the diminishing import capacity of third-world countries, caused by the collapse of the prices of the commodities they export, is hardly talked about! In his address to the Assembly last year, at the thirty-eighth session, my President stated: "Economically, an impoverished customer is no good to a shopkeeper, a destitute man is no use to a farmer and a bankrupt creditor is a disaster for a bank." [*14th meeting, para. 26*]. These, too, are the realities of economic interdependence.

101. In order to achieve true interdependence, however, structural changes in the existing international economic system are imperative. This system has proved to be inappropriate not only for the development needs of the developing countries of the post-colonial era, but also to its own architects. A frank exchange on how to restructure relations between developed and developing countries is therefore needed as a key element in the revival of the world economy.

102. But, at a time when such a dialogue is urgently needed, we witness deliberate manoeuvres by a few developed countries to disrupt the very process of negotiation. Surprisingly, these are the same countries which 10 years ago made strong pleas for accommodation and co-operation and the need to avoid confrontation. Some of them even talked about "global consensus for economic development". Their actions today reveal the hollowness of such pleas. We know now that consensus and accommodation to them means acceptance of the policies of domination and exploitation of the majority by a few developed countries. When such policies have been overwhelmingly rejected by the international community, then the whole process of dialogue is regarded as ideological politicization of technical discussions. Their immediate reaction to the aspirations of the rest of the international community is to try to put an end to any kind of dialogue unless such dialogue is conducted in accordance with the wishes and the rules of the few wealthy nations. The wave of notices of withdrawal from this or that organization and the threats to withdraw financial support for certain organizations do not help to improve the climate of international co-operation either.

103. In short, we are faced with a conflict between a call by the majority of mankind for structural change towards justice and true interdependence and a desire by a few developed countries to protect the existing inequitable system of international division of labour. But change is inevitable. The question is whether it will be such as to advance the well-being of mankind in a shrinking world or to risk catastrophe, whether nations will share in and guide such change or have it forced upon them in a manner they may find much less manageable. There is an essential international character to the struggle for human equality and human dignity and to the search for lasting solutions to the world economic crisis and the war against poverty. Let us agree at this session to launch the global negotiations and pledge our resolve to work tirelessly for their successful conclusion.

104. While the political and economic problems cast a gloomy shadow on the future of the world, nothing puts its survival in greater jeopardy than the spiralling arms race. Since the last session, the world has seen the further deterioration of relations between the super-Powers and the attendant resurgence of the politics of the cold war. New and more sophisticated weapons are being manufactured at an unprecedented rate, and concepts of limited nuclear war find expression in equally unprecedented military expenditures as the international situation unfolds the possibility of nuclear confrontation.

105. The politics of power are compounding the perceived sense of insecurity of countries and this, in turn, is fuelling the race for more weapons, including conventional weapons. The time has come to realize that the safety of the world depends on a courageous approach to the problems of arms control and disarmament, getting out of this vicious cycle of fear. In that approach, priority should be placed on nuclear disarmament, for it is nuclear weapons which pose the most immediate threat to the survival of mankind.

106. Any stability, however, must necessarily include the non-nuclear-weapon States, in particular third-world countries. Their role in the scheme of global stability cannot be ignored because they also have an interest in self-preservation. Their participation in the decision-making is a prerequisite for the solution of the security and economic problems which beset the world today. It was in this context of both involvement and breaking the impasse in the nuclear-arms negotiations brought about by the psychological barrier of mutual suspicion that my President, together with the leaders of Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico and Sweden, issued a Joint Declaration on 22 May 1984 [*see A/39/277*], in which they called upon the five nuclear-weapon States to halt all testing, production and development of nuclear weapons and their delivery systems and to agree to negotiate substantial reductions in their nuclear forces, with adequate verification measures. This measure towards general and complete disarmament should be complemented by measures to strengthen the United Nations system and to transfer the resources thus saved from the arms race to social and economic development. Today, I wish to repeat that call to the nuclear-weapon States, and I hope that, in the interest of world peace, other countries will join us in petitioning those countries to negotiate.

107. The Indian Ocean continues to hold potential for big-Power conflict. We call on the big Powers to respond positively to the desire of the littoral and hinterland States for the implementation of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace [*resolution 2832 (XXVI)*].

108. Present here at the United Nations are nations big and small, rich and poor, strong and weak. We are bound together by our common desire and resolve to nurture and preserve our collective freedom, independence and security. We all speak of peace, security and independence, and the Organization was established for the precise purpose of establishing these common ideals. We have heard a great deal about the diminishing moral authority of the United Nations. The influence of the United Nations has been questioned and its effectiveness is sometimes cynically dismissed. Admittedly, 39 years after the United Nations was founded, the greater part of the world has seen little peace and little relief from the oppression of poverty. Yet, the world would be poorer without the United Nations, for there is no denying that it provides an essential instrument for pursuing the objectives of world peace, security and development. Nothing can diminish the nobility of the goals of the United Nations. Separately and together, we must work to strengthen it as an organization for the regulation and promotion of beneficial international relations. The Tanzanian delegation pledges its full co-operation in this worthy endeavour.

109. Mr. DUGERSUREN (Mongolia): Sir, allow me to congratulate you sincerely on your unanimous election to the high post of President of the General Assembly at its thirty-ninth session. It is our confident hope that your vast experience in the diplomatic service and in United Nations activities will surely contribute to the success of the work of the present session to the benefit of peace, security and the progress of nations.

110. The Mongolian delegation warmly congratulates Brunei Darussalam on its admission to the membership of this world body.

111. The United Nations, which came into being in the aftermath of the most devastating war in history, has declared as its main objective "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war". Today, this vital task of ensuring the peaceful advancement of mankind has assumed particular urgency. Effective measures are needed to safeguard the right of peoples to peace and the right of States to security.

112. The extremely grave situation prevailing in the world is characterized by the mounting threat of a nuclear war. The most aggressive imperialist circles, and primarily the United States Administration, have taken a course of confrontation *vis-à-vis* real socialism and are bent on mounting an open offensive against the forces of national and social liberation.

113. Washington seeks to achieve military superiority over the socialist world. The deployment of United States first-strike nuclear weapons in some countries of Western Europe constitutes a dangerous step towards material preparation for a war against the socialist countries. Similar measures are being taken in Asia, especially in the north-east, in the immediate vicinity of the frontiers of the socialist community. In the Pentagon, the "Star Wars" scenarios are translated into practical policy, and measures to implement the notorious concept of "protracted nuclear war" are being developed.

114. All this is followed by actions aimed at undermining the foundations of the post-war settlement and disrupting the agreements on limiting the arms race and on disarmament.

115. In its attack on peace, national independence and the social progress of peoples, the United States nurtures and exploits the forces of militarism, revanchism, zionism and racism everywhere. State terrorism and brute force go hand in hand with direct armed aggression. The independence of Grenada has been crushed only because the people of that small country wish to have a social order that is not to Washington's liking. For the same reason, the United States Administration thinks nothing of resorting to gross interference in the internal affairs of the Republic of Nicaragua, or of committing open aggression against it. It was with strong condemnation that the world community learned about the latest preparations for an armed attack against that country, made in total disregard of the constructive attitude of the Sandinist Government and the peace efforts of the Contadora Group.

116. Threats, blackmail and subversion against the Republic of Cuba persist, and attempts are being made to destabilize its socialist order. Imperialist forces, in collusion with the racist régime of Pretoria, step up their intrigues against the independence and territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Angola, the People's Republic of Mozambique and other front-line States in Africa. All this clearly testifies to the timeliness of the proposal submitted by the Soviet Union for the inclusion in the agenda of the present session of an item entitled "Inadmissibility of the policy of State terrorism and any actions by States aimed at undermining the socio-political system in other sovereign States" [*A/39/244*]. The General Assembly is duty-bound to pronounce itself resolutely in favour of the cessation of the policy of State terrorism as a method of dealing with other countries and peoples.

117. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic proceeds from the premise that, however complex the international situation may be, it is possible to prevent war through concerted action on the part of the peace-loving forces.

118. Mr. Jambyn Batmunkh, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and Chairman of the Presidium of the Khural of the Mongolian People's Republic, has stated that:

> "The constructive initiatives and the concerted foreign policy activities of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries inspire in the peoples the confidence that peace can be safeguarded. The guarantee of this is the further strengthening of the economic and defence potential of the socialist community and the consolidation in every way of efforts of all the peace-loving forces."

119. The ranks of the forces fighting for peace are becoming ever wider. The overwhelming majority of States throughout the world, among them the non-aligned countries, are actively in favour of relaxing international tension and against the use of coercion in inter-State relations. The mass anti-war and anti-nuclear movement continues to grow in scope and to intensify in different parts of the world. It is important that realistic statesmen and political leaders in the Western countries are increasingly speaking out against preparations for war.

120. Constructive measures for overcoming the dangerous situation in the world have been proposed in the Political Declaration adopted by the Political Consultative Committee of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty at Prague on 5 January 1983,[7] and in the Declaration adopted at the high-level Economic Conference of the States members of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, held in Moscow from 12 to 14 June 1984 [*A/39/323, annex II*].

121. These documents contain a whole set of measures for the prevention of a nuclear catastrophe and for the reduction and ultimate liquidation of nuclear weapons. Proposals have also been made with a view to creating favourable conditions for the adoption of such measures and for the promotion of confidence among States. Of special importance is the proposal for the renunciation of first-use of nuclear weapons by all the nuclear Powers that have not yet done so. As urgent as ever is the proposal for the conclusion of a treaty on the mutual non-use of military force and the maintenance of peaceful relations between the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty and the States Parties to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [*NATO*]. The Moscow Declaration of the States Members of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance places special emphasis on the importance of maintaining military and political parity at a progressively lower level and of pursuing constructive negotiations on the limitation of the arms race and on disarmament, on the basis of strict observance of the principle of equality and equal security.

Mr. Bucci (Italy), Vice-President, took the Chair.

122. Implementation of the proposal for a quantitative and qualitative freeze on the nuclear-weapon arsenals of all nuclear States would constitute an important step in that direction. In this connection, the Mongolian People's Republic has expressed its support for the Joint Declaration of Heads of State and Government of Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Sweden and the United Republic of Tanzania [*A/39/277*], in which they appealed to the nuclear Powers to begin limiting and reducing nuclear weapons.

123. The Soviet-United States talks on the limitation and reduction of strategic weapons are of extreme importance for lessening the danger of a nuclear war. The United States should withdraw the first-strike nuclear missiles deployed in some Western European countries so that the negotiations on this vitally important issue may be resumed.

124. The relations between the nuclear Powers play a particularly important role in improving the international climate. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic supports the Soviet proposal that an agreement be reached on joint recognition of concrete norms in the relations between the nuclear States and on measures to make them binding. We consider it necessary for this timely proposal to be embodied in the resolutions of the present session of the General Assembly.

125. The proposal on the "Use of outer space exclusively for peaceful purposes for the benefit of mankind" made by Mr. Andrei A. Gromyko, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union [*see A/39/243*], for discussion at the current session of the General Assembly, is designed to prohibit, once and for all, the use of force in outer space and to safeguard mankind against the use of means of mass destruction from outer space. Early agreement on the prevention of the militarization of this vitally important area would open the way for joint efforts by States to use outer space for peaceful purposes. My delegation expresses its hope that the General Assembly will call upon all States with a large potential of space technology, primarily the United States and the Soviet Union, to open negotiations on this question without delay.

126. The situation in Asia has become increasingly complex and tense. The United States has taken to turning many parts of the continent into launching grounds for nuclear-missile forces. Particular danger lies in the fact that, with the participation of its Asian accomplices, Washington has begun to establish a new base for a nuclear-missile first strike directed against the socialist countries and other peace-loving States of the continent.

127. Intensified efforts have been made to create new military and political groupings and alliances. The Washington-Tokyo-Seoul triangle is conceived of as the crux of these projected formations.

128. Overt military and revanchist tendencies are making themselves felt once again in that part of the world, especially in Japan, which is being integrated more and more into the NATO bloc. Today, some tend to forget the lessons of history. Those lessons are most instructive. This is evidenced, for example, by the events that took place 45 years ago on the very eve of the Second World War. In 1939 Japanese militarism met with a powerful rebuff when it violated the independence and territorial integrity of our country with a view to carrying out its plan to create a pan-Asian empire of Japan. Frustration of the adventurist designs of the Japanese militarists by the combined operation of the Soviet and Mongolian armed forces in the region of the Khalkhyn Gol river dealt a hard blow to the aggressive strategic schemes of the forces of fascism and reaction.

129. The existing hotbeds of tension and conflict are being further exacerbated while new ones are being created on the continent. The so-called parallel actions of the imperialist and hegemonist forces often contribute to such developments.

130. A tense situation continues to exist in South-East Asia as a result of the intrigues of those circles, which are not willing to accept the new realities in that region. The situation is further aggravated by armed inroads by China on the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, by the hostile actions of Thailand against the popular order in Kampuchea and by its recent open armed aggression against the Lao People's Democratic Republic, which resulted in the occupation of a part of its territory.

131. The Mongolian People's Republic fully supports the stand of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, set forth in the statement of its Ministry for Foreign Affairs issued on 13 June 1984 [*A/39/310*], as well as in the White Book of the Government of the Lao People's Democratic Republic published last month [*see A/39/540*]. The crux of the matter and its root causes were exposed with great lucidity in the statement of Mr. Phoun Sipraseuth, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, here in the General Assembly last week [*17th meeting*].

132. We continue to hold the view that the problems of South-East Asia can and must be resolved by the States of the region through constructive dialogue without any outside interference. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic consistently supports the proposals of Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea for turning South-East Asia into a zone of peace, stability and good-neighbourliness. It resolutely opposes any attempt to use the United Nations as a cover-up for interference in the internal affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and stands for the speedy granting to that country of its legitimate seat in this world Organization.

133. We believe that, in the light of the present tense situation in the Far East, the proposals of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on the immediate withdrawal of United States troops and of nuclear weapons from the south of Korea and on easing tensions in the Korean peninsula and around it assume greater relevance. My Government continues to support the struggle of the Korean people for the peaceful and democratic reunification of their country, without outside interference.

134. The interests of the Afghan people and those of peace in Asia call for resolute action to defeat efforts to escalate the undeclared war against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. The constructive proposals of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan pave the way for a political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan created by the hostile acts of imperialist forces and their accomplices. Once again we express our hope that the dialogue between the representatives of Afghanistan and Pakistan through the good offices of the representative of the Secretary-General will yield positive results.

135. The Mongolian People's Republic resolutely condemns the expansionist acts of Israel and the increasing interference by the United States in the Middle East. It continues to believe that the settlement of the Middle East problem should be achieved on the basis of respect for the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to create its own independent State and the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all the Arab territories occupied since 1967. My Government is in favour of convening an international conference with the participation of all parties concerned, including the PLO, on an equal footing. It stresses the importance of the proposals put forward by the Soviet Government on 30 July of this year [*see A/39/368*] for the achievement of a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement in the Middle East.

136. We advocate an early cessation of the fratricidal war between Iran and Iraq. This conflict, marked by a further dangerous escalation, only plays into the hands of the imperialist forces that are seeking to advance their selfish interests in that region, and in the Persian Gulf in particular.

137. The Mongolian People's Republic favours a peaceful and just settlement of the Cyprus problem in accordance with the United Nations resolutions on the subject. Such a settlement calls, first and foremost, for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Cyprus and the elimination of foreign military bases on its territory. We express our support for the good offices of the Secretary-General in this regard.

138. My Government consistently supports the efforts of the littoral States for the establishment of a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean and is in favour of speedy implementation of the 1971 Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace [*resolution 2832 (XXVI)*]. It is, in our view, important that at its current session the General Assembly should clearly express itself in favour of convening an international conference on that subject in the first half of 1985. The Mongolian delegation welcomes the initiative of the Heads of Government of South Pacific States concerning the creation of a nuclear-free zone in that region.

139. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic shares the view of the overwhelming majority of the world community that in the nuclear age there is no reasonable alternative to constructive negotiations and the peaceful coexistence of States.

140. It was precisely this stand that prompted the proposal put forward by the Mongolian People's Republic in May 1981 that a convention be concluded on mutual non-aggression and non-use of force in relations between the States of Asia and the Pacific. Its purpose is to establish the principle of the non-use of force in inter-State relations in the region, thus laying down constructive dialogue and peaceful negotiations—that is, the principles of friendly co-operation—as a basis for these relations.

141. In this context, I should like to emphasize the importance of implementing the Soviet proposal on the elaboration of confidence-building measures in the Far East and on the development of good-neighbourly relations between the States of the region. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic supports the efforts made by the Soviet Union to normalize inter-State relations with China as well as with Japan.

142. The strengthening of peace and international security is intrinsically linked with the complete elimination of the vestiges of colonialism and with the eradication of racism and *apartheid*.

143. My delegation, as always, strongly condemns the inhuman policy of *apartheid*. The Mongolian

people lends its support to the struggle for national and social liberation which the people of South Africa is waging under the leadership of the African National Congress of South Africa against the racist régime.

144. The Mongolian People's Republic continues to support the people of Namibia, which, under the leadership of SWAPO, is fighting for its freedom and independence. It condemns the manoeuvres of imperialist and racist forces designed to perpetuate the colonial régime in Namibia and joins the world community in demanding the immediate granting of independence to Namibia on the basis of the well-known United Nations resolutions.

145. We support the granting of independence to the so-called small Territories, in particular Micronesia, and oppose the use of those Territories as springboards for military preparations.

146. The colonial policy of the leading capitalist countries is now implemented to a great extent in the sphere of economic relations with the developing countries. The terms "economic colonialism" and "financial colonialism" are frequently used now, and not without reason.

147. The Mongolian People's Republic consistently supports the just struggle of the developing countries for the democratization of international economic relations on the basis of equality and equity. My delegation shares the view that the principles laid down in the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [*resolution 3281 (XXIX)*] and in the Declaration and the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [*resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)*] have assumed ever greater importance today. We continue to lend our support to the initiatives of the developing countries for the launching of global negotiations on international economic co-operation for development.

148. Next year, the world community will celebrate the fortieth anniversary of the great victory over the forces of fascism and militarism. In that victory, a decisive role was played by the Soviet Union, which had borne the brunt of the Second World War. An important outcome of that victory on a world scale was the creation of the United Nations. The Organization has become a symbol of the aspirations of the peoples of the world and of their resolve never to allow war again. We presume that the world community will use the commemoration of the fortieth anniversary of the Organization in 1985 as an occasion for enhancing its efforts for the realization of its central task—the elimination of the threat of a new world war.

149. In the questions of war and peace, no sober-minded person can or should be an unbiased observer. Ensuring world peace has indeed become the concern of all mankind. To achieve that goal, the peoples of the world are destined to play an active role and fulfil a very noble mission. In this connection, I should like to refer to a pertinent remark by the Secretary-General to the effect that without the understanding and support of the peoples of the world, Governments would not succeed in realizing the noble aims of peace, justice and prosperity for all.

150. The peoples have a sacred right to peace, that is, the right to the protection of international peace. Ensuring universal recognition of this sacred right by formulating and proclaiming it in a special document of the Organization would, in our view, serve the interests of the common cause of upholding peace. Guided by those considerations, the Government of the Mongolian People's Republic has proposed for consideration by the General Assembly at its present session an item entitled "Right of peoples to peace" and has submitted a draft declaration on the subject [*A/39/141, annex II*].

151. We propose that all States Members of the United Nations solemnly reaffirm that the right of peoples to peace is inalienable and legitimate. Safeguarding that right and co-operating in its implementation should be declared to be a fundamental obligation of each and every State. We consider it important for the General Assembly to call upon all States to provide a legal and material guarantee of this right. That would include, for instance, the adoption by States which have not yet done so of legislative acts on the safeguarding of peace, on protection of the right of citizens to advocate peace and oppose the danger of war.

152. As material guarantee, practical steps should be taken to facilitate the proscription of the use of force in international relations, the solution of international disputes by peaceful means and the strengthening of confidence among States. To ensure the right of peoples to peace is tantamount to defending the right of States to security. This calls for active participation on the part of every State in efforts to undertake practical measures for the cessation of the arms race and the achievement of disarmament goals. Nuclear-weapon States must be required to pursue policies directed towards the elimination of the threat of a nuclear catastrophe and to be guided in their mutual relations by standards conducive to the attainment of this goal.

153. We deem it important for the General Assembly to appeal to all States and international organizations to facilitate, in every possible way, the exercise of this fundamental right of peoples through the adoption of other appropriate measures, at both the national and the international levels.

154. The adoption by the General Assembly of a declaration on the basis of the proposed draft would, in our view, represent an important political action on the part of the United Nations, aimed at mobilizing and intensifying the efforts of the world community to eliminate the threat of a nuclear war. The adoption of such a document would also represent a significant step in combining United Nations efforts for maintaining international peace with the struggle of the world community against the threat of nuclear war and in favour of global security.

155. In conclusion, I should like to say a few words about my country. This year is of special importance to our people. The sixtieth anniversary of the proclamation of Mongolia as a People's Republic will be solemnly commemorated this coming November.

156. This act marked the beginning of an historic stage of carrying out far-reaching social and economic transformations in the country. During the short period that has elapsed since then, Mongolia has been turned into a dynamically developing socialist State with a thriving economy and with a steady improvement in the well-being of its people. Our country is now successfully implementing the great tasks of completing the construction of a socialist society and is facing the future with optimism.

157. The Mongolian People's Republic has become a component part of the community of socialist States. It consistently pursues a policy of peace and friendship among nations. My Government devotes considerable effort to enhancing the effectiveness of the activities of the United Nations aimed at realizing the main purposes of its Charter. My delegation will be guided by this aspiration of its Government at this session of the General Assembly as well.

158. Mr. PAZ BARNICA (Honduras) (*interpretation from Spanish*): We are on the eve of a great celebration. In 1985 an organization which was set up to respond to the highest ideals of mankind will celebrate its fortieth anniversary: an organization created to strengthen international peace and security, to develop the links of friendship and co-operation among States, to promote respect for the fundamental rights and freedoms of all human beings, to be the crucible in which all nations might work together to achieve their common objectives.

159. A great deal still remains to be done if we are to bring to perfection a legal community of States governed by an order that effectively ensures the attainment of the objectives of the United Nations: the establishment of "an order for the promotion of peace", as envisaged by the Viennese master, constitutes "one of the most urgent matters of our times, one on the outcome of which depends the destiny of civilization".

160. In an era characterized by uncertainty, we are obliged to reflect on the factors that prevent us from rising above a legal order which is still primitive, in spite of the advances achieved in the past 39 years. The extremely dangerous situations confronting mankind at large makes it essential that we not only speak of disarmament but that we also disarm; that we not only speak of democracy but also democratize; that we not just speak of co-operation, but actually co-operate; that we not just talk of respect for the dignity of man, but dignify him.

161. Our world has changed radically since 24 October 1945. Fifty nations participated in the San Francisco Conference. The admission of Brunei Darussalam, which we are now pleased to welcome, reflects the universal calling of the United Nations with its 159 Members. The world population has doubled since 1945, in just 39 years. The Organization and the world have changed radically. While the borders of the international community have been extending at a dizzying pace, the means of sustenance of the peoples of the world are being reduced in a distressing way, a fact which strikes our conscience and causes us to reflect deeply on the world of tomorrow. The 1980s have been characterized by the worst world economic crisis in three decades, with incalculable social suffering.

162. Our third world, in particular, has been severely affected by fiscal deficits, by the servicing of the foreign debt, alarming unemployment, the high price of energy and of manufactured goods, a decline in our exports and in the prices of raw materials, a decrease in the level of savings and investment, the outflow of capital, natural disasters, the population explosion, hunger and war.

163. As though all this in itself were not extremely disquieting, at the same time the natural resources on which we count are decreasing or deteriorating, warning us that economic expansion at any cost imperils the future of mankind since it undermines the biosystems which serve to sustain the economy.

164. Together with all these misfortunes, specialized sources report that during the recession in the world economy, from 1979 to 1983, global military expenditures increased from $554 billion to $663 billion, an increase of 20 per cent in barely five years, with world military expenditures reaching an average of $145 per person. The same sources give the discouraging information that in 1980 the third world allocated greater resources for the import of weapons than for grain, in spite of the fact that those countries are agricultural in structure and require the basic means of subsistence.

165. Our world and the world of tomorrow are faced with a dramatic reality, responsibility for which cannot be evaded by any Member of the United Nations or by the Organization itself. The celebration of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations should serve as a starting-point for an examination of the world's conscience. We must assess the achievements and failures, identify the pitfalls and find ways to overcome them, re-examine plans and policies and redefine them with a view to attaining the higher objectives of internal and international peace, of economic and social development, of world security and co-operation, with mutual respect and interdependence.

166. In this necessary assessment of our conduct as States, we must not fail to consider the unilateral, piecemeal interpretation that we often put upon the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. The international obligations stemming from it cannot be distorted in their application on the basis of an odious policy of blocs that distort the common purposes of the United Nations.

167. Hegemonistic ambitions must not render nugatory the principles that determine the conduct of this world Organization. The interests of the North must not prevail over those of the South. The well-being of some must not, and cannot, be based on the poverty of others. The principles of the rule of law among nations must not be separated from one another nor from the obligations of each State towards its own people.

168. It is a matter of a need to return to the sources, to return to the original world-wide vision that inspired the attempt to design a different world. It is also a matter of the will to persist in strengthening the effectiveness and impartiality of the United Nations and the confidence in it as the main international organization, the best means to protect the interests of the community of nations, placing international norms above and beyond the particular interests of any of its Members, with everyone observing those international norms, without any discrimination on the basis of political, economic or social systems.

169. I shall now speak about Central America, about a tragedy of burning concern taking place within the framework of an obsessive confrontation in that strategic strip of land, lapped by the waters of two oceans, which joins the north and the south of the western hemisphere.

170. The Central American region is suffering the consequences of a long-standing, painful abandonment of the principles of justice, freedom and solidarity, which should always inspire its leaders and be the constant inspiration of its peoples. Central

America is suffering the consequences of unequal and disadvantageous relations with the most developed nations, which have exercised their hegemony or influence in the region. It is suffering the consequences of the predominance of economic interests over essentially human interests, which have been overlooked in the selfishness of the dominant domestic and foreign sectors, because greed has no dignity and knows no frontiers.

171. Central America is also suffering today from brutal external aggression, directly sponsored in a desire to acquire positions of political predominance and special strategic value, taking advantage of the conditions of political, economic and social crisis affecting the region.

172. In these very trying times, the Central American people has paid a very high price in blood and tears in its valiant struggle against dictatorship and totalitarianism, inequality and plunder, dependency and alignment.

173. The peoples of Central America share the feeling that such difficult circumstances must give way to a promising future, in a Central America free from foreign interference, whatever the source. The region must not be subject to exploitation, intervention or servitude. It must not fall prey to the expansionism of extracontinental Powers that seek to deny for all time its democratic and pluralist future, in a tolerant and open society, to which its peoples aspire with hope and resolve.

174. There is a path open to mutual benefit, respect for one another and honourable co-operation, genuinely democratic and participative, with no room for chains or violence. It is a path that can once and for all eliminate the spectre of totalitarian domination and reconcile peoples with their leaders in seeking freedom, justice, peace and progress.

175. This widespread feeling has found expression in most of the countries of the region, which, in spite of suffering a deep economic crisis and social imbalances, have chosen with wisdom the course of historic reform—representative, pluralist and participative democracy.

176. Of course, this is only the beginning of a journey that should have begun long ago. It is the manifestation of a political will struggling to be translated into new economic and social opportunities, but it is significant that when the peoples of Central America have had the freedom to choose they have chosen freedom.

177. The United Nations recognizes, as an essential part of the general order that is the basis of peace, the right to self-determination of peoples. All the peoples of Central America must be able freely to determine their present and future, without decisions being imposed on them, without the force or pressures of the apparatus of the State continuing to violate their right freely to decide their political, economic and social organization through the exercise of their sovereign ability to choose their leaders. This is a prerequisite for the establishment of lasting peace in the heart of that hemisphere.

178. Another requirement for the return of peace is that the Central American States commit themselves firmly and in good faith to reducing their military arsenals to limits strictly compatible with the maintenance of public order and national defence. The establishment of offensive forces in Central America, the introduction of new, heavy armaments and the alienating militarization of society, together with secret, threatening military commitments and the establishment of impressive armies—these are all elements that unsettle international peace and security in Central America. They prevent the creation of a climate of détente and trust, and at the same time oblige neighbouring States to find compensating formulas for defence, thus tending to divert huge human and economic resources to maintain a balance of security, which implies large social sacrifices and political costs that could be avoided, to the benefit of those that have little or nothing and need so much.

179. The Honduran Government stresses that it is essential to end the arms race in Central America, to limit the number of weapons and troops and to begin immediately general disarmament, under strict and effective international controls. My Government appeals to the conscience of Central American countries and calls on them to declare before the international community their formal commitment to the objective of disarmament as an indispensable condition for peace. At the same time, we urge all Member States to discuss appropriate measures that might be adopted by the United Nations to focus its disarmament efforts on the establishment of an arms regulation system applicable to the countries of the third world, which have an important moral obligation to their peoples to check the arms race and an international obligation to their neighbouring countries to reduce their arsenals and the numbers of their troops, in order to promote the establishment and maintenance of peace and security among nations.

180. Since April 1983 we have been actively participating in the negotiations sponsored by the Contadora Group. Our contribution has been aimed primarily at promoting the establishment and development of democratic, pluralistic and participatory systems in the five Central American countries, at establishing a system of regional security based on the reduction and control of armaments and troops, at eliminating the foreign military presence, and at achieving mutual observance of the principle of non-intervention. We have also advocated co-operation for economic and social development with a sense of deep-rooted solidarity.

181. On 7 September last, the Foreign Ministers of the countries of the Contadora Group submitted a revised version of the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America [*A/39/562, annex*]. That comprehensive draft text provides for the establishment of a series of legal obligations to be assumed by us, the States of Central America, as regards political, security, and economic and social matters and machinery for international verification and control of these obligations.

182. The Government of the Republic of Honduras accepts the substantive obligations in the Act and, as it has already stated, it reaffirms that it is ready to assume each and every one of the responsibilities deriving from the negotiating process which must continue, until the signing of that important document, for the present and future of Central America.

183. Honduras does not shrink from any of the legal commitments it will enter into under the strictest compliance with the principle of the reciprocity of obligations and their fulfilment in good faith by all the Central American States.

184. Honduras is prepared to have its political conduct governed by the tenets of representative, pluralistic and participatory democracy, as established in the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America.

185. Honduras is prepared to accept on-site international verification and control of its electoral processes and of the other political commitments it makes.

186. Honduras is prepared to promote and respect human rights because it is deeply convinced that the guarantee by the State of the dignity of the individual is a moral and pragmatic duty.

187. Honduras is prepared to begin negotiations immediately to limit, reduce and control its arsenal, its troops under arms and its military installations, within 90 days, as proposed by the Act, or sooner, and to agree on applicable timetables for reductions.

188. Honduras is prepared to submit to a strict system of on-site verification and control of all the security obligations it undertakes.

189. Moreover, Honduras is prepared to demand of any State that undertakes the same obligations that it faithfully fulfil them, for Hondurans are not seeking a truce which, through the kind of deception with which we are familiar, would only mask an opportunity to legitimize a system of oppression. We will not tolerate use of the Contadora initiative to conceal the madness of the arms race, or the preparation of campaigns of domination, or terrorism and sabotage, or intervention, or trafficking in arms. Honduras does not want a truce that merely meets the needs of the instant; it seeks rather a stable and lasting peace based on justice and nourished by freedom.

190. Therefore, we shall insist on three basic points: security in the implementation of any agreement; effective verification and control in respect of the fulfilment of obligations; and determination of the fate of the irregular forces once they lay down their arms and once a solution is found to the internal conflicts in which they are engaged. Those who have already affirmed their acceptance of the Contadora Act must prove their good faith in the negotiations to take place among the five Central American States, so that the Act may become a binding agreement, one that can be fully implemented and verified.

191. Some have already said—while swearing fealty to the Contadora Act—that they are not prepared for any arms reduction, but rather intend to continue to arm themselves. There are indications that the claimed commitment to democracy is but a new and disgusting publicity stunt. These positions are nothing less than a violation in advance of what they are hypocritically claiming to accept, only to ignore it later in bad faith.

192. In spite of all this, my Government completely shares the view of the Foreign Ministers of the Contadora Group that: "The Central American Governments should now display the political will needed to give legal force to the commitments formulated during this process and should therefore adopt whatever realistic and equitable formulas for conciliation they deem appropriate" [*A/39/495, annex I*] In this respect, my country and my Government will spare no effort to help reach agreement on the 21 objectives[8] so painstakingly identified by the Contadora Group in its endeavour to promote peace, security and co-operation in Central America, an endeavour which we hold in high esteem and which compels us to reiterate our deep thanks to the Governments of Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela.

193. Today, we have extended, on behalf of Honduras, a cordial invitation to the Foreign Ministers of Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala and Nicaragua to meet with us on 19 October at Tegucigalpa in order to analyse the Central American situation and to give real momentum to progress towards the signing of the Contadora Act.

194. As a discordant note, just a few days ago from this rostrum bold accusations were made, attempting to involve my country in a supposed invasion of Nicaragua. For three years now we have been hearing that alarmist outcry, whose falseness and inaccuracy are clear.

195. On 19 March 1982, Commandant Daniel Ortega Saavedra, Co-ordinator of the Junta of the Government of National Reconstruction of Nicaragua, affirmed in a letter to the Security Council[9] that an invasion of his country was "imminent". *The Washington Post*, on 20 March 1982, reported that the Sandinist Government was continuing to prepare its people to face possible invasion. It reported that on that same day a programme was being initiated for the building of air-raid shelters and that the 70,000 troops which at that time composed the armed forces of that nation were in a state of alert.

196. Subsequently, on 25 March 1982, the Commandant again stated that Nicaragua had called for a meeting of the Security Council, given the "imminence" of intervention in Central America, since "events painted a picture which made it clear that intervention was on the way".

197. On 10 November 1982, the *Financial Times* referred to a note which the Nicaraguan Foreign Ministry had circulated on 8 November 1982, in Managua, stating that "those actions were indicative of an imminent invasion of Nicaragua".

198. On 19 January 1983, an official communiqué from the Foreign Ministry of that country, transmitted to the Security Council, announced that preparations were under way "for the launching of even more far-ranging acts of aggression" against Nicaragua.[10]

199. In another letter addressed to the Security Council on 5 May 1983, the Deputy Foreign Minister of Nicaragua announced "the launching of a new stage of the invasion" of Nicaragua.[11] Four days later, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Nicaraguan Administration said that he could confirm the existence of an invasion which was continuing to spread terror in the country. On 19 May of that year, the Nicaraguan Foreign Minister told the Security Council that an immoral and unjustifiable armed invasion of his country was taking place.[12]

200. In contrast with what, in the view of the Government of Nicaragua, was already a *fait accompli*, on 8 November 1983, during the debate on the situation in Central America during the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly [*47th meeting*], the Nicaraguan Foreign Minister stated that at that very moment clear preparations were under way for an invasion of Nicaragua. Similar assertions were made at the Assembly's thirty-seventh session [*34th meeting*].

201. The *Financial Times* of 18 November 1983 reported that "an invasion psychosis had taken over the Nicaraguan nation" and that "the Sandinist

leaders were preparing the population for what they considered to be an imminent invasion by the United States and its Central American allies".

202. Once again, on 3 February 1984, the representative of Nicaragua stated in the Security Council[13] that a war between Honduras and Nicaragua was being provoked by the United States to justify intervention.

203. Then again, on 2 April 1984 in the Security Council, the representative of Nicaragua stated that in the next few days another invasion was expected from Honduran territory.[14] Months later, on 7 September, he stated again that the political terrain for the invasion was being prepared.[15]

204. It is because of all these unfounded assertions that it comes as no surprise to me that once again an attempt has been made to take advantage of the credulity of States represented here with a paranoic statement of a much-announced but never realized invasion of Nicaragua.

205. A consideration of the dates when these accusations were made clearly draws attention to the link between them and some of the meetings in the peacemaking process of the Contadora Group, and, curiously enough, the invasion which is now claimed to be "imminent" coincides precisely with the date when we, the Central American States, are due to decide on a revised version of the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America.

206. None the less, we must acknowledge that there is a basic difference between earlier affirmations and the most recent one made, since, in the latter, in addition to a date being given—15 October—we were told the number of invaders, the number of planes and helicopters, the types of weapons that will be used and the routes that will be followed. There was one thing missing—an indication of the exact hour when the operations will begin and the places where, in the generous land that nourished the inspiration of Rubén Darío and encouraged the now frustrated ideals of Sandino, the new pass of Thermopylae in these imaginary Spartan battles will be.

207. In clear contrast to this attitude, on the date for which this hypothetical invasion of Nicaragua is announced, the President of the Republic of El Salvador paid tribute yesterday, in this forum [*24th meeting*], to the efforts of the Contadora Group in convening the armed opposition to a dialogue of internal reconciliation in his country. That example should be followed by those who proclaim unconditional acceptance of the Contadora Act but who offer to negotiate in the language of weapons.

208. Since international peace is an asset that links us closely with the nations of other continents, Honduras has promoted closer relations between Central America and other regions of the industrialized world so that, through international co-operation, tension in the region may be reduced.

209. In September 1983, representatives of the Central American Governments attended a meeting at Brussels so that, together, before the representatives of other Governments and international organizations, we might reflect on the needs and expectations of the countries of our region. That gathering was a palpable demonstration of the fact that the countries of Central America share common interests with the world outside and that intraregional co-operation may establish solid links between us and provide benefits for all our peoples.

210. That belief in joint action prompted the President of Honduras, Roberto Suazo Córdova, in March of this year, to propose to the President of Costa Rica, Luis Alberto Monge, the promotion of a co-operation agreement between the European Economic Community and Central America. The President of Honduras stated to his Costa Rican counterpart:

> "I feel that Central America should avail itself of your visit to Belgium to express, on behalf of our countries, the great importance we attach to the negotiation and signing of a co-operation agreement with the European Communities. . . .
>
> "I need not enumerate all the advantages that the entry into force of such an agreement would have for Central America. . . . It would widen and deepen the already significant level of aid and make it possible to extend it to new sectors, thus enabling the extension of its benefits to those countries of the region now receiving little or no aid. . . . Your action in an area of common interest for all Central Americans is a factor that could contribute to a relaxation of tension in the area."

211. The response of European democracy has been positive, and a political and economic dialogue has already begun which we hope will continue and provide short-term benefits.

212. Indeed, only a few days ago, on 28 and 29 September, an historic meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the member States of the European Community, of Spain and Portugal and of the countries of Central America and the Contadora Group was held at San José. On that occasion, Western Europe emphasized its interest in contributing to democratic development in Central America as the best way of achieving the stability of the isthmus. This is clear evidence of international solidarity, for which Honduras pays a tribute to the European nations that attended that meeting. At the same time, my country expresses its fervent hope that permanent formulas for mutual benefit between the two regions, which have historic links and share growing expectations, may be achieved.

213. In Latin American economic and financial matters, Honduras supports the provisions of the Declaration of Quito, adopted at the Latin American Economic Conference, held on 12 and 13 January 1984 [*see A/39/118*], and the Cartagena Consensus, signed on 22 June 1984 by the representatives of 11 Latin American countries [*A/39/331*], which reflect the progressive strengthening of Latin America's capacity to respond to the international economic crisis and to buttress their systems of co-operation in order to promote and encourage the economic development and social progress of our countries.

214. The Latin American efforts cannot be dissociated from the efforts that have been made and are being made by the Group of 77. On the occasion of the celebration of one more anniversary of the establishment of that body, we must insist on the need to bring about closer co-operation among the developing countries and to promote global negotiations, making it possible to find appropriate solutions to the problems hindering the establishment of a world economic system based on justice. We must begin to overcome the most harmful effects of the economic crisis, which calls for urgent responses—above all, from the industrialized countries, since, to

a great extent, external factors beyond the control of our countries seriously limit our capacity to overcome them.

215. My country attaches particular importance to the activities of the Economic and Social Council, whose fundamental role is to contribute to the creation of conditions of stability and well-being, which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations. Honduras believes in the need to promote the principle of multilateral co-operation, which has provided so many benefits for our countries. To that end, we must re-examine the existing instruments of co-operation so as to adapt them to the dynamics of contemporary society and to isolate them from any attempt at politicization which could adversely affect the positive and multifaceted work done by the specialized agencies of the United Nations.

216. I should like also to emphasize the humanitarian work carried out by ICAO. In particular, I should like to stress the agreement to amend the Chicago Convention[16] so as to include a rule recognizing categorically the principle of non-use of force against civilian aircraft in flight.

217. At the thirty-eighth session [*26th meeting*], I expressed my Government's indignation at, and strong repudiation of, the downing of a Korean civilian aircraft and the deaths of 269 innocent persons. This year the national conscience of Honduras has been greatly concerned over a similar event, in which, without prior notice, the Nicaraguan army downed an unarmed Honduran helicopter which was carrying a group of civilian professionals. That condemnable act was praised by the Government concerned when it declared itself responsible for that odious crime.

218. Two recent conferences, the International Conference on Population, held at Mexico City in August, and the Fourth General Conference of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization, held at Vienna also in August, recalled to us the close links between development, population and industrialization. My country urges the continuance of the efforts in these fields of vital importance, particularly for the developing countries, and we are encouraged by the interest that is increasingly shown in finding solutions to these very complex problems.

219. On 9 December, the time for the signing of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea[17] will expire. So far, 135 countries have signed it. That Convention constitutes an outstanding example of renewed international co-operation. We urge those States that have not yet signed the Convention to do so and to respect its contents and its unity.

220. For some years, Central America has been experiencing a distressing phenomenon caused by prevalent instability and violence in the region. This has led to the displacement of hundreds of thousands of persons from their places of origin. In view of the tragedy dividing families in our region, my country and my Government have accepted the obligation, imposed by humanitarian feelings, which have always characterized Hondurans, to give refuge to more than 50,000 refugees and displaced persons of various nationalities. These are being cared for by Honduras, with the valuable assistance of international organizations and specialized agencies, such as UNHCR World Relief Refugee Services, Caritas Internationalis, Médecins sans frontières, Catholic Relief Services, the Mennonite Church, the International Red Cross, the Intergovernmental Committee for Migration and many others that are contributing directly or indirectly to improving the living conditions of the refugees and displaced persons. My Government is deeply appreciative of all these efforts.

221. In recent days, and because of political change in El Salvador, which now has a democratic, freely elected Government, my Government has provided for the voluntary repatriation, under international supervision, of 18,000 Salvadorians now in my country. This will be done with respect for the relevant criteria and norms established at the international level. None the less, Honduras will keep its borders open to all human beings who feel insecure and seek protection outside their own territory.

222. I should like to express just and well-deserved appreciation to the United Nations for its invaluable assistance, to the specialized agencies and to the Governments that have supported us in meeting the needs of refugees. I appeal to all Members of the United Nations to maintain and increase their economic and moral co-operation with the agencies that assist in mitigating the plight of these unfortunate people.

223. We have followed with concern the development of situations of tension that threaten peace in other regions of the world. We share the anguish and suffering that conflicts cause to other peoples and nations.

224. My Government reiterates the need to find a just solution, negotiated in good faith, to the South Atlantic conflict. It is of the utmost importance for the strengthening of peace that comprehensive negotiations be resumed in respect of the sovereign, historic claim of Argentina to the Malvinas Islands. We ask the Secretary-General to persevere in the use of his good offices to promote understanding on the basis of justice.

225. We reiterate our forceful condemnation of the foreign occupation of Kampuchea and of Afghanistan. Their peoples must be enabled to exercise their right freely to determine their own destiny. We appeal to all free nations to repudiate the barbarous foreign intervention in those suffering regions of the world.

226. With regard to the question of Korea, my country believes that the remaining manifestations of the cold war must be ended calmly and fairly. The Republic of Korea, like any other State that meets the conditions set out in Article 4 of the Charter of the United Nations, has a right to be admitted as a Member of the Organization. The South and the North of Korea should resolve their differences purely by peaceful means and direct negotiations. The international community should encourage an approach designed to establish trust and bring about reconciliation between the two parties so that the barriers of fear and controversy may be overcome.

227. Honduras rejects the presence of foreign troops in Namibia and deplores the delay in establishing an independent, sovereign State. The United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia is the basis for a lasting, peaceful solution.

228. Similarly, we reject the racist policy of *apartheid* applied in South Africa and deplore the recent violence that caused further loss of life in that tormented region of the world.

229. Our conscience has been shocked constantly by the bloody and irrational struggle that continues in Lebanon. The recent tragic, senseless acts of terrorism against the forces entrusted with maintaining the peace and against diplomatic representatives in Beirut cost hundreds of lives, creating an international problem to which the United Nations should pay particular attention and which should be repudiated by all its Members.

230. In this context, I remind the General Assembly of an event that shocked the entire civilized world. I refer to the attack on United States diplomatic staff in Teheran by armed elements, who occupied the embassy and held the officials hostage in the building for many months, making their release conditional on the payment of an infamous ransom. This was a challenge to the most fundamental principles of diplomatic law and conduct. There has also been a wave of international violence against the embassies of Honduras in different countries. The embassies have been dynamited, causing material damage and physical injury to diplomatic officials. Such cruel acts must be severely condemned by the community of nations.

231. The causes and extent of the reckless war between Iraq and Iran are incomprehensible. This is war which must come to an end, a war between two partners in the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries which, instead of opposing each other, should strengthen their co-operation, for the benefit of the third-world countries. This struggle of unheard-of fanaticism leaves fields desolate and interferes with important strategic channels of communication and international supplies.

232. The President of this session of the General Assembly is an outstanding representative of Africa, that vast region of the world which is still experiencing the fever of emancipation which derives from the establishment of the United Nations. A representative of Zambia, he will have the responsibility of guiding our debates at what is a dramatic time for the human race. In this he can rely on his efficiency and skill, as well as the support of the international community.

233. As we review the present state of international relations, our spirits are indeed troubled. There is hardly a region in the world which is not affected by the scourge of war, by lack of respect for human rights, by the negation of the right of peoples to self-determination, by hunger, injustice and oppression.

234. We must together undertake the task of regaining the faith that has been lost—faith in mankind, faith in its future, faith that history will be able to forge nations free from blindness and hatred.

235. We hope that that deep feeling of faith in our ability to overcome our problems will illuminate the work of the President, as head of the General Assembly, so that the purposes and principles decided upon almost four decades ago will give strength to our debates, thus increasing understanding and hope.

236. Let us therefore reflect on assessments that have been made by experts on the historical development of the United Nations on the essence and importance of this forum of universal debate.

237. Thus, it has been said that the two minutes of meditation or prayer at the beginning and the end of the session every year are too short "to acknowledge how much this vast undertaking, with all its complications and difficulties, must rely on divine assistance". We have also been invited to imagine what a revelation it would be "if we could in some way form a joint impression of what is going on in those many minds at that extremely important moment" when the General Assembly is beginning or ending its sessions. "What hopes are contained therein, what determinations, what destructive intentions and what legitimate calls for assistance and guidance? A glance would be enough to reassure the fearful minds outside of the sum total of patience, valour, loyalty with respect to what is right and pure integrity that go into this common effort which perhaps represents the sole hope left to mankind."

238. It has also been said that that "would be the faithful reflection of the United Nations, but only God sees that". We might see the true and final design of peace, visible thus far only as an incomplete outline, but taking shape as the message of the United Nations is brought to the world. The disbelievers will see how many hearts are echoing the words of Saint Paul to the Corinthians: "For a great door and effectual is opened unto me, and there are many adversaries".

The meeting rose at 1.30 p.m.

NOTES

[1] For the text, see General Assembly resolution 38/40, para. 1.

[2] Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y de Rio de Oro.

[3] Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola.

[4] Frente de Libertação de Moçambique.

[5] União National para a Independência Total de Angola.

[6] *Report of the International Conference on Population, 1984* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.84.XIII.8 and corrigenda), chap. I, sect. A.

[7] See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-eighth Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1983*, document S/15556, annex.

[8] *Ibid., Supplement for October, November and December 1983*, document S/16041, annex.

[9] *Ibid., Thirty-seventh Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1982*, document S/14913.

[10] *Ibid., Thirty-eighth Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1983*, document S/15567.

[11] *Ibid., Supplement for April, May and June 1983*, document S/15746.

[12] *Ibid., Thirty-seventh Year*, 2437th meeting.

[13] *Ibid., Thirty-eighth Year*, 2513th meeting.

[14] *Ibid.*, 2527th meeting.

[15] *Ibid.*, 2557th meeting.

[16] Convention on International Civil Aviation (United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 15, No. 102).

[17] *Official Records of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea*, vol. XVII (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.84.V.3), document A/CONF.62/122.

United Nations
GENERAL ASSEMBLY
THIRTY-NINTH SESSION
Official Records

27th
PLENARY MEETING

Tuesday, 9 October 1984,
at 3.20 p.m.

NEW YORK

President: Mr. Paul J. F. LUSAKA (Zambia).

AGENDA ITEM 8

Adoption of the agenda and organization of work: reports of the General Committee (*continued*)*

1. The PRESIDENT: In paragraph 1 (*a*) and (*b*) of its third report [*A/39/250/Add.2*], the General Committee recommends the inclusion in the agenda of an additional item entitled "Use of outer space exclusively for peaceful purposes for the benefit of mankind" and its allocation to the First Committee. In paragraph 2 (*a*) and (*b*) of the same report, the General Committee recommends the inclusion of an additional item entitled "Inadmissibility of the policy of State terrorism and any actions by States aimed at undermining the socio-political system in other sovereign States" and its allocation to the First Committee. I take it that the General Assembly approves those recommendations.

It was so decided (decision 39/402).

2. The PRESIDENT: The Chairman of the First Committee will be informed of the decisions just taken.

3. We turn now to paragraph 3 of the General Committee's report. On the basis of the recommendations of the Committee on Conferences [*A/39/482/Add.2*], the General Committee recommends that the General Assembly should authorize the following subsidiary organs to hold meetings during the thirty-ninth session of the Assembly: the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against *Apartheid* in Sports; the Committee of Trustees of the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa. May I consider that the General Assembly approves that recommendation of the General Committee?

It was so decided (decision 39/403).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

4. Mr. MAKHELE (Lesotho): Mr. President, at the very outset permit me to extend to you and to the members of the Assembly fraternal greetings and a message of peace from King Moshoeshoe II, the Government and the people of Lesotho. We are pleased to congratulate you on your well-deserved unanimous election to the presidency of this session. This augurs well for all of us because your great country, Zambia, under the leadership of President Kenneth Kaunda, has been in the forefront of the freedom struggle that has swept from the north to the southern part of our continent. While congratulating you as an illustrious son of Africa, we take special pride in recalling that you received the first part of your advanced education in the Kingdom of Lesotho, at what was then the Pius XII College. We pledge our full support to you and to the other officers.

5. Allow me to seize this opportunity to pay a special tribute to the President of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly, who served concurrently as the President of his great country, Panama.

6. As a member of the Commonwealth of Nations, Lesotho warmly congratulates and welcomes the State of Brunei Darussalam as the 159th Member of the United Nations. The admission of Brunei Darussalam to the United Nations is a reminder to all of us that this is a universal Organization charged with responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security. Indeed, the Secretary-General, whom we congratulate on his lucid and succinct report, has stated that "the United Nations is a unique and ideal forum for discussing and solving international problems and conflicts even between the super-Powers".

7. Let us therefore take this auspicious occasion of the admission of Brunei Darussalam to the United Nations to rededicate ourselves to the ideals and objectives of the United Nations as enshrined in its Charter.

8. As we meet again, the international economic crisis continues to threaten the survival of small developing nations. Their efforts to restructure their economies are frustrated by the polarized manipulation and refusal of the developed countries to accept the new international economic order.

9. The stalemate in the global negotiations has further organized the North-South relationship into a curious rectangular arrangement of first, second, third and fourth worlds. In this scenario, development strategies conceived in the last decade have degenerated into a thirst for regional domination characterized by coercion and blackmail. Failure to arrest this trend and revert to a normal dialogue between nations can only take the world back to the colonial era.

10. My country, as one of the land-locked and least developed among the developing countries and one of the hardest hit by economics and spiralling inflation, is gravely concerned at the stalemate in the North-South dialogue, which so far happens to be the only possible means of restructuring the present unjust economic order.

11. Of course, resolutions have been adopted by various United Nations institutions and efforts have

---

*Resumed from the 3rd meeting.

been made in an attempt to improve the economic conditions of the least developed countries. These endeavours may not have generated substantive gains, but this fact need not diminish our will and determination to achieve our set goals of development. The failure of the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held at Belgrade in 1983, served as a reminder to the developing countries of the importance of mutual co-operation. The developing countries should utilize their experience further to promote their unity and move towards self-reliance.

12. Although multilateral co-operation has made substantial contributions to economic and social development since the last world war, there is a growing awareness of the need among developing countries for reform of the existing international monetary and financial systems. It is almost 40 years since the Bretton Woods blueprint was agreed upon as the basic framework for global economic relationships. Today, near chaos and disorder have made it urgently necessary to re-examine the system and the whole machinery.

13. Even though there are diverse views on reform, we believe that close dialogue would culminate in some practical reforms. In Toronto, the Commonwealth Finance Ministers made commendable recommendations, which have my delegation's full support. That the Development Committee of the World Bank is considering those recommendations is encouraging. The international community should work towards the day when the world's financial and trading systems will be free of major banking crises, disequilibrium in external payments, stagnant growth, increasing trade barriers, volatile exchange rates and reduced investments due to high inflation and interest rates. No blame is being placed on any single country or group of countries for the prevailing uncertainties, but there is no doubt that the major industrialized countries have a special responsibility to initiate reforms.

14. The Secretary-General has called the attention of the international community to the deteriorating economic and social crisis in Africa, particularly in the drought-stricken countries. This call could not have come at a more opportune moment, because we, in Lesotho, have experienced unprecedented drought for the past three to four years, resulting in famine, malnutrition and death. While we express our appreciation to those countries which have responded positively to the call, we must state that the situation is not getting better. Meagre resources have been redirected towards emergency programmes, leaving very little for normal development activities. We therefore take this opportunity to welcome the initiative of the FAO and the World Bank group in bringing to the fore the crisis situation in sub-Saharan Africa, of which Lesotho is an integral part. It is to be hoped that the international community will respond positively and generously to requests for assistance in order to alleviate the plight of the peoples of the region.

15. Today, the global political climate is more volatile than ever before. The deepening confrontation in East-West relations and the growing tendency to resort to force is of the greatest concern to Lesotho and its peace-loving people. In the past year there has been no progress in arms control negotiations. It is our earnest hope that the recent contacts signal a new era whose atmosphere will replace the current atmosphere of heightened fear of nuclear confrontation and violence.

16. There has been violence in many parts of the world. The situation in Cyprus remains unresolved although the issue has been on the agenda of the General Assembly for many years. Indeed, recent developments have exacerbated the problems in that friendly Commonwealth country. The Government of Lesotho continues to support territorial integrity and independence for Cyprus. We are encouraged by and commend the Secretary-General's efforts to that end.

17. The situation in Central and Latin America continues to be characterized by interference in the internal affairs of smaller States. Hence our firm support for the Contadora initiatives and the opening of dialogue between the United States and Nicaragua. We hope that the peoples of Central and Latin America will soon be left alone to live in peace, free of external pressures and intimidation.

18. A serious threat to world peace persists in the Middle East. The Palestine issue is at the heart of that problem. We are convinced that Security Council resolution 242 (1967), which endorses the right of all countries of the region to exist, constitutes a just and comprehensive solution. We contend further that all conquered territories must be returned and that the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, especially their right to self-determination, must be respected.

19. The Iraqi-Iranian war is another outstanding international conflict in which many lives have already been lost. What is even more painful about that war is that it involves two fraternal non-aligned States. Lesotho calls for a negotiated settlement to end that fratricidal war and commends the Secretary-General and others for their efforts in trying to bring about peace in the area.

20. On the Korean question, the Lesotho Government has always supported the Korean people's desire to reunify their country peacefully, without foreign interference. Talks have been held between the parties concerned with the aim of achieving genuine reunification. My delegation urges that those talks continue.

21. There are many other areas of world tension, but representatives will bear with me if I single out southern Africa, since it is the most vexing problem and could engulf us in an inferno of immeasurable proportions. The Government of Lesotho has consistently expressed its position on the Namibian question.

22. The United Nations plan for Namibia's independence remains unimplemented. The diplomatic efforts launched by the five Western Powers to persuade South Africa to end its illegal occupation of Namibia have not shown any progress. Many issues that had already been resolved are being reopened and irrelevant matters are being drawn in. There is insistence that Namibia cannot be independent unless Cuban troops are withdrawn from Angola.

23. We have maintained that Cuban troops are in Angola at the invitation of the Angolan Government—a bilateral arrangement between sovereign States. The illegal occupation of Namibia is a separate, colonial issue which should be treated as such and not confused with other extraneous matters. South Africa ought to set a date for the implementa-

tion of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and a date for Namibia's independence.

24. The General Assembly, in its resolutions 38/11 and 39/2, unequivocally rejected the so-called constitutional reforms. Since independence, Lesotho has upheld a policy of the resolution of problems between nations through dialogue. Even today the Government of Lesotho is still committed to that policy. We are, however, apprehensive that as long as *apartheid* exists our relations with our neighbour will always present problems, much as both sides would like them to be as reasonable as possible. The Government of Lesotho therefore feels strongly that the question of *apartheid* must be addressed as seriously as possible if there is to be genuine peace in that part of the world. The world should not be deceived into thinking that the push for political change in South Africa is mainly externally motivated. Recent events in that country are compelling examples of the impatience of the majority of the black masses. What we all have to bear in mind is that a people determined to liberate itself will not be halted by anything or anybody.

25. The consequent reprisals by the South African authorities have, as usual, resulted in an influx of South African refugees into my country. In spite of serious pressures from our powerful neighbour, we find ourselves unable to deny sanctuary to those who are denied civil and political rights. This is, first, because, as King Moshoeshoe II stated in the Security Council on 14 December 1982,[1] we are ourselves a nation of refugees. That is why we do not place refugees in camps; instead, we integrate them into our society. Secondly, it is because we are obliged to honour international conventions on refugees to which we are parties.

26. Lesotho will continue to receive those who run to it for sanctuary. But we shall also insist, as in the past, that our country should not be used as a springboard for attacks against other countries. The Government of Lesotho has made a declaration to that effect, which has been reproduced in Security Council document S/16746.[2] It is because we are committed to a policy of good-neighbourliness and peaceful coexistence that we have continued to impress upon our neighbour that it would greatly facilitate matters for us if the South African Government were to engage in a serious and meaningful dialogue with the black people of that country, the legitimacy of whose struggle for a place in the sun is accepted by the Assembly.

27. The struggle of the people of South Africa affects us in Lesotho directly, for, as my Prime Minister has stated, when these people flee to our country we are used as scapegoats and are falsely accused of giving military bases to the African National Congress of South Africa [*ANC*].

28. Sometimes those accusations against us become so acrimonious that our very independence and sovereignty are threatened, as was the case recently when South Africa interfered with goods destined for Lesotho from other countries and at the same time restricted the movement of people across our common borders. Another very disturbing dimension in this respect concerns the armed bandits who cross our borders from South Africa into our country to commit acts of murder and sabotage. To contain this situation we have had to divert funds which could otherwise have been used for development to strengthen our internal security.

29. In this volatile situation, in which the positions of the white rulers of South Africa and the black majority of that country seem to be drifting further apart, as a result of which we, in Lesotho, are not able to concentrate on development, my Prime Minister, Mr. Jonathan, has offered himself as a catalyst between the two sides, with Lesotho as a venue for discussions towards resolving the conflict between them. We have no desire to interfere in the internal affairs of another country, but we are affected because of our geographical position.

30. We, in Lesotho, do not subscribe to the view that peaceful coexistence among neighbouring countries in southern Africa can be attained through the signing of so-called non-aggression pacts. It is our firm and sincere belief that the problem of southern Africa, at the centre of which is the *apartheid* system, can be resolved by the dismantling of *apartheid* in South Africa. As a matter of fact, we have stated that we have no problem coexisting peacefully with South Africa and, indeed, the current dialogue, if carried out in good faith, holds good prospects for normalization of relations. But we also think that the continuing influx of refugees into our country, which we cannot stop, will continue to threaten these relations which are showing signs of improvement.

31. We should like to express a very special word of gratitude and appreciation to the friendly countries and international organizations which gave us economic support and political solidarity in our socioeconomic development efforts.

32. Our ability to withstand the enormous political pressures which undermine our sovereignty and territorial integrity is firmly based on our historical background. We are happy that the international community is behind us.

33. Mr. NGUYEN CO THACH (Viet Nam) (*interpretation from French*): I should like first of all to congratulate you, Sir, on your election to the high office of President of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. I hope that with your talents and extensive experience your leadership of this session will result in many fine accomplishments.

34. I also warmly congratulate Mr. Jorge Illueca, President of the Republic of Panama, for the diligent and excellent contributions he made to the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly.

35. My heartfelt congratulations also go to the Secretary-General of this important international Organization, who has worked tirelessly to promote greater understanding among peoples. His dynamic contributions deserve our profound appreciation.

36. I extend a warm welcome to Brunei Darussalam on its admission to the United Nations as its 159th Member.

37. We are all greatly concerned about the present frenzied arms race and the danger of a nuclear war which, scientists unanimously agree, would completely destroy life on this planet. Who then is responsible for this situation? Some put the blame on the Soviet Union; others, on the United States; and still others point an accusing finger at both. What, in fact, is the truth?

38. It is well known that immediately after the Second World War, while still maintaining a nuclear monopoly the United States had already proclaimed

loudly the so-called danger of aggression from communism and the Soviet Union as a pretext for accelerating the arms race. Then, in 1957, when the Soviet Union successfully launched the first satellite into outer space, the United States kicked up a row about the so-called missile gap so as further to speed up the arms race. And, ever since 1978, the United States has continued to raise a hue and cry about so-called Soviet superiority in nuclear weapons in order to extend the arms race to an extremely dangerous level.

39. In fact, ever since it came into existence, more than 200 years ago, the United States has never been invaded by anyone. On the contrary, it has acted as an international policeman, engaging in intervention and aggression everywhere, culminating in its war of aggression against Viet Nam. Since it was founded, more than 60 years ago, the Soviet Union has twice been the victim of imperialist intervention and aggression. During the Second World War, it suffered the worst destruction at the hands of German nazism. Soviet troops have never invaded the United States, but, in the early days of Soviet power, the United States sent its troops to intervene in the Soviet Union, and since then it has posed a constant threat to the Soviet Union's security and territorial integrity. Over the past four decades, the United States has forged various military alliances and established overseas military bases in an attempt to encircle and threaten the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union, for its part, has undertaken no such activities aimed at encircling and threatening United States territory.

40. Since the beginning of the Second World War, the United States, with its absolute military and economic superiority, has never concealed its ambition to impose on the world a United States order—a "*pax americana*"—and to make this century the United States century. To this end, the United States has used two familiar instruments: the carrot and the stick aimed at ensuring lasting military and economic superiority so as to threaten and subjugate other countries and compel the Soviet Union to engage in an arms race which would result in its economic collapse. That is why, even in the 1950s when the United States enjoyed absolute military and economic superiority over all the other Powers combined, it still accelerated the arms race and adopted a policy of massive retaliation and brinksmanship. Even though the United States has to this day remained the number one Power in terms of strategic forces, ever since the early 1960s it has continued to clamour against the so-called missile gap.

41. The past 40 years have witnessed a struggle that changed the military and economic balance of forces between the big Powers of the world. In order to deal with the United States threat, the Soviet Union has endeavoured to narrow the economic gap between itself and the United States and, at the same time, to catch up with the United States in terms of strategic weapons. Because it was bogged down in and weakened by the Viet Nam war, since the early 1970s the United States has not enjoyed the same military and economic strength it had in the 1950s. But there is still no country stronger than the United States in military and economic terms. From the early 1970s to date, the world has witnessed the emergence of a rough balance in strategic weapons between the United States and the Soviet Union. This rough balance led to a period of détente between the Soviet Union and the United States, and improved East-West relations and détente in Europe. But, since the late 1970s, the United States has considered détente and improved East-West relations as not conducive to its ambition for world hegemony. That is why it concocted the so-called Soviet military threat, thus provoking international tension, undermining East-West relations, accelerating the arms race, and pushing mankind to the brink of a world nuclear disaster, with the intention of intimidating and subjugating the peoples of the world and, through the arms race, exhausting the Soviet Union economically.

42. The realities of the last four decades raise the following question for people of conscience: if the United States had continued to maintain its monopoly of nuclear weapons, what would be the fate of other nations today? It will be recalled that the United States used the atomic bomb while it had a nuclear monopoly, and that it has still refused to commit itself not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. It is obvious that the Soviet Union's attainment of parity with the United States in strategic forces constitutes the firmest guarantee of world peace and the independence of all nations.

43. Like all peace-loving peoples, the Vietnamese people favour the elimination of all types of weapons, which alone can ensure a peaceful life for all people. That is why we support the efforts of the Soviet Union and other forces for peace to maintain the present strategic balance between East and West, as well as the initiatives aimed at the gradual slowing down of the arms race and at eventual disarmament.

44. Another burning issue that must be solved is the economic situation of the developing countries. The serious economic difficulties that Asian, African and Latin American countries are facing are due, first of all, to the consequences of prolonged colonial domination and imperialism's onerous exploitation. These difficulties have been aggravated by the arms race and the heavy burden of the economic crisis of the past 10 years, which the imperialist countries have placed on the backs of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The gap between the Western and the developing countries grows wider every day. That is why it is imperative to struggle to establish the new international economic order and gradually to improve the economic situation of the developing countries, as called for at the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi from 7 to 12 March 1983. The struggle of the developing countries to acquire an independent economy and establish the new international economic order is long and arduous.

45. The global negotiations and the North-South dialogue of the last few years show that we cannot count on the goodwill of some Western countries. This is natural, for, after being forced to grant political independence to the Asian, African and Latin American countries, they intend to use the economic weapon to maintain their hold on those countries and keep them in their sphere of influence and domination.

46. In Viet Nam, having failed to subjugate our people by force of arms, the forces of imperialism and international reaction have tried by hook or by crook to destabilize Viet Nam through an economic blockade and have carried out acts of sabotage in

order to bleed Viet Nam white. They want to destroy Viet Nam economically so that they can teach the Asian, African and Latin American countries the lesson that the peoples of the world may win a war of national liberation but will be beaten on the economic front.

47. Despite this, we have, step by step, achieved some success. In spite of numerous difficulties, Viet Nam's economy has not collapsed, as some had hoped. It has survived the most difficult years and is now gradually and steadily improving. We have some balance-of-payments problems, but our external debt is small and almost negligible. We must do all we can ourselves and also rely on the assistance and co-operation of the socialist and non-aligned countries and other countries.

48. The friendly co-operation between Viet Nam and India in the last few years has brought some positive results. In particular, the visit by the General Secretary of the Party to India has opened up new possibilities for co-operation between the two countries in many fields. India is a great country, with rich experience in building an independent economy and a national culture and raising its people's standard of living. The friendly co-operation between Viet Nam and India, based on a spirit of equality and mutual interest, is a good example of economic co-operation between two non-aligned countries as well as of South-South co-operation.

49. Since the Second World War, the United States has assumed the role of international policeman, and in playing that role it has intervened and committed acts of aggression throughout the world. In so doing, the United States has always used the anti-communist, anti-Soviet argument, slandering the victims of its aggression as agents of communism and the Soviet Union, and declaring one part of the world after another to be a sphere of interest vital to its security.

50. What is the truth? The 100 or so acts of intervention and aggression by the United States in the last four decades have been directed against independent countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. As a pretext for its aggression against Viet Nam, the United States slandered Viet Nam as the agent of the Soviet Union, China and international communism and declared South-East Asia to be an area vital to its national interest. But the whole world knows that the struggle of the Vietnamese people was a struggle for national independence against United States aggression. Now similar slanders are being used against Cuba, Nicaragua, Grenada, Lebanon, Syria and other countries to justify United States intervention and aggression in Central America, the Middle East and other parts of the world.

51. The present anti-communist and anti-Soviet policies of the United States cannot fail to remind us of the Monroe Doctrine advocated by United States expansionist elements in the nineteenth century. The difference is that the United States previously applied the Monroe Doctrine only to Latin America, while it is now imposing it on the entire world, under the anti-communist banner, regarding the entire world as a zone of interest vital to the security of the United States. Just as the Latin American peoples frustrated the Monroe Doctrine by their united struggle, today the peoples of the world will certainly defeat neo-Monroeism. The peoples of the world united with the Vietnamese people to defeat the United States in its war of aggression against Viet Nam; they must now unite with the peoples of Central America, the Middle East and other parts of the world to stop the United States policy of intervention and aggression.

52. The Vietnamese people has consistently sided with the fraternal peoples of Cuba and Nicaragua in their just struggle against United States intervention, aggression and threats of aggression. We strongly condemn the United States invasion of Grenada. We fully support the peoples of El Salvador, Puerto Rico and other Latin American countries in their struggle for peace, independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

53. We whole-heartedly support the struggle of the Arab peoples, especially that of the Palestinian people, under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization [*PLO*], its authentic and legitimate representative, against the Israeli aggressors and for the establishment of its own State on Palestinian soil. We express our complete support for the important initiative of the Soviet Union to convene an international peace conference on the Middle East. We fully support the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic in its struggle to exercise its right to self-determination. We resolutely support the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya in its struggle against any threat of aggression by the United States.

54. We resolutely demand that South Africa immediately restore independence to Namibia. We express our full solidarity with the struggles of the Namibian people, under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization [*SWAPO*], of the South African people, under the leadership of the ANC and of the other peoples of southern Africa for national independence and social progress. We attach the greatest importance to strengthening solidarity and mutual assistance among the African countries.

55. We unreservedly support the struggle of the Afghan people to defend and consolidate the fruits of their April revolution. We support the position of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea regarding tripartite talks on the withdrawal of United States troops from South Korea and the peaceful reunification of that country. We support the struggle of the Cypriot people to defend their sovereignty and territorial integrity. We support the right of the peoples of East Timor and of Micronesia to self-determination.

56. Although Europe was the battleground of two world wars and is currently the site of the world's most formidable arsenal, for the past 40 years it has been the only region not to experience a local war. In sharp contrast, Asia and the Pacific are the only places in the world where, during the same period, three massive and lengthy local wars have taken place: the Korean War and the two Indo-Chinese wars. That does not take into account the wars unleashed by China against many of its neighbours. After having established in Europe the biggest military alliance ever—the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [*NATO*]—the United States went on to set up an enormous number of military alliances in the Asian and Pacific region, including the Central Treaty Organization, the South-East Asia Treaty Organization and the Australia-New Zealand-United States, United States-Japan, United States-Taiwan and United States-South Korea alliances. However, the manoeuvres of the forces of imperialism and reaction have met with one set-back after another,

2

and Asia is the continent which has experienced the most fundamental upheavals in the world in the course of the past four decades.

57. Despite repeated failure, the forces of imperialism and reaction have still not abandoned their aggressive hegemonistic designs concerning the peoples of Asia. The United States is at present working towards the creation of a military alliance with Japan and South Korea. Japan is on its way to becoming the unsinkable aircraft carrier of the United States in Asia. Today the peoples of Asia and the Pacific are gravely concerned at the increasing collusion between the United States and China and between China and Japan, which is directed against the peace and independence of the nations of the region. Washington has never concealed its intention of forming a NATO-type military bloc in Asia.

58. This situation demands that the peoples of Asia increase their vigilance and unite in the struggle for lasting peace on that continent. We welcome all efforts to that end. In this context, we greatly appreciate the initiative of the Mongolian People's Republic regarding signature of a treaty of mutual non-aggression and non-use of force in relations between the countries of Asia and the Pacific.

59. The fierce struggles and profound changes in Asia find their fullest expression in the three countries of Indo-China. The so-called question of Kampuchea is nothing but a continuation of the evolution of the situation in Indo-China over the last 40 years. In order to find a just solution to this so-called problem, the true nature of the situation in Indo-China and Asia must be considered. That situation may be summed up as follows.

60. First of all, Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea are the only countries in the world to have been ravaged by 40 years of uninterrupted war and to have been the target of a quantity of bombs and explosives five times greater than that used during the Second World War.

61. Secondly, the three countries of Indo-China have been the main victims of aggression at the hands of the United States, China, Great Britain and France—all four of them permanent members of the Security Council, a body with the primary responsibility for the maintenance of world peace and the preservation of the sovereignty and independence of peoples. To ensure the success of their aggression against the three countries of Indo-China, the imperialist and reactionary forces have used the ploy of the thief who cries "Stop thief", accusing the three Indo-Chinese countries of being tools of communist expansion and a threat to neighbouring States.

62. Thirdly, the countries of Indo-China are the victims of a common enemy: imperialism and reaction. The aggressors have invaded the territories of these three countries simultaneously, with the aim of imposing their domination on all of them. Therefore, solidarity in the fight against the common enemy is a necessity for the countries of Indo-China. Their armed forces have always fought side by side for the independence of each and all of them. They have never gone beyond the borders of Indo-China, and the solidarity among the three countries has never threatened the interests of neighbouring States. Common solidarity is of vital importance for the three countries of Indo-China, as it is for the Arab countries, the African countries, the front-line States in southern Africa, and so forth. Imperialist and reactionary forces from outside have collaborated in making use of the countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations [*ASEAN*]—except for Indonesia—and their territories to oppose the peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea. These forces have tried to divide those countries, using the false concept of the so-called Indo-Chinese Federation, which was abandoned by the three countries following the dissolution by France in 1950 of French Indo-China.

63. Fourthly, the aspiration of the three Indo-Chinese peoples to independence has crystallized into an invincible force. For the past 40 years, neither the successive long and brutal wars nor the sustained economic blockades and attempts at political isolation have been able to subjugate the three countries. The aggressors have finally had to agree to participate in international conferences ending the war and recognizing the independence and sovereignty of the three countries. Ours has been the only region of the world regarding which three international conferences have been held with the participation of the five permanent members of the Security Council. They resulted in the only international agreements recognizing the national rights of the countries of Indo-China.

64. Fifthly, the struggle in South-East Asia over the past four decades has resulted in the formation of two groups of countries, with differing political and social systems: the ASEAN countries and the countries of Indo-China. In pursuance of their policy of "divide and rule", the imperialist and reactionary countries have pitted the ASEAN States against the States of Indo-China. Peace and stability in South-East Asia require both the peaceful coexistence of these two groups of countries and the end of all outside intervention in the region.

65. Sixthly, during the past 40 years the majority of Members of the United Nations have remained silent in the face of the prolonged and most brutal wars of aggression waged against the countries of Indo-China. And today, again, the majority are siding with the expansionist forces by recognizing the Pol Pot clique, which is guilty of the genocide of 3 million Kampucheans and is now trying to impede the rebirth of the Kampuchean people. That is precisely why the settlement of the Indo-Chinese wars—the longest and bloodiest in the world—has taken place outside the United Nations framework.

66. If the so-called problem of Kampuchea has dragged on for six years without being resolved it is because of an unwillingness to address the crux of the problem: the struggle of the three peoples of Indo-China to defend their independence and sovereignty against the hegemonism and expansionism of their neighbour to the north. Some have deliberately supported the aggressors against their victims. Similarly, there has been support for the Pol Pot clique, which massacred 3 million Kampucheans, launched wars of aggression against neighbouring countries, and is now trying to impede the rebirth of the Kampuchean people.

67. During the past six years, the People's Republic of Kampuchea has become an undeniable reality. From the mass graves of the Pol Pot régime, the Kampuchean people have returned to life and regained their national unity and harmony. They have exercised, and are exercising, their right to self-determination, which, for them, is first and foremost

the right to live free from the Pol Pot criminals. But, under the pretext of defending the Kampuchean people's right to self-determination, the imperialists and the reactionaries are trying to bring the Pol Pot clique back to power.

68. Vietnamese volunteer forces have on three occasions gone to Kampuchea to fight alongside the Kampuchean people against their common enemy. Twice they have withdrawn from Kampuchea: the first time was in 1954, at the end of the French colonialists' war, and the second time was in 1975, at the end of the United States war. They will withdraw for the third time when China has ended its threat.

69. The People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam categorically reject the demand for a unilateral withdrawal of Vietnamese volunteers, a demand designed to bring Pol Pot—either openly or in disguise—back to Kampuchea. The Kampuchean people's recovery has made possible a gradual withdrawal of Vietnamese volunteers from Kampuchea each year, starting in 1982. This has frustrated the design of those who would like either to demand the immediate and complete withdrawal of Vietnamese volunteers, opening the way for the Pol Pot clique to return to power in Kampuchea, or to keep these forces bogged down in Kampuchea unable to withdraw.

70. All the military, economic, political and diplomatic measures that China and the countries of ASEAN have taken against the three Indo-Chinese peoples during the last six years have failed. All attempts to impose a unilateral solution on Kampuchea have come to naught. Now there is only one alternative: to engage in a dialogue, to consider jointly the proposals of both parties and to start negotiations on the basis of equality and mutual respect for each other's interests. We are of the view that if the parties concerned sincerely wish to settle their differences, the opportunity for doing so has presented itself. Such a development will conform to the interests of all parties in South-East Asia and to the resolutions on South-East Asia adopted by the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi from 7 to 12 March 1983, resolutions which were accepted by the countries of both ASEAN and Indo-China.

71. We welcome all initiatives by other countries to facilitate negotiations between the two groups of South-East Asian countries to find a solution that ensures respect for each other's independence and sovereignty and guarantees peace and security in South-East Asia.

72. Attempts to impose a solution aimed at thwarting the rebirth of Kampuchea, which would result in the return of the genocidal Pol Pot clique and which would threaten Laos and Viet Nam, should be abandoned; otherwise peace and stability in South-East Asia will continue to be undermined. In this context, with the growing strength of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, Vietnamese volunteers will continue their annual withdrawals from Kampuchea. Within 5 to 10 years, when most of the Vietnamese volunteers will have been withdrawn from Kampuchea, the People's Republic of Kampuchea will be able to shoulder its own defence, and the question of Kampuchea will thus resolve itself.

73. As a people who have endured centuries of foreign domination and half a century of wartime destruction, the Vietnamese people long for a life of peace more ardently than any other people. We wish to entertain friendly relations with all countries and especially with neighbouring States. We are ready to let bygones be bygones and to look to the future in our relations with those countries which have caused and are still causing so much suffering to our peoples.

74. A stable situation in South-East Asia depends first and foremost on the relations between the two main groups of countries, those of ASEAN and those of Indo-China. There is no alternative to these groups settling their differences through negotiations on the basis of equality and mutual respect, free from outside interference. The peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea always respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Thailand and wish to develop neighbourly relations with its people. However, it should be pointed out that the main obstacles are the hostile policies pursued by the Thai authorities in collusion with the foreign reactionaries, using the Pol Pot clique to oppose the rebirth of the Kampuchean people, supporting acts of subversion against the Lao People's Democratic Republic, continuing their occupation of the three Lao villages as well as their hostile policies towards Viet Nam. We hope that the Thai authorities will soon realize this, for the sake of their national interest and for the sake of peace, stability and peaceful coexistence in South-East Asia. We demand that the Thai authorities put an end to their interference in the internal affairs of Kampuchea. Thailand must immediately withdraw its troops from the three Lao villages it has illegally occupied since 6 June 1984, return the villagers it kidnapped, compensate the people for the loss of life and property it inflicted and allow the three villages to return to their normal way of life.

75. The occupation by Thailand of the three Lao villages—at a time when the differences between ASEAN and the Indo-Chinese countries, having dragged on for six years, have not yet been settled and may or may not soon be settled—further points to the urgent need to reach some agreement on peaceful coexistence between ASEAN and Indo-China in order to defuse the explosive tensions which threaten to get out of control.

76. While constantly consolidating and strengthening our relations with the Soviet Union and fraternal socialist countries, we always wish to restore traditional friendly relations with the Chinese people. It is our view that the normalization of Sino-Vietnamese relations and the restoration of mutual friendship are in the interest of both peoples and at the same time constitute a very important factor for peace and security in South-East Asia.

77. Even though it will take us a long time to overcome the consequences of the war of aggression conducted by Johnson and Nixon against our people, the people of Viet Nam always consider the American people as their friends, the peoples of the two countries both being victims of that war. If the United States Government really wishes to contribute to peace and security in South-East Asia, its efforts will be welcomed. We once again reaffirm our willingness to settle with the United States all problems that concern our two countries including the questions of the Americans reported missing in action, the Amerasian children and criminals in re-education camps, and so on.

78. The relationship between Viet Nam and the Soviet Union and other socialist countries is one of enduring fraternal trust that has stood the test of time. The Soviet Union is the only permanent member of the Security Council that has shown respect for Viet Nam's independence and wholeheartedly supported its struggle for independence. Thanks to the valuable assistance of the Soviet Union, Viet Nam has been able to overcome the most serious obstacles in defending and building its country.

79. The United States, China, Japan and the ASEAN countries are now raising a din about the so-called Soviet military base at Cam Ranh. I should make it clear that, at present, there is no such Soviet military base in Viet Nam but our country has the right to let Soviet aircraft and vessels call at its ports in Viet Nam. Soviet aircraft and vessels calling at Vietnamese ports do not pose a threat to any country. The only real threat to all Asian countries is posed by China with the largest armed forces of the world, as well as by the colossal United States military bases in the Philippines, in Thailand and in Okinawa and particularly by Japan's position as the United States' "unsinkable aircraft carrier". This fact can be underscored by the use of these territories and bases in the United States war of aggression against Viet Nam and the other Indo-Chinese countries. The outcry by China, the United States and the ASEAN countries about the purported Soviet military base in Viet Nam is simply aimed at obscuring the grave threat posed by China's gigantic military machine and by the colossal United States military bases in Asia. If these countries are really worried about Soviet aircraft and vessels in Viet Nam, why then do they reject the resolution adopted in 1983 by the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries calling for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the South-East Asian region? Why then do they refuse to accept the concept of a zone of peace and neutrality in Asia, proposed since 1971 by the ASEAN countries themselves? Viet Nam favours the idea of turning South-East Asia into a zone of peace and neutrality, as called for in the Seventh Conference resolution and as proposed by the ASEAN countries.

80. Mr. SEMEDO (Guinea-Bissau) (*interpretation from French*):* Mr. President, first of all, my delegation is very pleased to see an eminent son of Africa presiding over the General Assembly at its thirty-ninth session. In electing you to the presidency for this session, the international community wished, above all, to pay a tribute to your country, Zambia, with which Guinea-Bissau maintains relations of friendship and brotherliness, for its important contribution to the process of decolonization of the African continent and the realization of the ideals of peace and freedom which are so dear to the Organization. The General Assembly also wished to show its appreciation for the lofty qualities which distinguish you, to salute your dynamic and tireless activities as President of the United Nations Council for Namibia, and to greet you as a humanist and staunch defender of the principles and objectives of the Charter of the United Nations.

81. I should like also to express to your illustrious predecessor, Mr. Jorge Illueca, my country's gratitude for the devotion and personal commitment he displayed throughout his term of office.

82. I should like also to take this opportunity to welcome Brunei Darussalam to the great family of the United Nations and to wish it every success in the consolidation of its national independence and its economic and social development.

83. We are particularly pleased with the Secretary-General's report on the work of the Organization [*A/39/1*]. Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar's realism and far-sightedness, which we had occasion to emphasize at previous sessions of the General Assembly, have been further confirmed in his persistent efforts to improve the functioning of the Organization and to strengthen its role in the consolidation of international peace and security, development and co-operation. We wish to commend his lucid analysis of the world situation, which is a reflection of the main concerns of the international community, and we subscribe to the measures advocated for remedying the various crises affecting international relations.

84. In view of the complexity of the problems now confronting mankind and their constant deterioration, it is indeed a matter of regret to have to note that a certain spirit of pessimism and a certain conformism appear to be more and more prevalent in our work. This state of affairs may be explained by the structural nature of our problems and also by the lack of real political will to seek just and lasting solutions.

85. A more and more noticeable trend towards crystallization of our discussions around the same questions indicates the urgent need for us to meditate on our own individual and collective conduct and to give our joint actions the necessary dynamism and motivation. Above all, it is important to eliminate the spirit of confrontation, selfishness and intransigence and the various kinds of pressure, which tend to undermine the proper functioning and the very raison d'être of the United Nations.

86. The numerous failures and disappointments we have noted in the efforts of the Organization to build a world of peace, justice and progress are nothing more or less than a corollary to our own inconsistencies and weaknesses. That being so, it is clear that the problems besetting mankind as a whole can be resolved only through a global approach and through effective participation in that process by all States. To try to avoid that reality or simply to ignore it would be tantamount to denying the principles contained in the Charter and to condemning the United Nations to repeated failures.

87. That helps to explain the various attempts which have been made by the developing countries in general, and particularly by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, to encourage a constructive dialogue with the wealthy countries on matters of development. It may be said that, despite the persistent obstruction of certain countries, these efforts have nevertheless been pursued. The meetings held at Quito, Cartagena and Mar del Plata and the recent meeting held at San José, Costa Rica, with the participation of some Latin American States, the members of the European Economic Community, and Portugal and Spain, bear out that resolve.

88. The economic indicators, in both the developing and the developed countries, clearly demonstrate the pressing need for relaunching global negotiations.

---

*Mr. Semedo spoke in Portuguese. The French version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

READEX FICHE

89. When we speak of North-South dialogue we do not understand it to mean a sort of accommodation designed to satisfy the wishes of a particular group of countries—in this case, the least developed countries. Rather, it is a common enterprise undertaken by the international community under the auspices of the United Nations, on the basis of a unanimous desire to put an end to the present intolerable international economic situation. This action should be geared to the creation of conditions that would make possible the achievement of balanced and equitable development which would be in keeping with the dialectic of positive interdependence among nations. In this connection, it is important that due account be taken of the constructive proposals made by the non-aligned countries and the Group of 77.

90. The distortions of the present economic and financial situation, in addition to the natural catastrophes besetting the populations of developing countries, all require immediate and appropriate action. The burden of external debt, compounded by high interest rates, the drop in production and exports, the constant deterioration of the terms of trade, the food crisis and lack of the resources needed to exploit their economic potentials have today placed the developing countries in a grievous situation, the persistence of which jeopardizes their achievements in many of these fields and compromises the attempts to satisfy the legitimate rights of their peoples to social well-being, health and education, and at the same time tends to diminish their faith in the future.

91. The African countries are suffering particularly from the consequences of the present world economic crisis, and from the phenomenon of desertification, which affects most of them. Afflicted by drought, the countries of the Sudano-Sahelian area, including Guinea-Bissau, have experienced desert creep, a decrease in their agricultural capabilities and destruction of their cattle, without at the same time having the means necessary to enable them to cope with such situations.

92. The impoverishment of Africa and the third world in general has thus reached alarming proportions, proportions which jeopardize the very possibility of survival for millions of human beings tragically affected by hunger and sickness.

93. Nevertheless, nothing can justify acceptance of hunger as a necessary evil of our time. Nor can the absence of adequate measures for the eradication of this scourge be justified when it is borne in mind that there are enormous food surpluses elsewhere, in other countries, the rational utilization of which would make it possible to save millions of human lives.

94. In the light of this gloomy and regrettable state of affairs, I think no one can deny the historic responsibility borne by our northern partners, regardless of their socio-political and economic systems, to be actively involved in efforts to promote collective prosperity.

95. In this connection, we hope that the appeal made by the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the Director-General of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations will help produce a heightened awareness of this tragedy and encourage the specific emergency measures the situation dictates.

96. The question of peace, the relationship of which to development seems for the time being only to be viewed theoretically, is also a constant preoccupation of mankind.

97. General and complete disarmament, which is often erroneously presented as a matter within the exclusive purview of the major military Powers, is one of the essential prerequisites for strengthening world security and creating a climate that would favour the advent of genuine global peace.

98. The rechannelling of the tremendous resources now being used for military purposes so that they may be used to further the economic and social progress of the developing countries in particular would in this connection be a heartening sign of humanity's choice to realize its profound aspirations to peace, progress and happiness through a clear-sighted, consistent and beneficial action. This is, essentially, an indispensable step towards the establishment of the new international economic order, to which we all aspire.

99. The current international situation makes it necessary for us once again to express our extreme disquiet at the recrudescence of violence, instability and insecurity in various parts of the world.

100. The persistence and constant deterioration of areas of tension in the Middle East, southern Africa, Central America and southern Asia, as well as the scant signs of any positive developments in these matters, make us wonder about our capacity to handle the present problems and *a fortiori* any others that might arise in the future.

101. Thus, for example, although it is unacceptable and has been the subject of unanimous condemnation, the attitude of South Africa and Israel has still not been dealt with effectively by the international community. The arrogance displayed by those two States and their total scorn for the principles and norms of international law, the resolutions and decisions adopted by various bodies of the United Nations and all the initiatives that have been taken internationally can only be explained by the considerable support provided by their economic and military allies. The continuation of this situation is a threat to international peace and stability and clearly indicates the increasingly marked trend in certain States to seek simply to serve their own interests to the detriment of the rights of other peoples.

102. Our solidarity must be ever more active *vis-à-vis* the peoples of South Africa, Namibia and Palestine, as also those countries that border on those bastions of *apartheid* and zionism, by way of defending their national independence and their territorial integrity.

103. The effective support of the international community for the liberation movements in southern Africa, in particular the ANC and SWAPO, should be aimed at providing a clear-cut affirmation of the justice of their struggle and the need for full realization of the inalienable rights of the peoples of Namibia and South Africa to independence, progress and social justice.

104. Full implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) remains the most appropriate way of ensuring Namibia's swift and peaceful accession to independence. The attempts to link that country's independence with the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola are nothing more than a delaying tactic which the United Nations and the vast majority of its Members have rejected out of hand.

105. The self-styled constitutional reforms and the semblance of a democratic trend in South Africa can surely only be construed as an insidious attempt to improve cosmetically the racist image of the *apartheid* régime. Furthermore, the genuine reasons for this scenario are quite obvious: the further alienation of the black majority from political life in the country and the accentuation of racial stratification by arousing dissension in non-white communities and justifying the inhuman treatment inflicted on the black populations.

106. Guinea-Bissau subscribes to Security Council resolution 554 (1984), which rejected the so-called new constitution. We should like here to express our full solidarity with the patriots of South Africa who have courageously and resolutely opposed this new manoeuvre on the part of the South African régime, thus issuing a heartfelt appeal to the universal conscience that steps be taken to make it possible to eradicate the odious system of *apartheid*.

107. The extraordinary summit meeting of the heads of State of African countries whose official language is Portuguese—Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Sao Tome and Principe—on 27 April last in Maputo, reaffirmed the unflagging support of our five countries for the struggle of the fraternal peoples of Namibia and South Africa. The summit went on to emphasize that as long as *apartheid*—being, as it is, the main factor leading to tension and destabilization in the region—continued to exist, there could be no genuine peace in that part of the African continent.

108. The summit also welcomed the negotiating process initiated in southern Africa and reaffirmed its solidarity with the front-line States, the People's Republic of Angola and the People's Republic of Mozambique in particular, in their efforts to preserve their national independence and territorial integrity.

109. Guinea-Bissau, which is aware of its own responsibilities in the total liberation of the African continent from all forms of domination and oppression, would, in the light of the principle of the peaceful settlement of disputes among States, lend its support to any initiative that would take into account the expressed interests of the Namibian and South African peoples regarding peace and stability in southern Africa.

110. In the Middle East, it is quite obvious that as long as there is no solution of the Palestinian issue—a solution that should involve full exercise of the Palestinian people's legitimate right to create a sovereign and independent State—and as long as Israel continues illegally to occupy Arab territories, there can be no real possibility of peace in the area.

111. The seriousness and complexity of the explosive situation prevailing in that part of the world fully justify the convening of an international peace conference on the Middle East with the participation of all the parties concerned, including, quite obviously, the PLO, the sole authentic representative of the Palestinian people.

112. Although we have achieved noteworthy results, particularly in the process of decolonization, along the lines laid down in the historic General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), it must at the same time be admitted that this is a matter still at the forefront of our attention. Particularly on the African continent, certain Territories are still subject to foreign domination, despite the repeated efforts made by the international community to liberate them.

113. In this connection, the situation prevailing in north-west Africa, where there is still a dangerous source of tension and conflict, is a matter of particular concern to us. We regret that resolutions on the question of Western Sahara adopted at the nineteenth ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, held at Addis Ababa from 6 to 12 June 1983,[3] and at the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly [*resolution 38/40*], which, *inter alia*, advocate direct negotiations between the Kingdom of Morocco and the Frente POLISARIO,[4] have as yet not been implemented. However, were those resolutions implemented, that would undoubtedly be a factor of prime importance, not only in ushering in peace in the region, but also in laying the groundwork for strengthening the unity of the peoples involved and of the Organization of African Unity [*OAU*], and the advent of a greater Maghreb.

114. We would like to reiterate our continued support of the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic and the Frente POLISARIO in their just struggle for the independence of Western Sahara.

115. The situation in Chad is also a matter of concern to us. Here, we remain convinced that the solution to the problem of Chad should be an internal one, free from any external interference. That is why we hope that the recent developments in Chad will help to promote a settlement in accordance with the resolutions of the OAU and also serve to safeguard the higher interests of the people of Chad.

116. We could not give any coherent account of the history of decolonization or talk about the right of every people freely to determine its destiny without referring to the question of East Timor. The repression and massacre of the Maubère people are facts that no member of the international community, whatever its socio-political system or ideology, could possibly overlook. The final solution of that question presupposes recognition of the inalienable right of the people of East Timor to self-determination and independence and requires that negotiations be held among all the parties concerned, namely, FRETILIN,[5] Indonesia, and Portugal as the legal administering Power.

117. We believe that the steps taken by the representative of the Secretary-General to find the necessary conditions for a final solution to this problem should be pursued and should enjoy the support of the parties concerned and of the international community.

118. My country supports the plan for the peaceful reunification of Korea and welcomes the efforts that have been undertaken to make it possible for this legitimate aspiration of the Korean people to be satisfied.

119. Safeguarding the national unity, territorial integrity and non-aligned character of Cyprus is also something that enjoys our full support. That is why we should like to commend the efforts made by the Secretary-General to achieve those ends.

120. The persistent tensions in South Asia, Central America and the Caribbean do not augur well for any lasting solution or any return to peace and stability as long as the legitimate rights of all States in those regions to the free conduct of their own affairs and

the free choice of their economic, social and political systems are not respected.

121. The action of the Contadora Group to establish a climate of peace and understanding in Central America through dialogue and concerted effort deserves our encouragement. We believe that all the countries in the region, and particularly Nicaragua, should be in a position, quite free from any external interference, to resolve their domestic problems and create the necessary conditions for peace and development in their respective countries.

122. My country is increasingly disturbed by the tragic situation prevailing in the Gulf as a result of the war between Iran and Iraq. Once again we urge those two member countries of the Islamic Conference and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries to opt for the path of negotiation, which is the only way in which the higher interests of the Iranian and Iraqi peoples can be safeguarded and the only way they can be guaranteed the peace that they so sorely need if they are to make progress within their respective frontiers.

123. In recent years, Guinea-Bissau has suffered from drought, a drop in agricultural output and declining exports. The deterioration of climatic conditions, together with the devastating effect of the world economic crisis at large, is one of the main concerns of the people and Government of Guinea-Bissau. That is why our Government is making every effort to stimulate agricultural output, particularly by having production-support sectors whose commerce, transport and warehousing infrastructures will help to guarantee self-sufficiency in foodstuffs and an increase in exports.

124. The implementation of the first national development plan is thus responsive to our country's desire to structure the economy by adapting it to the requirements of the process of economic and social development. It is in this context that, with the assistance of UNDP, this year we organized a round table involving the main trading partners of Guinea-Bissau. A rapid follow-up to the conclusions reached at that meeting will lead to the implementation of measures required for the stabilization and revamping of our economy.

125. On behalf of my Government, I should like to take this opportunity to thank all those countries and governmental and non-governmental organizations which took part in that round table for their clearly expressed desire to develop fruitful co-operation with Guinea-Bissau.

126. As we approach the commemoration of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, despite its difficulties and weaknesses, we think it is quite legitimate to rejoice at its achievements. But there can be no doubt that a great deal remains to be achieved and that the responsibilities weighing on the United Nations are becoming ever heavier.

127. We are convinced that the realization of the hopes of the peoples we represent here is within the grasp of the human resources and immense wealth available on this planet.

128. Man's creative genius, judiciously used for peaceful purposes, can help to eliminate sickness, hunger, poverty and injustice and to promote the collective prosperity for which we all yearn so deeply. It is the duty and responsibility of our States to work to create peace in the world and to mobilize available resources in order to achieve development objectives on a global scale. Our efforts must be collective; they must all be focused on a better state of understanding among our nations; they should dispel mistrust and tension, thus making it possible to consolidate the bases for global co-operation which will serve the interests of all mankind.

129. Mr. TULL (Barbados): Mr. President, I wish to add my congratulations to those which have already been expressed as you commence your tenure of office as President of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. In addition to our admiration for your sterling qualities, well-known diplomatic skill and vast experience, my country has always had the most cordial relations with the country which you have the honour to represent. May I add, Mr. President, that you, as a former High Commissioner of Zambia to Barbados, played a major part in fostering those relations. Because of the bonds of history and culture that link Africa with the Caribbean, the people of Barbados can, and do, lay a secondary claim upon you.

130. May I also express my congratulations to the outgoing President of the General Assembly, Mr. Jorge Illueca, of Panama, for his capable handling of the critical issues which commanded the attention of this body during the thirty-eighth session.

131. Barbados extends a warm welcome to Brunei Darussalam as it joins the membership of the United Nations. I am certain that our common characteristics as small island States will lay the foundation for a fruitful association in pursuit of the goals of the Organization.

132. Since I last had the honour to address the Assembly, little headway has been made in resolving the critical and often overwhelming problems with which mankind is beset. Indeed, one may be forgiven for yielding to cynicism and despair at the daily reports of hunger, strife and economic collapse, and at the endless chronicle of increasingly chilling human rights abuse.

133. For us, in the English-speaking Caribbean, the events which began on 19 October last year with the bloody overthrow of the Government of Grenada have constituted, unquestionably, the single most traumatic development in the recent political history of our region. After all the years of struggle for our internal political emancipation, followed by the battle for our independence, the practice of electoral democracy has become engrained in the psyche of our people. Government by the duly elected representatives of the people is something which we have come to take for granted as a natural part of our political reality. Any overthrow of such a system, any imposition of gun rule on the people in one part of our region—people who are often our blood cousins, sometimes even our blood brothers and sisters—strikes instantly at the deepest level of our security. Despite the formal constitutional divisions between the entities in the English-speaking Caribbean, we are essentially one people. The events in Grenada brought this home with a new and frightening awareness. Unfortunately, in a world which has become inured to change of government by *coup d'état*, which increasingly acts as if democracy were a luxury reserved for a privileged few, this special relationship is not generally understood.

134. Happily, throughout the Caribbean the feeling has grown that the time for recrimination has passed. The process of reconstruction, both economic and

political, has begun in Grenada, and shortly, in the full glare of international publicity and scrutiny, the people of Grenada will elect a government in free and open elections.

135. It is a sad but seemingly inexorable rule of history that great change seldom comes without great shocks to trigger it. The shock of the Grenada tragedy may turn out to be salutary if it pushes the international community to recognize the fact that it owes a particular duty to the smaller States among its membership. It is a duty that springs almost organically from the nature of international society. The integrity of small States is, first of all, the business of those States themselves, otherwise there would be no meaning to the concept of national sovereignty. But, for the very health of the international community itself, and hence of this Organization, it is imperative that the special difficulties of smaller States be high on the agenda of international deliberations. A former Secretary-General of the United Nations argued eloquently that the Organization is, above all, the Organization of the small and the weak. Much lip-service has been paid to this concept, but the truth is that the Organization has not yet been able to wind its increasingly cumbersome machinery into the proper position for dealing with the realities of the plight of many of its smaller Members. It brings to mind the unhappy image of a great ship incapable of changing course quickly or safely enough to save the man who has fallen overboard.

136. More and more, it is obvious that the international community must gear itself, both practically and constitutionally, to the task of shoring up the sovereignty and integrity of its smaller member States. The other possibilities are stark: if, in times of trouble, small States cannot be confident of the disinterested embrace of this Organization, there is a very real risk that they will fall into the clutches of those whose interests and power are by definition inimical to the flourishing of diversity and independence among States.

137. It is not only on the political front that small States are exposed to security threats. Policies on the part of powerful States which amount to economic coercion can easily upset the fragile balance of small open economies. I need hardly say that disruption of economic security leads sooner or later to political instability.

138. Fortunately, the past few years have seen a growing recognition of the special difficulties faced by small States. The particular problems of small island States, of which Barbados has an intimate knowledge, have also been receiving the attention not only of the United Nations, through the work being done by UNCTAD, but also of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. It is to be hoped that some of the fruits of this work will be presented to the General Assembly in order that the international community may be made more aware not only of the problems but also of the possible solutions to the dilemmas of these geographically disadvantaged countries.

139. Until very recently, however, consideration of this issue has focused primarily on economic concerns. One notable exception has been the work of the United Nations with regard to mercenaries. Mindful of our own vulnerability to mercenary attack, Barbados has been consistent in pressing for the adoption of resolutions and conventions to stamp out the recruitment, use, financing and training of mercenaries.

140. We are heartened by the fact that the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against the Recruitment, Use, Financing and Training of Mercenaries has at last been able to agree on a "Consolidated Negotiating Basis" for future negotiations. We are optimistic enough to interpret this as a signal that the members of the Committee are prepared to work seriously in future sessions towards the early elaboration of a convention, which is so sorely needed. Barbados will continue to contribute to this end in whatever way it can.

141. It is evident that the original concept of a nation State, responsible for, and capable of, providing fully for its own defence, is no longer applicable in today's world. Nor is the United Nations equipped in its present form to play this role. As Prime Minister Olof Palme, of Sweden, Chairman of the Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues, points out in his report, "Common Security",[6] the present United Nations security role is restricted to peace-keeping. The report highlights the limitations of United Nations peace-keeping operations, noting that such operations "can only be launched after a conflict has broken out", and then only "with the consent of . . . the warring parties", and require "the mandate of the Security Council which may not be forthcoming because of political differences among the permanent members . . . In short, current concepts of peace-keeping possess little capacity to deter".

142. Until the necessary international machinery is put in place to safeguard their security, the sense of vulnerability felt by small States will continue to increase. It is therefore incumbent on the Organization to set about this task as a matter of urgency.

143. Economic security goes hand in hand with political security. Indeed, the security of small States can hardly be considered in isolation from their special economic problems. Caught in the ebb and flow of global economic fortunes, small States have their extreme fragility brought into sharp focus. It is in such States that the impact of a sudden economic downturn in the international economy is felt first and most forcefully, and they are the last to benefit from any subsequent upturn.

144. Against this background, we must once again call upon the international community, in particular the developed countries, to show substantive proof of their oft-stated commitment to the development of the economically disadvantaged nations. The evidence is growing that their own continued prosperity is inextricably linked to the viability of the developing world.

145. We take note of the Economic Declaration issued at the tenth Economic Summit of Western industrialized countries, held in London from 7 to 9 June 1984 [*A/39/304, annex*]. In this document, recognition is given to the economic pressures on the developing world and to the vital role which industrialized countries must play in promoting the process of economic growth in the third world.

146. This is fine language. But what is needed is action, urgent and purposeful action. It is our firm belief that a restructuring of the international economic order is imperative if the third world is ever to attain acceptable levels of prosperity. It is evident,

too, that such a process must involve a significant input from the developing countries for whose benefit it is intended. In this context we reiterate our support for global negotiations, with the full and meaningful participation of all developing countries.

147. A genuine and consistent effort is needed to reverse the protectionist trends in international trade which are effectively stifling the efforts of developing countries to create the linkages essential for self-sustaining growth. At the same time, the international community must be prepared to channel a greater flow of resources to developing countries to assist in the necessary structural adjustment of their economies. In concert with this, ways must be found to ease the debt burden of these countries and to initiate the long-overdue revamping of the international financial system.

148. My Government considers that the debt problem is one of the most crucial and urgent issues on the international agenda. Unless there is rapid acceptance of the need to reschedule short-term debts and to accord an extension of repayment periods, it is difficult to see how a real and comprehensive recovery can come about.

149. At the same time, it must be recognized that there is an urgent need to restructure the international monetary system. The endemic instability in that system, with its wildly fluctuating exchange rates, constitutes a real impediment to the economic advancement of the developing world.

150. High on the agenda of international political concerns is the question of Namibia, which continues to defy solution. The world body finds itself powerless to end the illegal occupation of that country by South Africa. In 1978 there was optimism about a settlement of the Namibia issue, when the Security Council adopted resolution 435 (1978). However, since then, little progress has been achieved and South Africa continues to tighten its grip on the Territory and to exploit and plunder its natural resources. In the recent past, the racist régime of South Africa has continued to thwart all hope of progress towards the independence of Namibia, by stubbornly refusing to make sincere or serious attempts to come to terms with the genuine efforts of SWAPO and the front-line States to reach an acceptable solution.

151. Barbados must once again unreservedly condemn South Africa's refusal to comply with United Nations resolutions on Namibia. We categorically reject all efforts to link the independence of Namibia to extraneous considerations. Such demands are nothing more than diversionary and delaying tactics.

152. I wish here to reaffirm the unchanging determination of the Government of Barbados to support the struggle to free the black majority of South Africa from the yoke of *apartheid.* The recent constitutional reforms are purely cosmetic, as they plainly fail to address the fundamental issue in South Africa—the systematic and constitutionally sanctioned suppression of the black and coloured majority in their own country. The elections recently held in South Africa have been shown up for the sham which they are, through the boycott of the polls by the overwhelming majority of the coloured and Indian peoples of South Africa. My Government renews its pledge not to rest until the scourge of *apartheid* is relegated finally and irrevocably to the scrap-heap of history.

153. The Middle East conflict continues to occupy centre stage, amid the myriad conflicts raging around the globe.

154. The Government of Barbados maintains its position that the resolution of the question of Palestine is fundamental to the achievement of peace in the Middle East. Just as the State of Israel has the right to exist within agreed and secure boundaries, by the same token Israel must recognize the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to existence as a sovereign and independent State within secure boundaries.

155. In this respect, I wish to reiterate my country's support for Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), which provide a valuable starting-point in the search for a negotiated settlement of the Middle East problem.

156. Barbados views with deep concern the latest development in the troubled Middle East region, namely, the mining of the Red Sea waterways. Not only has this succeeded in disrupting shipping in the region, but it could conceivably have claimed the lives of many innocent people. Such indiscriminate acts of terrorism encourage even more extreme retaliatory measures and prove self-defeating in the long run.

157. It is with a sense of cautious optimism that we follow the tentative progress being made in Lebanon towards restoring peace in that country which has suffered for so long. The formation earlier this year of a Government of national unity comprising representatives of the Christian, Muslim and Druse communities was a welcome and positive development. Recent indications that withdrawals of foreign military forces may soon be under way also give cause for cautious optimism.

158. The outlook for peace in another part of the Middle East appears far less promising. We must all deplore the loss of human life and the waste of resources which the conflict between Iran and Iraq, now in its fifth year, is continuing to cause. We join others in calling on both Governments to declare a cease-fire in the conflict and to enter into negotiations to settle their dispute, which poses such a grave and growing threat to international peace and security.

159. Nearer home, international attention continues to focus on the situation in Central America. We are convinced that deep-seated social and economic inequalities are at the root of the conflict in Central America and must be redressed as a matter of urgency.

160. The Government of Barbados is therefore deeply disturbed by the massive buildup of military forces in the area, which not only is dangerous in itself but represents a tragic diversion of funds from necessary social and economic development efforts. In this context, I wish to reiterate our firm support for the efforts of the Contadora Group in seeking a peaceful and negotiated settlement of the conflict.

161. Elsewhere, we seem to be faced with stalemate after stalemate. This is true with regard to Afghanistan, Kampuchea and Korea. In the case of Korea, there are signs, which we warmly welcome, that the possibility of peaceful resolution exists. We would exhort the two sides to grasp such opportunities and to seek a creative and constructive path to peace.

162. Against the background of the intensification of global conflict and the security needs of small

States, it is pertinent here to touch on the issues of the arms race and disarmament.

163. The breakdown of the Geneva talks on strategic arms reduction gives cause for deep disappointment. It is in the hands of the two major Powers that the delicate balance of world peace is held. It is therefore their solemn duty to put aside intransigence and to seek a viable agreement in a spirit of compromise. Nothing casts so large a shadow over the world as the fear of nuclear war. Those who hold the keys to the final holocaust have an overwhelming duty to mankind to narrow their differences and to maintain permanently open channels of dialogue.

164. In this context, the statistics on military expenditure are depressing in the extreme. It is particularly heart-breaking to see small developing nations devoting vast sums to military budgets while poverty, hunger and unemployment run rampant in their countries. This phenomenon serves to underscore my earlier remarks concerning the need for effective international machinery to shore up the security of small States. For where there are real or perceived threats to their national security, nations cannot concentrate fully on their economic development and social progress.

165. I need hardly point out that if a fraction of the resources devoted to the expenditure on arms were channelled instead to social and economic development a better life might at last be within reach of the wretched majority on this planet. Moreover, until the world as a whole, and the super-Powers in particular, are prepared to show tangible proof of their commitment to disarmament and to putting an end to the arms race, the threat of a sudden conflagration will continue to hang over us like the sword of Damocles.

166. Mr. President, one of your most onerous responsibilities in the coming year will be to oversee preparations for the celebration of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations. Barbados considers the celebration of this anniversary to be of the utmost importance, beyond the formalities of ceremony and protocol. This anniversary will provide the opportunity for the international community to assess the operation of the present international system and then to improve it to meet the realities of today's world.

167. The Charter of the United Nations was framed at a particular point in history, in the face of a particular set of circumstances, to meet a particular set of objectives. There is no doubt that the international system has been eminently successful in the humanitarian and social areas, in health and education, in agriculture, in emergency relief, and in relation to the interests of workers and the welfare of refugees. Despite all this, the United Nations system is too frequently the target of criticism.

168. This state of affairs arises because so often in the areas of both politics and economics the international system is not allowed to function to its fullest capacity. Narrow concepts of national interest are given a higher priority than the peace and security of mankind; the Governments of some nations are so busy trying to impose their values on the Governments of smaller and weaker countries that they fail to see that the longer-term interests of all countries and peoples depend on co-operative international effort. Some United Nations agencies find themselves starved of resources and are correspondingly ineffective as they try to fulfil their mandate to deliver the programmes required to give the majority of mankind the chance to reach the minimum living standards established by the international community itself.

169. The Charter was drafted on the assumption that the great Powers would act in concert to safeguard peace and security in the world. This concept emerged in the aftermath of the Second World War, when horror at the devastation suffered acted as a catalyst for a new international solidarity that would for ever banish the scourge of war.

170. Events since the Second World War have created a completely different atmosphere on the international scene and it has now become virtually impossible for the great Powers to act in concert. My Government believes that the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations would be an excellent opportunity to undertake a review of the way in which the Organization functions and to determine what practical steps could be taken to make it a more flexible and apt instrument for dealing with present-day realities. It may be that a special session of the General Assembly with this single item on its agenda would be appropriate, and the Assembly might wish at this present session to set in motion the preparations towards that end.

171. Whatever reservations I may have expressed, I feel bound to conclude my statement before the Assembly by reasserting my Government's continuing faith in this great Organization. If the problems of the world were simple, there would be no need for the United Nations. But that, alas, is not the case. At the storm-centre of the difficulties which face the international community is a problem as easy to identify as it is hard to solve, the problem of ideologies, of methods of viewing the world and its history. There is, we all know, no magic potion, no technology, no electric-shock therapy that will suddenly bring about a universal perspective in which we can all happily acquiesce. Meanwhile, we know only too well that in a nuclear world we have no choice but to find, in the grimmest sense of the expression, a *modus vivendi*.

172. In this search, the United Nations system is the best that we have been able to achieve so far. It is the repository of our best hopes, the expression of our highest ideals. Its universality is a promise that with persistence and imagination the community of States may yet find its way out of confrontation and conflict into an era of compromise and conciliation. Let us keep our feet firmly on that path.

173. Mr. ROGERS (Belize): We are fortunate indeed, Sir, to be approaching the end of the fourth decade of the life of the United Nations under the distinguished presidency of a man such as yourself, a man of experience and stature closely identified with your own land, Zambia, your continent, Africa, and your constituency, the world. It is my particular personal pleasure to congratulate you on behalf of my country, Belize, and on my own account on your election to steer the deliberations of this session.

174. You follow in the footsteps of another great friend of Belize, President Jorge Illueca, of Panama, whose conduct of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly's difficult and at times awesome agenda assures him posterity's recognition as one of the eminent statesmen of Latin America.

175. Both our nations are the product of the ideals promulgated in the landmark decision of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 1960—a testimo-

ny to the potential for world transformation inherent in the United Nations.

176. The fact that this potential has not as yet been more fully realized is a comment on the absence of moral and political commitment among those with the authority and the influence to translate for the benefit of their own peoples the principles proclaimed in the Charter of the United Nations for the benefit of all peoples.

177. We welcome the admission of Brunei Darussalam as the 159th Member State of the Organization and offer it our friendship and co-operation.

178. Belize begins the fourth year of independent life as a functioning democracy in the Central American and Caribbean region. At this time, the people of Belize are on the threshold of both local and national elections, under the provisions of a Constitution that guarantees universal adult suffrage to all citizens aged 18 years and more.

179. In a region of the world where violence and civil strife seem endemic, where human rights and human values are often mortgaged for political advantage or ideological impulse, I am proud to speak for a nation that has no political prisoners in its gaols, that recognizes that men and institutions remain free only when freedom is founded upon respect for moral and spiritual values and upon the rule of law.

180. Our policies of government are based on principles of social justice. These principles allow us to operate the economic system in such a way that the material resources of the community are distributed to serve the common good and ensure adequate means of livelihood for all; that labour is not exploited, or forced by economic necessity to operate in inhumane conditions; and that there is opportunity for all to advance on the basis of merit, ability and integrity.

181. But we recognize that it is not an easy task to maintain these noble principles in difficult political and economic circumstances. There must be a daily struggle to keep our freedom, our independence and our sovereignty intact and secure. A nation three years of age is an infant nation. It needs the help and understanding of older nations, especially those concerned with the peace and stability of our region, if we are to fulfil the promises of the fruits of independence for our people and continue to be a free and independent nation, sovereign over all our territory.

182. As a young nation, we wish to live in peace and harmonious co-operation with all our neighbours. We cherish the example of good-neighbourliness that characterizes the relations between Belize and Mexico, our larger northern neighbour, with which we share land and sea borders. We also cherish the relationship of trust and understanding developed over the years with the nations of the Caribbean community which share with us a common history, culture, language and experience.

183. We are enriched by the friendship of the Central American nations with which we share a common geography, common aspirations and a common destiny. We thank them for their friendship, their support and their co-operation. In return, we ask them to recognize our God-given right to determine our existence as a nation for ourselves, free from external threat and domination, sovereign over all our territorial treasures.

184. To our neighbour State of Guatemala, which persists in claiming our land, Belize reiterates its willingness to negotiate with good faith and determination to find a just solution. Such negotiation, however, will not be predicated on any presumption on the part of Guatemala that it has any rights over independent Belize. The independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Belize are not for negotiation.

Mr. Adjoyi (Togo), Vice-President, took the Chair.

185. We invite Guatemala to face the reality that the self-determination of the Belizean people, after years of struggle and constitutional evolution, culminated in the process of decolonization and separation from the Administering Authority and the emergence of a new nation in Central America. Belize did not have two colonizers. The independence of Belize could not have been a unilateral grant from the United Kingdom; it was the result of a legal and constitutional process. This fact is recognized by the United Nations, the Charter and principles of which Guatemala's spokesmen profess to respect; and Belize is recognized by all the nations of the world, except Guatemala.

186. We invite the Government and the people of Guatemala to move away from the archaic and anachronistic attitudes of the past, to acknowledge the exercise of the right of the Belizean people to self-determination, to respect our land and sea borders, to recognize the new State of Belize and to accept its sovereignty.

187. The failure to recognize Belize adds special impediments to negotiations between our two sovereign States. The Government of Guatemala must recognize that authority over Belize is vested in the Government of Belize; therefore, negotiations over Belize must be with the Government of Belize. It is the Government of Belize—and only the Government of Belize—that has and can exercise the authority to conclude a settlement with the Government of Guatemala.

188. To perpetuate the fiction that Guatemala is negotiating with the United Kingdom over Belize is unreal and unproductive. We invite Guatemala to abandon this fiction and to recognize the State of Belize. In this way, we can move forward with realism towards a solution.

189. It is equally fictitious to pretend that Guatemala can strengthen its ties with the people of Belize as long as there exist the institutional distrust and disrespect inherent in their reluctance to accept Belize's independent existence. I can assure the international community that the people of Belize are as united now as they have ever been against the false claims of Guatemala over our territory. We hope that our continuing discussions will bring it to the realization that the way to strengthen the ties between our peoples begins with recognition of our independent existence as a State, respect for our sovereignty and acceptance of our historical borders.

190. Belize continues to agonize over the deteriorating situation in our region of Central America. We express our solidarity with our brothers and sisters in the area and our readiness to assist in every way in the search for peace and stability. We regret the introduction, with the resulting damaging effects, of considerations of an East-West configuration.

191. We support peaceful solutions and adhere to the principle of non-intervention in conflict situa-

tions. Because of this, we welcomed the initiatives of the Contadora Group in searching for regional solutions to regional problems. We congratulate the countries of the Contadora Group on their positive efforts towards a peace agreement and look forward to early acceptance and implementation of the agreements by the countries of the region. For our part, Belize supports the principles and concepts put forward in the new Contadora accords.

192. Belize thanks all its friends and allies who, in this world of interdependence, work together with it to advance the economic development and social progress of its people and the peoples of the region and the world. At the same time, we cannot ignore the fact that, for reasons extraneous to our development needs, Belize often finds itself excluded from regional and hemispheric initiatives designed to improve the economic conditions of our region.

193. As a Central American State, my country is not immune from the results of the conflict in the region. While not a participant in the conflict, we are a recipient of some of the inevitable tragic results, including the need to give refuge, at great sacrifice, to thousands of displaced refugees fleeing from the theatre of civil war. Motivated by our human duty, Belize provides a safe haven for our brother Central Americans in our society.

194. As a disadvantaged developing nation, Belize grapples daily with the facts of underdevelopment: declining export earnings for our sugar and other primary products, high interest rates and the subsequent lessening of foreign exchange available for purchases from the industrialized world. While we have initiated policies to stimulate economic growth, countries such as ours rely heavily on concessionary arrangements and technical and other assistance from international and regional organizations and institutions.

195. We regret, therefore, the deliberate policy of exclusion that prevents Belize from participating in the Organization of American States and its institutions, in the economic initiatives designed for the Central American region and in financial institutions established to assist the development of our part of the world. Passive acceptance of this state of affairs by friendly States in the region is a contribution to the slowing down of the development process in Belize and runs counter to protestations of friendship and regional co-operation.

196. Nearly a year has passed since the tragic events in Grenada traumatized the Caribbean and caused such deep disquiet among our Caribbean sister States and in the larger international community. Our Commonwealth family has agreed that the time for recriminations has passed and that all possible efforts should be made to assist the Grenadian people to reconstruct their shattered country. We view positively the announcement of free and fair elections, to take place in December, and we commit ourselves again to respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of that Caribbean country.

197. We maintain our solidarity with Guyana and support for its right to exercise sovereignty over all its territory, and are encouraged that the Secretary-General has become involved in the search for a suitable settlement of the controversy. We wish him well in this effort and respect the assurances from both sides concerning the maintenance of a climate conducive to a favourable outcome.

198. We continue to support the United Kingdom in its efforts to find an honourable settlement that will not infringe upon the rights of the people of the Falkland Islands to decide their own destiny, and we call on the new Government of Argentina to resume negotiations without pre-conditions that would be prejudicial to the islanders' rights.

199. The independence of Namibia is inevitable. Efforts to discourage the acceleration of that process serve only to delay the final outcome but cannot prevent it. We reiterate our support for and solidarity with SWAPO in the heroic struggle for the liberation of that country.

200. The suffering continues in South Africa, where the racist *apartheid* régime arrogantly, and with seeming impunity, persists in trampling on the rights and dignity of the majority black population. We condemn the trickery and sleight-of-hand being attempted by the racist régime under the guise of constitutional reform designed to defy world opinion and divide the oppressed people of South Africa.

201. While recognizing the right of Israel to exist, we recognize equally the right of the Palestinian people to forge their own destiny in their own homeland on their own territory.

202. Belize joins the rest of the international community in deploring the continuation of the unfortunate war between the non-aligned States of Iran and Iraq and imploring them to put an end to war and begin the task of reconstruction and reconciliation.

203. We remain concerned at the situation in Afghanistan and look forward to a negotiated political settlement that does not prejudice the independence, sovereignty and non-aligned status of that country.

204. As a minor actor on the international stage, Belize has no pretensions to considerable influence in world affairs. Our domestic concerns are limited to the consolidation of our independence, to building a durable and enduring democracy, to extending the fruits of development and a better life to all our people, and to offering every Belizean a dignified existence.

205. On the international scene, our policies of peaceful coexistence, good-neighbourliness, non-interference and non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States, non-violence and the peaceful settlement of disputes are aimed at promoting international peace, security and co-operation among nations. They are aimed at assisting in the establishment of a just and equitable international economic and social order in the world, with respect for international law and treaty obligations in the dealings among nations. And they are intended to protect and preserve the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Belize, to broaden our international recognition and to consolidate our nationhood.

206. We have an abiding interest in the continued existence of the planet Earth. All our efforts to fashion a world order would be meaningless in the aftermath of nuclear war. We call on the international community, and the nuclear Powers in particular, not to shirk their responsibility to humanity but to work strenuously to save us all from the unspeakable horrors of nuclear devastation.

207. Belize's policies coincide with those of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, as well as with the approach adopted by the Commonwealth of

Nations. We reaffirm our commitment to those organizations.

208. My delegation commends the Secretary-General for his untiring efforts to streamline the Organization in the face of great odds, for his report on the work of the Organization [*A/39/1*]—a forthright, frank and realistic report—and for his faith in the vision expressed in the Charter.

209. Our vision of the usefulness, indeed the necessity, of the United Nations is not clouded by the criticisms the Organization has attracted during its 39 years of existence. The list of accomplishments of the United Nations far outweighs the amount of criticism it receives. Indeed, the United Nations reflects the aspirations and frustrations of many nations and groups all over the world. We share the Secretary-General's view that "one of its great merits is that all nations—including the weak, the oppressed and the victims of injustice—can get a hearing and have a platform even in the face of the hard realities of power."[*Ibid.*]

210. As we approach the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, let us pledge to preserve and strengthen the Organization so that it emerges stronger and more responsive to the needs of the kind of world we are in the process of creating.

211. Mr. LASSOU (Chad) (*interpretation from French*): I should like first, on behalf of the Chadian delegation, to congratulate the President of the General Assembly most warmly on his unanimous election to guide the work of the thirty-ninth session. The confidence which the international community has placed in him is a recognition of the role that his country, Zambia, plays in the maintenance of international peace and security. Similarly, it is a recognition of his own qualities as a statesman with great experience in international relations. I am convinced that under his wise and enlightened guidance the proceedings at this session will be crowned with success.

212. It is also my pleasant duty to pay a well-deserved tribute to his illustrious predecessor, the head of State of Panama, Mr. Jorge Illueca, who guided the proceedings of the General Assembly at its thirty-eighth session with wisdom and dignity.

213. We wish to express our gratitude to Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar, our dynamic Secretary-General, for having spared no effort in the service of peace in this troubled world. We thank him, too, for having made international public opinion aware of the economic and social crisis buffeting the countries of Africa, most of which are among the poorest in the world.

214. Finally, I extend my delegation's congratulations to the delegation of Brunei Darussalam on its admission as a Member of the Organization. The admission of that young State is a proof of the vitality and universality of the great family of the United Nations.

215. As everyone knows, the fundamental objectives of the Organization are the maintenance of peace, the development of friendly relations among States and international co-operation. Unfortunately there are Member States of the Organization which, far from contributing to the achievement of those aims, are, on the contrary, deliberately violating the rules to which they have freely agreed.

216. It is well known that Chad is one of the major victims of the flagrant violation of the rules and principles of the Organization. Libya, flying in the face of those noble standards, has been occupying a large part of Chadian territory since 1973. In August 1983, it extended that occupation to the entire northern section of Chad. This area of 550,000 square kilometres has fallen under Libyan administration as a result of land-based and air offensives by the Libyan regular army and the so-called "Islamic" legion, which is composed of mercenaries of all nationalities. Libya, which had always denied its military presence in Chad, has finally acknowledged it, because it has said that it intends to withdraw its troops from Chad in accordance with the arrangement it has just concluded with France.

217. The Chadian people and its Government are pleased by that Libyan intention and keenly hope it will be translated into reality. However, past experience has shown us that when their backs are to the wall the Libyans use subterfuge to mislead international opinion. Since we are accustomed to the delaying tactics of the Libyan Government, we cannot but remain sceptical about the withdrawal of Libyan forces from our territory.

218. There is a Chadian proverb that says, "He who has been bitten by a snake is frightened at the sight of a mere rope". The Chadian people has not just been bitten, it has lost a limb.

219. At the same time that Libya is announcing its intention to withdraw militarily from Chad, in the south of the country it is continuing to arm rebel factions so as to sow subversion, death and desolation among the peace-loving inhabitants and cause the country's destruction. That is why the international community must not be duped by dissociating what is occurring in the south of the country from the war of aggression that Libya is waging in the north of Chad. That leads us to believe that the Libyan announcement to withdraw its troops is nothing more than a tactic to recoil the better to strike.

220. Despite Libya's warlike and expansionist attitude, Chad has always wished to settle its dispute with that country by peaceful means. That is why my country has frequently had recourse to international bodies, in particular the OAU and the Security Council. Each time we encountered Libyan evasions. Each time Libya answered our peaceful steps with the language of force.

221. If the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya respects its commitments the Chadian Government for its part will, as always, be ready to abide by the resolution adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its nineteenth ordinary session, held at Addis Ababa from 6 to 12 June 1983,[7] and the statement by the Security Council[8] inviting the two parties to settle their dispute by peaceful means.

222. I should like to emphasize the fact that the people of Chad feels no animosity towards the fraternal Libyan people. The sufferings, atrocities and bereavement caused us by the régime of the Jamahiriya can be ascribed only to that régime, not to the Libyan people which is itself tyrannized by that terrorist régime. The people of Chad has known the anguish of war all too well. It aspires to peace and hopes to live in friendship with its neighbours, including Libya, so as to be able to devote all its resources and energy to the reconstruction and development of the country. That is why, once the Government of the Third Republic was established, it deliberately opted for negotiation in the hope of

finding reconciliation among all the citizens of Chad. It was within that context that the Government multiplied its initiatives to meet with its opponents. It was also within that context that it gave full support to the current Chairman of the OAU in organizing a round table between the opponents and the Government. We endorsed that initiative, because we were aware of the need to bring peace to Chad, reinforce its unity and preserve its independence and territorial integrity in order to devote ourselves to its reconstruction and development.

223. Unfortunately, we must note that the efforts of the pan-African organization were impeded by the manoeuvres of some countries which prevented the holding of a frank and direct meeting between the opponents and the Government. If the round table at Addis Ababa scheduled to be held last January did not take place, it was the enemies of peace in Chad—and they alone—who were responsible for that. An attempt has been made to place a Government and its opposition on an equal footing. That is inadmissible, for it is tantamount to asking the Government of Chad to relinquish its attributes of sovereignty.

224. The Government did not fall into that trap. None the less, it remains devoted to its objective of peace and national reconciliation, with respect for Chad's independence, dignity, unity and territorial integrity. That is why the Government of Chad is grateful to the Congolese Government and encourages it to continue and step up its efforts to organize a conference on national reconciliation.

225. The Government of Chad trusts in the course it has laid out for itself to achieve national reconciliation. Our confidence has been increased by the recent positions taken by some citizens of Chad who have distanced themselves from their Libyan protector. They have unambiguously denounced Libya's expansionism and manoeuvres to divide the citizens of Chad so as to conquer them. Indeed, those persons now know that they have been used by Libya to sow trouble in their own country with a view to Libya's annexing it. We are pleased that our compatriots have come to realize that, although belatedly. Those among them who are still in Libya are, in fact, prisoners of the Libyan régime and its war machine. The least inclination towards independence by them endangers their security. This is the appropriate place to request the international community's assistance to exert pressure on the Libyan régime to allow our brothers to leave Libya freely.

226. Our desire for reconciliation with our brothers and to live in peace with our neighbours is sincere. We want that to be clearly understood and would appreciate all efforts directed to that end.

227. The particularly difficult economic and social situation in Chad owing to the war imposed upon us by Libya is another subject of great concern to us.

228. Indeed, in addition to the already serious problems confronting it because of its status as a less developed and land-locked country, Chad is confronting other problems caused by natural disasters, such as drought and desertification. The magnitude of the destruction caused by those phenomena is considerable. It is a situation the dimensions of which are not entirely appreciated but certainly constitute a mortgage on our country's future development. Indeed, the drought which at the outset afflicted only parts of Chad steadily spreads each year over vast areas that had previously been spared. The constant deterioration of the environment and the spread of desertification have caused a mass exodus of population and livestock from the north, east and centre of the country to regions considered to be better. The persistence of drought has caused a chronic food crisis which will become aggravated this year and in coming years owing to an almost total lack of rainfall. Recent cases of famine in the southern regions of the country are a striking example of the consequences of population exodus and the effects of drought.

229. Faced with that tragedy, the Government, with the help of friendly countries and international organizations, has tried everything to take corrective measures, but they have been in vain, given the immensity of the task.

230. I should like to reiterate my Government's successive appeals to the international community not only to render emergency aid to Chad but also to support our efforts to eliminate this scourge.

231. Chad also joins in the appeals of the Sahelian countries to the international community to define a strategy for the countries of the Sudano-Sahelian region and other regions stricken by drought and desertification and to mobilize the resources needed to implement it.

232. Although the military aggression of which my country is a victim has blurred the renewed solidarity that was manifested after the International Conference on Assistance to Chad, held at Geneva in November 1982, Chad's economy has recorded rather encouraging signs of recovery. However, my Government is aware that the needs and problems are enormous; that is why it is looking to the international community to help it promote economic and social activities.

233. In this connection, the Government and people of Chad express their thanks to States and international organizations for the aid they have been so kind as to grant to Chad.

234. I should like to remind the Assembly that, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 38/214, my country intends to organize a pledging conference, with the technical assistance of UNDP, during the last quarter of 1985. That conference will consider a general programme of reconstruction and development and the financing of detailed projects in priority areas. A development plan will be before the conference for its consideration. It will cover the main priorities, namely: development, agricultural production and stock raising, the diversification and processing of primary products, the opening up of the country both internally and to the outside world, and the promotion of harmonious regional development. We call upon all countries and all bodies to take part in this pledging conference, of which Chad has great expectations.

235. The Government and the people of Chad wish to express their deep gratitude to the countries and bodies that are good enough to provide them with invaluable assistance.

236. If the economic situation in Chad is catastrophic it is because it also suffers from the side-effects of the world economy, which are very disquieting.

237. Even though we see certain signs of economic recovery in the industrialized countries of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, the shortcomings of the current economic

order result in an ever-growing burden for the developing countries, which have been severely affected by the repercussions of the prolonged structural crisis in the world economy.

238. The reduction of external resources and capital flows from the developed countries, which is due essentially to the increase in protectionism and the fall in commodity prices, has placed the economies of the developing countries in a precarious situation.

239. In particular, the African continent continues to fail to meet its targets.

240. The Special Memorandum on Africa's Economic and Social Crisis, adopted by the Conference of Ministers of the Economic Commission for Africa[9] and submitted by the African Ministers responsible for Economic Development and Planning at the last session of the Economic and Social Council gives an eloquent description of the economic and social crisis which is being experienced by Africa, and puts forward emergency, as well as short-, medium- and long-term, measures.

241. The African countries are in a critical situation which deserves the special attention of the international community. The specific nature of the problems facing the African continent today demand this, because this is a question of the survival of many millions of human beings. That is why my delegation believes that it is imperative to put into effect immediately a programme of measures in matters of vital importance for African countries in order to alleviate their tragic plight.

242. The Economic and Social Council, at its second regular session, discussed as a matter of priority the serious economic and social crisis in Africa but was unable to arrive at a consensus text on the ways in which this should be remedied.

243. Turning now to the world economic situation, we believe that it is high time for the developed countries to act on the commitment made with regard to the implementation of the Substantial New Programme of Action for the 1980s for the Least Developed Countries,[10] adopted at the Paris Conference, and to agree to the launching of global negotiations. We believe that this would be at least the beginning of the solution of the present crisis.

244. The interdependence of developed and developing countries should not result simply in intermittent international aid, while such fundamental problems as the restructuring of international economic relations to ensure more equitable co-operation are ignored. In fact, in such an unfavourable international climate, it would be an illusion to envisage, even in the short term, economic development that would take full account of the interests of the third world. Selfishness must give way to solidarity so that together we can endeavour to establish a new international economic order that is more just and more equitable.

245. The world economic crisis has been further compounded by the political tensions which continue to buffet our planet, thus posing a dangerous threat to the future of mankind as a whole. Although it must be acknowledged that the United Nations has been able to prevent certain situations from getting out of hand, it nevertheless remains true that frequent violations of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations continue to threaten the already precarious equilibrium of the world.

246. As in the case of Chad, which we have already emphasized, Lebanon, Palestine, Cambodia, Afghanistan and Namibia continue to suffer humiliating foreign occupation, and the rest of the world remains impotent in the face of the shameful policy of *apartheid* practised by the white minority in South Africa.

247. Such upheavals, which are a feature of the present day, demand that we react in a way that is devoid of any partisan spirit and aimed solely at preserving and strengthening world peace.

248. With its long history of uneasy coexistence with its neighbour to the north, the people of Chad is aware that no force, however powerful, can occupy a country for long without clear and disastrous consequences. It is for that reason that we consider that dialogue and concerted action offer the only possible means of solving all the major international issues.

249. Let us take, for example, the question of disarmament. Our greatest anxiety is that if a nuclear war were to break out there would be neither victor nor vanquished since there would be no survivor. The most heartfelt desire of countries such as mine is that negotiations on strategic and medium-range weapons be resumed as quickly as possible in order to bring about first a freeze and then a quantitative reduction of nuclear weapons.

250. Adoption of this peaceful initiative, as we have emphasized previously, is the only way to prevent encroachments on the sovereignty of other States, invasions and even continuing occupation of foreign territories, intervention and all other types of aggression.

251. On the African continent, there are many tensions which are the result, as elsewhere, of deliberately ignoring the fundamental principles of the United Nations and of the OAU, namely, those concerning the self-determination of peoples, independence, respect for human rights, human dignity, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-aggression, to cite but a few.

252. In North Africa, the tensions engendered by the botched decolonization of Western Sahara are still smouldering. The refusal of one of the parties to the conflict to abide by the relevant resolutions of the OAU is not calculated to promote a final settlement of this conflict.

253. Chad, which has always supported self-determination for the Saharan people, will give full support to any initiative that will help to facilitate the full implementation of the provisions of the resolutions adopted at the nineteenth ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, particularly that which advocates direct negotiations between the two parties.[3]

254. In southern Africa, the racist minority régime of Pretoria continues to keep Namibia under the colonial yoke and to exclude the black South African majority from power. Recent developments in this part of the world show more clearly than ever the implacable, cynical nature of *apartheid*.

255. In order to perpetuate their oppressive régime, the South African racists have even tried to use coloured people and Indians in their efforts to perpetuate their domination. The glaring failure of that attempt, caused by a general boycott of the so-called elections by the communities concerned, is clear proof that in matters of domination and

exploitation it is pointless to rely on dividing people, particularly if the oppressed people has no option but to resort to force.

256. The delegation of Chad, which upholds the just cause of the South African majority, strongly condemns this inadmissible denial of elementary human rights.

257. With regard to Namibia, we must recall that the people of Chad consider the full, unconditional implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) to be the only suitable path to decolonization. South Africa should unconditionally accept the decolonization of Namibia, under the leadership of SWAPO, its sole, authentic representative.

258. In the Middle East, Israel's intransigence and its expansionist policy continue to foster tension and war. The right of the Palestinian people to establish an independent State, under the leadership of the PLO, and Israel's right to exist are no longer open to discussion. In the light of this, it is important for the international community to bring pressure to bear on Israel, through an international conference on Palestine, to agree that the Palestinian people has the right to recover its plundered lands.

259. Furthermore, it is undeniable that the foreign occupation of Lebanon is impeding the national unity of that country. As long as the uninvited foreign armies remain in Lebanon, peace and harmony among the people of Lebanon can be only pious hopes.

260. Still in the Middle East, for many years an unrelenting war has continued to rack two neighbouring Islamic countries. I refer to the conflict between Iran and Iraq. My delegation once again appeals to those two countries to settle their differences by peaceful means. In this connection, we welcome Iraq's readiness to resolve the problem through negotiations.

261. The Afghans cannot begin to settle the problems between them, in a brotherly spirit, until the occupying Soviet troops have been withdrawn from their country. However, despite the relevant resolutions of the United Nations and the appeals of peace-loving countries, those occupation forces show not the slightest intention of withdrawing. That is a cynical way to delay the solving of the Afghan problem.

262. Another subject causing anxiety and concern, because it results from the use of armed force, is the continuing foreign occupation of Kampuchea. It is encouraging to note that the people of Kampuchea has not stood idly by, as is shown by the military and diplomatic successes achieved under the leadership of the Coalition Government headed by Prince Norodom Sihanouk.

263. As is the case with Afghanistan, the problem of Kampuchea can be resolved only through the implementation of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations—that is, through the withdrawal of all occupying forces and the exercise by the Kampuchean people of its inalienable right to decide its own future.

264. The partition of Korea into two States remains the main subject of concern to the Korean people. The delegation of Chad hopes that the country will be reunified through the initiation of direct negotiations between the two Governments, without any outside interference.

265. With regard to the question of Cyprus, we call upon the Greek and Turkish communities to take part in brotherly talks in order to preserve the unity and integrity of an independent and non-aligned Republic of Cyprus.

266. I turn now to Central America, where my delegation earnestly hopes that the process of dialogue within the framework of the Contadora Group will shortly bear fruit, so that the States and peoples of the region may enjoy peace and stability.

267. Next year, we shall celebrate the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations. That will be a fitting occasion to consider ways and means to use all the resources of the Charter to enable the Organization to carry out its mission effectively. That will involve the full shouldering by the Security Council of its responsibilities, rising above ideological and partisan squabbles and selfish interests. It will also involve strengthening international co-operation, in the higher interests of all nations.

268. The failure to apply sanctions over violations of United Nations principles and resolutions has contributed to reducing the Organization's ability to resolve the many problems that the international community faces. It is therefore imperative to devise ways to restore the credibility of the United Nations, which remains the hope of peace-loving and justice-loving countries—in particular, the small, defenceless countries.

269. Chad remains faithful to the rules and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, and appeals to the world conscience for scrupulous observance of them.

270. Aggression and repeated acts of interference, of which my country is a victim, are results of the flagrant violation of the principles of the Charter.

271. Therefore, we call upon the international community to do everything it can to support Chad in its efforts to regain tranquillity and recover its territorial integrity, as inherited from colonialism, by persuading the Tripoli régime to end its aggression and its continual interference in my country's internal affairs.

272. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I shall now call on those representatives who wish to speak in exercise of their right of reply.

273. Mr. ADDABASHI (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (*interpretation from Arabic*): I apologize for speaking at this late hour. My delegation had not intended to speak, but the preceding speaker's campaign to distort the truth in a desperate attempt to slander my country necessitates our making some essential observations.

274. Speaking on behalf of the Ndjamena group, Mr. Lassou tried to hide the facts; he tried to say that Chad's problems were due to a conflict between Chad and Libya.

275. The truth, however, is clear to all: it is that Chad's current problems are internal problems, the main cause being the rebellion of Hissein Habré and his group, known as the Armed Forces of the North. With the support of imperialist forces, they caused the overthrow of the transitional Government of national unity, under the presidency of Goukouni Oueddei, the only Government since independence, which had been set up democratically under the Lagos agreement on national reconciliation, which was accepted by all 11 parties in Chad and had the

blessing of the OAU. Had that Government remained in power, it might have been able to improve the situation in Chad. In that event, Chad would not be in the situation it finds itself in today.

276. But Hissein Habré's lust for blood and power made him continue to rebel and to obstruct all efforts aimed at restoring peace and stability in Chad. Every agreement reached among the conflicting parties has been obstructed. He has rebelled against President Félix Malloum—having once sided with him, serving as Prime Minister towards the end of August 1978. He rebelled against the March 1979 Kano agreement. Finally, he rebelled against the Government of national unity established by virtue of the Lagos agreement following his appointment as Minister of Defence in that Government.

277. Hissein Habré is an adventurer! I do not believe I need to put forward any historical facts to prove that the support given to him by imperialist and colonialist forces is a clear indication of his true nature. I do not need to prove the massacres against the people of Chad during the time he was in control in Ndjamena after he rebelled against Félix Malloum and Goukouni Oueddei, for dozens of skeletons were found in the Shari river and in his own yard. Did he not assassinate Idriss Miskine, even though he had long praised him?

278. Mr. Lassou, whom we have heard today, was himself imprisoned by Hissein Habré, the Pol Pot of Africa. He said here that once you have been bitten by a viper you look askance at a rope. One would think, then, that he would do well to follow that advice, so as to avoid further suffering at the hands of Hissein Habré; he would have been better off never having co-operated with that butcher.

279. Since Habré took control of the capital, he has persisted in his efforts to obstruct every sincere attempt to achieve national reconciliation in Chad. He aborted the initiative of the Chairman of the Organization of African Unity to hold a Chadian national reconciliation conference at Addis Ababa by insisting on certain procedural points—which he himself had opposed during the national reconciliation talks which took place during the Kano conference, in 1978, when Félix Malloum was President of Chad. We have no doubt whatsoever that he will continue in his destructive efforts to abort any attempt at achieving peace and stability in Chad.

280. The whole world knows that the Armed Forces of the North, under the leadership of Hissein Habré—who sent a representative to speak here on his behalf—represents only one of the 11 conflicting parties in Chad which were signatories of the Kano agreement on national reconciliation. The world must not fool itself by legitimizing a Government which represents only one of the 11 conflicting parties and which took power by force of arms and with the assistance of imperialist forces and their puppets. The rebel Hissein Habré and his chosen few have no legitimacy and no popular support among the people of Chad. What is currently taking place in Chad is a civil war which goes back 20 years and is due to the presence of elements loyal to Hissein Habré, who put their own selfish interests before the interests of the people of Chad. This attempt to divert international attention from the true situation in Chad by hurling insults at the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya will solve nothing. The only solution lies in national reconciliation, in accordance with the Lagos agreement and under the auspices of the Chairman of the Organization of African Unity, with the participation of all parties which signed the agreement. Hissein Habré's continuing rebellion will only increase tension, prolong the blood-bath and destroy Chad.

281. As we see it, the current situation in Chad involves, on the one hand, a legitimate Government of national unity, under the leadership of Goukouni Oueddei at Faya-Largeau, which controls most of the country, and, on the other, a rebel Government which controls Ndjamena with imperialist assistance. That is the situation which we must consider.

282. The Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, as a neighbourly, fraternal country, is prepared to participate, as it has done in the past, in any efforts undertaken within the OAU to achieve security and peace in Chad.

283. I wish to conclude by stating that the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya has consistently stressed that it wishes to see a united and independent Chad. At the same time, however, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya will defend its territory at any cost. The distribution by the representative of the Armed Forces of the North of a faked map, including Libyan territory within the borders of the Republic of Chad, is totally unacceptable. I stress that what is called Aouzou is an integral part of Libyan territory, inherited from Italian colonialism in accordance with the map—attached to the report of the United Nations representative, Mr. Adrien Bell—on the basis of which Libya was granted its independence. Aouzou is Libyan territory and will remain so for ever.

284. Mr. BARMA (Chad) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation does not intend to respond to what has just been said by the representative of Libya, because, as everyone will have observed, he spoke only as is his custom, of Chadian domestic questions, attempting to take the place of the people of Chad themselves, and describing the head of an independent State Member of the Organization as a rebel. I leave it for members of the Assembly to form their own judgement about this kind of language, which shows manifest disrespect for the lofty traditions of the United Nations.

285. The representative of Libya at no time denied that Libyan troops had been occupying Chadian territory since 1973. They have been occupying our territory and, as our Minister said in his statement, they have extended their occupation to several thousand square kilometres of Chadian territory. The Libyan representative has said that there is no peace in Chad and that if what he calls a legitimate Government had not been overthrown there would be peace in Chad.

286. We challenge Libya to withdraw once and for all from Chadian territory, in accordance with the arrangement which it has recently signed with France, and to put an end to any interference in Chadian territory; the international community will then see whether Chadians can make peace among themselves. We call upon Libya to halt its reckless interference in Chad.

287. We know that Libya is rich and that it is well armed. Let Libya devote its wealth, its resources and its armaments to the defence of Libyan territory and leave Chad alone. Chad is a country which is underprivileged in terms of natural resources. Let it devote its meagre resources to its economic and social development and the well-being of its people.

288. Let me state for the record that we stand entirely by the statement just made by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Chad as far as Libyan aggression and Libya's constant violation of the principles and rules of the United Nations and the OAU are concerned. Libya must withdraw from Chadian territory and leave the Chadians in peace. Libya has imposed too many afflictions upon the people of Chad. The people of Chad have suffered too much from the Libyan presence. They want only to live in peace with all their neighbours, including Libya.

289. Everything that the Libyan representative has said shows again the full extent to which Libya has been interfering in the internal affairs of Chad.

290. Mr. ADDABASHI (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (*interpretation from Arabic*): I apologize for asking to speak a second time. It is not my intention to respond to the attacks just made by the representative of Hissein Habré. All I wish to say is that he is seeking legitimacy for his élite, a legitimacy which he has not been able to obtain from the Chadian people itself. However, earlier, he mentioned something to which I should like to have responded, but time did not allow me to do so. He mentioned an agreement between France and Libya on withdrawal from Chad. Indeed, there is an agreement. However, what is the framework of that agreement? There is an agreement to withdraw the support forces of Libya from Chad, as well as the French forces. We do not have an army of occupation in Chad. We have advisers assisting the Government of national unity of Goukouni Oueddei, the legitimate Government. This assistance is given on the basis of an agreement, arrived at with that legitimate Government and registered at the United Nations. We could indeed have sent forces to Chad under that agreement. However, desirous of maintaining peace and security in Chad, we did not do so. This is all I wish to say. I certainly do not see any need to respond to all the claims and allegations mentioned by the representative of the Ndjamena clique.

291. Mr. ICAZA GALLARD (Nicaragua) (*interpretation from Spanish*): In exercise of our right of reply, we should like to make some clarifications in respect of the statement made this morning by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Honduras [*26th meeting*]. Those clarifications will not focus on the Honduran delegation's attempt to conceal the sad reality of that country as regards the military situation and the role that country, occupied by the United States, is playing in the strategic plans of that Power in the Central American region, because the constant joint military manoeuvres by United States and Honduran troops are familiar to all; because everyone is aware of the permanent presence of United States troops in that country, troops that number over 1,000 at the present time; because everyone is aware of the existence of a central military training camp for Salvadorian and Honduran troops; and because everyone is well aware of the expansion and improvement of air and land military bases, and of the remnants of armaments and military constructions that have escaped the control of the Congress of the United States and are used by the CIA [*Central Intelligence Agency*] for training on Honduran territory. Everyone is fully aware of the vast foreign military presence which makes of Honduras—to the shame of its nationals and of all the peoples of Central America—one more United States aircraft carrier. We should like to refer to other issues, the manipulation of which by Honduras may lead to confusion on the part of the international community.

292. The line of argument used by the Honduran representative against my country is strangely similar to the line of reasoning which has been used in the Security Council by the United States, and with which we are already familiar: "Nicaragua is paranoiac about an invasion"; "there is a relationship in timing between our accusations and the meetings of the Contadora Group"; "there is a parallel with the situation of civil war now prevailing in El Salvador".

293. It is not without cause that our country is presenting facts regarding an imminent invasion by the United States. Information is brought to light almost daily in this respect even in the United States media.

294. We would merely like to ask a few concrete questions and address them to the Honduran delegation.

295. When its Minister for Foreign Affairs announces that our nation should not fall prey to expansionism from outside the continent, should we take it that it accepts the historic presence of the United States in that region? Is it prepared to eliminate the military bases once and for all, as Nicaragua has proposed, and not to accept them, regardless of whether they are United States or Soviet bases, or those of any other Power? Is it prepared, as Nicaragua was, not to fall prey to foreign interests, and not to be the first to attack any other Central American country? Is it prepared to stop being the launching pad for the CIA in its undeclared dirty war against my country, by expelling mercenaries who are not and cannot be refugees, by not allowing them to use its territory and military installations? Our dead, the destruction we suffer, and the base, undeclared war waged by the CIA which involves them, are these the product of our imagination or are they the results of a reality known by all and condemned by all?

296. Nicaragua reiterates its commitment to peace and co-operation in the region and to the Contadora Act of 7 September and the commitments arising from it: our commitment not to become an aggressor against our Central American neighbours, not to be a base for any Power, not to allow the use of our territory for the advantage of foreign interests. We hope that when Honduras recovers its dignity and sovereignty, which are now lost, we may walk together on the path of peace.

297. Mr. HERRERA CÁCERES (Honduras) (*interpretation from Spanish*): We have listened to the reply by the Nicaraguan delegation to the remarks made by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Honduras this morning.

298. We respect points of view which, although different from ours, delegations are fully entitled to express.

299. This attitude is consonant with the internal philosophy of the Government and life of my country, in which the free expression of thought proceeds unimpeded along democratic channels, with due respect for the rights of individuals and States.

300. Therefore, my delegation did not wish to exercise the right of reply when Commander Ortega addressed the Assembly and made a statement in which he sought to persuade the Assembly that my

country was involved in hypothetical aggressive adventures against his country.

301. Now the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Honduras has stated the point of view of the Honduran Government and we would expect some small degree of reciprocity from the delegation of Nicaragua. However, the facts unfortunately prove, with increasing emphasis, that any expectations we had of mutual respect and understanding in our relations with countries such as Nicaragua were quite illusory.

302. We have just heard a Nicaraguan reply invoking arguments which have already been used to the detriment of the work of United Nations organs, in particular the Security Council and the General Assembly, in dealing with serious and responsible expressions of policy in the quest for positive contributions to the major problems of peace and security facing many countries in many regions of the world.

303. As can be seen from the documents of the General Assembly and the Security Council and from protest notes sent directly to the Government of Nicaragua, we have in the past repudiated these false charges which are now being repeated, unnecessarily and maliciously. I shall not revert to them, but if we continue to be confronted with such remarks I shall do so.

304. We are nevertheless aware of the fact that the reply by Nicaragua has been made because its systematic distortions of fact and the misuse it has been making of the United Nations for purposes alien to those of the Organization are being brought to light.

305. However, in our statement to the Security Council on 3 February 1984, we had anticipated that. We said this:

> "If we have spoken about the Sandinist Government's systematic campaign of false accusations before various forums and for the benefit of the media, it is because the facts bear these out. As everyone knows, in international relations both indirect provocations and press campaigns are inimical to international negotiations . . .
>
> "As a distinguished author from a country that suffered the serious consequences of the Second World War and Hitler's policies said, control of the media can make it possible for some Governments to produce sentimental and even passionate reactions among their people and create a political crisis. Hitler's tactics featured an impressive balance of attacks, like the ones being made now, and offers at negotiation, like the ones that the Sandinist Government says it is putting before the Contadora Group. It is interesting that a Government which has already shown the world what its basic ideological orientation is does not seem willing to follow its own orientation but has assumed certain immoral attitudes which have already been historically rejected by the entire world community."[11]

306. I wish to conclude by merely making an appeal to our Nicaraguan brothers. We should leave the tortuous paths which lead us away from the path of peace and harmonious understanding among our peoples. We also urge them to redirect the misguided efforts of the past and strive together for an early agreement which will restore peace, co-operation and democracy in Central America, because such an agreement, together with the political will to preserve it and put it into effect in good faith, would be the best pledge for the well-being of our peoples, the best political expression that their leaders could offer not to use the weapon of confrontation against their neighbours to further their domestic policies.

307. Mr. ICAZA GALLARD (Nicaragua) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I have asked to be allowed to exercise the right of reply in response to the assertions made by the representative of Honduras. I wanted to add one more to my list of questions: we should like to know what the reply of Honduras is to our invitation to accept immediately—right now, at this time of great danger, a time when concrete decisions are being made in the process of bringing peace to the region through the efforts of the Contadora Group—the Act of 7 September, so that the will of the United States may not be imposed on us.

308. The response from the Government of Honduras will allow us to perceive the real intentions of that Government and its degree of independence, its degree of interest in the safeguarding of its genuine national interests. We hope that the spectre of war will not soon become a destructive reality for our peoples and our countries.

309. Later polishing may be needed for the Agreement, but not substantive changes. In signing it, in having faith in our commitment, we see perhaps the last opportunity to achieve peace in the region.

310. Mr. HERRERA CÁCERES (Honduras) (*interpretation from Spanish*): We have always used language consistent with the quest for peace, and we are very pleased to hear peaceful expressions when, in fact, Nicaragua's statement was quite a warlike one. Reference has been made to signing the Contadora Act and the need to press forward with that effort. In this we agree. It was the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Honduras who proposed that negotiations to draw up the Contadora Act should continue until 30 September. It was the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Nicaragua who, in the Contadora Group, proposed the date of 30 October. The Contadora Group proposed the date of 15 October. So it is paradoxical to talk about earlier dates when in Central America itself attempts are being made, through other channels, to delay matters.

311. In addition, we are within a process and we are acting on the basis of consensuses adopted by the new countries of the Contadora Group, in which it has been pointed out that the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America is a fundamental phase in the deliberations so that the five Central American countries will meet as soon as possible to define pragmatic and realistic formulas leading to the final form of the Contadora Act. Yesterday, we sent the five Central American Ministers for Foreign Affairs an invitation to a meeting on 19 October in Tegucigalpa, so that they, within the Contadora process, through co-ordination among the Central Americans themselves, may be able to arrive at a final position for the definitive phase of the negotiations. I can state publicly that if our Nicaraguan brothers choose not to come to Honduras, we would be most willing to go to Nicaragua. It is up to them now to respond to this serious and responsible move, so that we Central Americans ourselves may define our problems, for the purpose which he claims to be pursuing: the restoration of peace in that tormented area.

The meeting rose at 6.50 p.m.

NOTES

[1] See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-seventh Year*, 2406th meeting.

[2] *Ibid., Thirty-ninth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1984.*

[3] A/38/312, annex, resolution AHG/Res.104 (XIX).

[4] Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y de Río de Oro.

[5] Frente Revolucionária de Timor Leste Independente.

[6] See A/CN.10/38.

[7] A/38/312, annex, resolution AHG/Res.106 (XIX).

[8] See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-eighth Year, Resolutions and Decisions*, p. 8.

[9] See E/1984/110, annex.

[10] See *Report of the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries, Paris, 1-14 September 1981* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.82.I.8), part one, sect. A.

[11] See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-ninth Year*, 2513th meeting.

United Nations
GENERAL ASSEMBLY
THIRTY-NINTH SESSION
Official Records

28th PLENARY MEETING

Wednesday, 10 October 1984, at 10.30 a.m.

NEW YORK

President: Mr. Paul J. F. LUSAKA (Zambia).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. The PRESIDENT: I wish to remind representatives of the decision taken by the General Assembly at its 3rd meeting, on Friday, 21 September 1984, that the practice of expressing congratulations in the General Assembly Hall after a speech has been delivered is prohibited. It is my firm intention to see to it that that decision is applied strictly and consistently, out of fairness to all delegations. I appeal to all members for their co-operation in implementing this explicit decision of the Assembly.

2. Mr. HARDING (Jamaica): Mr. President, it gives me great pleasure to see you presiding over this, the thirty-ninth, session of the General Assembly with the skill, competence and assiduity we have come to associate with you. The deep pleasure it affords my delegation to see you seated there reminds me that the middle passage did not break the ties that join the peoples of the Caribbean to the peoples of Africa. Time has served to affirm and strengthen the links of ancestry and historical experience between the Caribbean and Africa. The Jamaican delegation is certain that your rich experience will serve us well as you carry out your important task.

3. I take this opportunity to convey our appreciation to Mr. Jorge Illueca, of Panama, who deserves our praise for the competent manner in which he carried out his duties as President during the past year.

4. It is also a pleasure to welcome Brunei Darussalam as the 159th Member of the United Nations.

5. The Caribbean, like Africa itself, has been much analysed but not well understood. If some of the contributing reasons in the case of Africa have been the sheer vastness of the continent, its long and rich history and the complexity of its indigenous social and cultural traditions, with us in the Caribbean the reasons are very different. We are mostly small islands, and in the main a transplanted people. Despite our size, we have often found ourselves at centre stage in the turbulent unfolding of events, not just during the past few years, but indeed over the past few centuries.

6. We were at one time both the pawns and the prize in the struggle amongst the European Powers for economic and political hegemony in the New World. And still, today, we are close to centre stage. For while islands do not change hands any more, the struggle continues, this time for the political allegiance of the Caribbean. The axis and basis of competition have shifted. The protagonists are no longer to be found in rising European Powers, but in the super-Powers to the East and the West, locked in ideological struggle.

7. Our historical role and importance in the turbulent events of several centuries, events which now continue in different forms, have been out of all proportion to our size. Small and at history's centre stage, we have been continually buffeted by crosswinds and swirling currents. But we have refused to be overwhelmed. The response of our people to the events which have shaped our subregion has been evolving slowly but with certainty, especially over the past two decades or so of our independence.

8. During this period, we, in the English-speaking Caribbean, have seen the ingenuity and vitality of our people at work, weaving a democratic, political culture out of the varied skeins of our past; carrying out with confidence the important process of institution-building in our young societies; moulding economies which, despite their size, limited resource base and manifold problems, are among the more successful in the developing world; and, perhaps above all, cultivating in our subregion a deep appreciation of the civil and political liberties and a just respect for the human rights of all, which include the unfettered right of all citizens to change their Governments by ballot.

9. In summary, during the two decades of our independence we have been defining for ourselves for the first time, as Caribbean people, the Caribbean reality, and determining for ourselves the ethos that infuses that reality. This is a difficult process. There have been and will necessarily be many impediments and disagreements—sometimes serious ones. But Jamaica believes that the record of the Caribbean countries which came to independence during the past two decades or so, countries which emerged from the longest period of modern, colonial history in either the New World or the Old, is commendable.

10. For small countries such as Jamaica, economic interdependence can be no mere slogan; it is the key to our survival. Let me illustrate. In the three years between 1980 and 1983, bauxite exports, upon which Jamaica depends for 70 per cent of its foreign exchange earnings, fell from 12 million to 7.3 million tons—a decline of approximately 40 per cent. This dramatic reduction was directly attributable to the international recession, and the contraction of markets in the industrialized world. Debates will continue among academics and politicians as to whether the recession could have been avoided. There will be arguments about whether its depth and severity were caused by the particular mix of policies adopted by industrialized countries, and even whether the recov-

ery which we now discern will be self-sustaining. But one question Jamaica need not debate is the severity of the impact of the recession on our economy, particularly on our major exports, and the consequent adverse impact on indices and targets which relate directly to my Government's determined effort to improve the social and economic welfare of our people.

11. Against a background such as this, developing countries such as my own have no choice but to take seriously the mandate of the Charter of the United Nations regarding international co-operation as a means of solving international problems. There is no escape from multilateralism. We are thus disturbed not only by the impasse that has been reached, but by the confusion and obfuscation, some deliberate, that now seem to bedevil discussions of international economic co-operation.

12. It would be quite obvious to any onlooker who descended to this planet that different development strategies in the developing world have met with varying degrees of success. This is hardly an earth-shaking conclusion. It is true of strategies adopted by any group of countries. It is also clear that some countries in the developing world have chosen the strategies which they regard as optimal and the domestic conditions which they regard as most conducive to growth and development. This is their right and, indeed, it is as much the right of the smallest developing country as it is that of the major Powers in the international economy. Against considerable odds, Jamaica has chosen to pursue an outward-looking export-oriented strategy and to do so in consonance with domestic policies sensitive and responsive to the social and economic interests of the Jamaican people. But the choice of development strategy is not and should not be the main issue in matters of international economic co-operation or a weapon used to blunt efforts at institutional and structural reform of the international monetary, trade and payments system.

13. Despite varying growth records amongst developing countries, the evidence over the years indicates clearly that the development process will be greatly assisted by increased flows of aid, capital and technical assistance to the developing countries; by appropriate reforms of the monetary, trade and financial systems; and by buoyancy in the economies of the industrialized world. If we cannot agree on these concerns, which, in the light of the historical evidence, are almost axiomatic, then we fear that it is not only the international economy which is in crisis; equally disturbing, our thinking about the international economy is itself in crisis.

14. This latter concern is not inconsequential. How else can we explain some of the paradoxes which bedevil our approaches to international co-operation and to the functioning of the international economy? To cite just a few: countries which show no growth are blamed for bad policies, and countries which do show growth are met with bad policies in the nature of protectionist barriers of various sorts. This catch-22 belongs in the sphere of fiction from which it emerged, not in international economic relations. Increased South-South trade is regarded as a key element to offset secular trends in trade between North and South. Yet policies which entail simultaneous constriction of the imports of a large number of developing countries can have no other consequence but the throttling of trade amongst them. Indeed, when in the 1960s the rallying cry of trade, not aid, was heard, very few of us could have envisaged that by the 1980s the implied choice might not exist. High real interest rates and significant differences in these rates amongst the industrialized countries induce trans-Atlantic capital flows among capital-rich industrialized countries, while the same phenomena serve only to add to the flow of resources out of the capital-poor and debt-ridden South.

15. World inflation seems to be a problem when it comes to a new issue of special drawing rights; but the problem all but disappears when the question is budget deficits in the industrialized world or, indeed, massive armaments spending.

16. This catalogue of paradoxes, only a few of which have been cited, does not augur well for the future. Much depends at this juncture on both sides—North and South—coming once again to see the problem of development in essentially the same perspective, and agreeing generally on the consequences of failing to address together some of the most pressing problems of international economic co-operation that confront us.

17. In this context, we should be able to agree that there is ample evidence that the situation of the developing countries in general is worsening. The statistical data charting the decline are there to be seen. But, as is often the case, the figures do not fully reveal the facts. The situation which confronts developing countries is even more ominous than the statistical evidence might indicate. The sobering truth is that the industrialized countries have already begun to employ the technologies of the future in areas such as micro-processing and bio-technology while much of Asia, Africa and, indeed, Latin America and the Caribbean is still dependent on the technologies of the past.

18. Differences in technological and scientific sophistication, productive capacity and levels of development are certain to grow, not diminish, in such circumstances.

19. Were this bleak prognosis the inevitable outcome of existing differences among countries, Jamaica might accept them passively, but we are convinced that there are other more desirable and, indeed, attainable solutions. There are at least three key elements of an approach that will lead to mutually beneficial growth based on the synergistic potential of economic activity rather than the exacerbation of existing differences which, in the long run, will only seriously limit the overall potential for growth in the international economy. These elements are: first, a renewed will to co-operate on the part of the developed countries; secondly, a readiness on the part of the developing countries, many of which are already making extraordinary sacrifices, to intensify their efforts to achieve, with external assistance, the levels of living to which they aspire; and, finally, an understanding on the part of all members of the international community that existing economic structures and institutions are neither ends in themselves nor sacrosanct and therefore shielded from even beneficial change. These structures and institutions must be moulded to meet better the goals and objectives which the international community might set from time to time.

20. There is a clear obligation on the part of the international community to ensure that vital institutions such as the IMF and the World Bank function

as effectively as possible and that their modalities of operation are always in the interest of those members of the international community that need them most—the developing countries. The international recession will indeed be an ill wind that blows nobody good if it does not act as a catalyst for certain measures of reform. One clearly demonstrated shortcoming is the continuing inadequacy of the resources of both institutions, even taking into account the recent increases under the IMF Eighth General Review of Quotas and the selective capital increase in the case of the World Bank. Twenty years or so ago, quotas in the IMF represented about 12 per cent of world trade. At the end of 1983, the figure had declined to about 5 per cent of world trade. At the same time, we find that drawings by IMF members have attained record levels for the second straight year, indeed, with drawings in 1983 being over 69 per cent higher than in 1982. The inadequacy of the resources of the IMF is of concern to my delegation not only because of the upward trend in the demand made on those resources, caused by the recession and the debt and payments difficulties of developing countries, but, equally important, because the rigidity of IMF conditionality and the harshness and sharpness of the adjustment process which countries such as my own have had to endure require for amelioration the lengthening of the time available for adjustment, more flexibility with regard to special circumstances and increased resources to the IMF. One immediate measure which should be taken to ease the liquidity problem of developing countries and to promote the revitalization of our trade is a new issue of special drawing rights by the IMF.

21. In addition to providing for adjustment on a longer-term basis, the role of the IMF itself should be adjusted, so as to place more emphasis on investment and growth. The need for this emphasis is almost self-evident when we consider that, at the end of 1983, 43 developing countries had either stand-by or extended arrangements in effect with the IMF, making excessive emphasis on demand management intrinsically self-defeating.

22. Jamaica wishes to emphasize that the international community must ensure that the key role of the World Bank is not eroded now, at a time when private lending has fallen off dramatically and when many developing countries are pursuing painful adjustment. We are disturbed that current projections are for a decline in the net disbursements of the multilateral lending institutions over the next few years. Now may be an opportune time for a general increase in the capital resources of the World Bank so as to enhance its borrowing and lending capacity and, further, to re-examine its gearing ratio with the aim of augmenting the level of resources that will be available to developing countries in the next few critical years.

23. Jamaica fully understands that there are no ready-made solutions to the economic problems that confront the international community, the developing countries in particular. Neither North nor South, no country—no matter how large or how powerful—is in possession of a set of prescriptions that can guarantee international prosperity. We fully recognize that entrenched attitudes, varying perceptions, goals and objectives, misplaced trade-offs between short- and long-term benefits and between short- and long-term solutions, can not only hinder the development process in the case of the developing countries but, in the case of the developed ones, create paralysis or lead to action inimical to the interest of the international community as a whole. Nevertheless, a renewed commitment to international economic co-operation is not misplaced idealism, for these are not arguments against, but arguments for international co-operation. It is also a recognition that buoyancy in the international economy, with the promotion of development, is a two-tiered process involving interdependent members of the international community in vigorous and appropriate action at both the national and international levels.

24. Jamaica fully accepts the view that a substantial part of the solution must, indeed, be generated within our own economies in the South. And for our part, we intend to press ahead vigorously with our efforts to restructure the Jamaican economy so as to make it more broad-based, more productive, less protective and more competitive—elements we view as essential for the achievement of self-sustaining growth.

25. Two world wars in this century forced the international community towards consensus on the need to try to manage rationally political relations among States. We should not await a second collapse of the international economy, as was the case in the 1930s, to recommit ourselves without further ado to a similar consensus in respect of international economic solutions.

26. The United Nations is the foremost expression of our commitment to an enlightened approach to relations among States. For this reason, the stake that countries such as my own have in this institution and our commitment to its principles and ideals cannot be overstated. We view the retreat from those principles and ideals as clear signs of a regression towards more irrationality in international affairs and an increased search for spheres of influence and pursuit of militaristic policies and solutions. Jamaica is profoundly disturbed that these dangerous trends are once again gaining strength and momentum in the international community. They are reflected in the deadlock over arms control and disarmament, in regional conflicts and tensions and in the attacks on the Organization. We know from historical experience that the level of tension in the Caribbean subregion, while not explainable solely in those terms, is directly related to the state of relations between the major power blocs, and particularly between the super-Powers.

27. Our view is that, if we wish to avoid the costly errors of the past, it is incumbent upon Member States to use fully and in good faith the multilateral institutions and arrangements at our disposal.

28. Year after year, from rostrums such as this, appeals have been made on behalf of arms control and disarmament. Year after year they go unheeded. The frantic pursuit of "parity" or "superiority" or "balance" in the name of security goes on. Perhaps at no time in the past were the prospects for some movement in this area more gloomy.

29. The past year has seen the suspension of bilateral negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union, with very little indication of early resumption; and negotiations within the Conference on Disarmament continue to yield meagre results. There is no question that the arms race and the proliferation of weapons require our urgent attention, first, because of our concern for peace and survival in this nuclear age and, secondly, because of

our conviction that the massive expenditures now being devoted to the procurement of arms should be diverted towards the economic and social benefit of mankind. It is essential that a start be made, particularly with regard to the control of nuclear weapons. To begin with, we need a comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty as an essential first step in the process of nuclear disarmament. Since it now appears that the technical problems of verification can be resolved, there is no reason why any nuclear Power should fail to co-operate in achieving this objective.

30. There is, as well, a clear need to advance the conclusion of a chemical weapons convention which would ban the manufacture, acquisition and use of such weapons. In addition, we cannot ignore the persistent increase in conventional weapons and particularly the expansion of the arms trade to developing countries. There has to be some restraint. It is Jamaica's view that regional initiatives could be usefully pursued to make progress in the restriction of conventional weapons. We recognize that such initiatives would themselves require political accommodation and a framework of regional co-operation would have to be worked out to facilitate the process.

31. On 30 April 1982, when the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea[1] was adopted, a new chapter was opened in multilateral co-operation for the management and exploitation of resources which are the common heritage of mankind. The implementation of the arrangements provided for in the Convention, which is now the task of the Preparatory Commission for the International Sea-Bed Authority and for the International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea, is one of the most important tasks before the international community. The Preparatory Commission held a formal session and an informal session in the past year and we are satisfied that it has made good progress and should continue to be fully supported by Member States. We urge all States which have not yet done so to sign the Convention before the closing date for signature on 9 December this year, thereby becoming full participants in the work of the Preparatory Commission. We also urge signatories which have not yet done so to ratify the Convention as soon as possible. It is our belief that the most effective response to those who would wish to undermine the Convention is early ratification, thus allowing its provisions to come into effective force.

32. It should be clear that there can be no viable or legal arrangements for sea-bed mining outside the Convention. We therefore warn against any attempt to conclude a mini-treaty or other arrangements which purport to confer legal rights for sea-bed mining. The position of the Government of Jamaica is that the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea is the only legally acceptable international régime applicable to the sea-bed and its resources. We reiterate our opposition to documents based on national legislation and reciprocal agreements that purport to regulate activities in the deep sea-bed. Such agreements are contrary to the letter and spirit of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea and have no legal validity. In this regard, the Jamaican delegation must express its concern at the conclusion of a so-called provisional understanding between eight Member States on 3 August this year. In our view, this goes beyond its avowed purpose of conflict resolution and contains terms which are incompatible with the provisions of the Convention. We urge all States to join together to resist any selective application of the Convention and any attempt to undermine the arrangements being made for the establishment of the International Sea-Bed Authority.

33. Conflicts and turmoil in various regions of the world continue to hamper prospects for peace and should be a matter of great concern for all of us. In Central America, there has not yet been an end to the fighting. We are alarmed at what seem to be insidious attempts to whittle away the hopes of the Contadora process and to undermine the process itself. Jamaica continues to give its fullest support to the ongoing efforts of the countries of the Contadora Group to conclude a regional agreement for peace among the States in the region. They deserve the fullest support of the international community. It is therefore our hope that the revised Act will be signed by all concerned.

34. In the Middle East, Jamaica continues to urge the parties to co-operate in reaching a comprehensive solution involving the implementation of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, the withdrawal of Israel from Arab territories occupied since the war of 1967 and the adoption of arrangements whereby all States in the region can live in peace and security within recognized boundaries.

35. In other parts of Asia, there are continued problems caused by intervention and foreign occupation. In Afghanistan and Kampuchea, intensified diplomatic initiatives are needed to restore normalcy and peace. In the Korean peninsula, there is growing recognition that dialogue and accommodation involving the two sides is the only realistic means of achieving peace and the possibility of reunification.

36. The current wave of unrest in South Africa confirms the warnings that have been so often repeated to the South African régime. The system of *apartheid* is doomed because its fundamental precepts are evil and offensive to human decency. Its practitioners are perpetrating a crime against humanity. It cannot be maintained indefinitely by resorting to violent tactics of repression and intimidation. It cannot be saved by futile and superficial changes in a system that is fundamentally immoral. The Government and the people of Jamaica are unalterably opposed to that wicked system. The so-called new constitutional arrangement introduced by the racist régime is another pernicious attempt at strengthening and reinforcing *apartheid*. They have fooled no one. The response of the people of South Africa is a clear and unequivocal rejection, as shown by the recent disturbances. The reaction of the South African régime has been the familiar one of indiscriminate shooting, detention and banning orders intended to terrorize the people into submission. It is important for the international community to apply the greatest pressure on South Africa and not collaborate in any way in the current wave of brutality on which the régime has embarked. South Africa should be left in no doubt about international condemnation of its abhorrent policies. We can find no distinction between accommodation and constructive engagement. It should be clear to all that the record of the South African régime is one of deception, hypocrisy and treachery.

37. Look at Namibia. There, we continue to be faced with South Africa's defiance which has for so long prevented progress towards self-determination

and independence for the Territory. The international community has a plan which enjoys the support of all countries except one. We say to the Members of the United Nations—let us implement that plan, or take the necessary action under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, and end the long nightmare of oppression.

38. There is no obligation so exalted, yet so humbling, and none to be taken more seriously than an obligation to posterity. We can choose the path of irresponsibility or we can work diligently through the Organization to bequeath to succeeding generations a world consonant with our vision of a community of nations free from strife, free from repression and free from want. Let us therefore use wisely the power we have now to shape the future so that the hopes of this generation will be realized in the next.

39. Mr. GUTIÉRREZ (Costa Rica) (*interpretation from Spanish*): It is an honour and a great pleasure for me to congratulate you, Sir, on your unanimous election to the high post of President of the General Assembly at its thirty-ninth session. Your well-known integrity and efficiency, your vast experience and tireless dedication to the United Nations and your excellent work as President of the United Nations Council for Namibia ensure the success of this session of the General Assembly, presided over by a distinguished son of the great African continent.

40. Thirty-nine years of commitment and tireless work by the United Nations to wipe out colonialism and promote the self-determination of peoples is reflected at this session by the presence here of Brunei Darussalam, the newest Member State of the Organization. We greet that country and warmly welcome it to the family of sovereign nations.

41. The Secretary-General's work, his concern over the problems of international peace and security and his dedication to the complex duties of his post, as evidenced by his report on the work of the Organization [*A/39/1*], are internationally recognized and a source of justified pride on the part of the Latin American countries.

42. I have read the Secretary-General's report with real interest. As the representative of a country located in a region threatened by instability and war, I value the ideas and suggestions it contains with regard to matters affecting international peace and security. It is a source of satisfaction and encouragement to Costa Rica to find the Secretary-General, with his high authority, mentioning the original tenets of the Charter of the United Nations in order to confirm the commitment to settle disputes among States by peaceful means and to renounce the use or the threat of the use of force in international relations.

43. The Charter that was signed at San Francisco established, without any doubt, a new international order based on the obligation of all States to stand in solidarity for the maintenance of peace and security. The obvious conclusion is that peace-keeping—as the Secretary-General points out—is an expression of international political consensus and will, without which peace-keeping operations are weak and uncertain.

44. Both out of devotion to the principles of the Charter and because they protect the fundamental aspiration of nations to continue to exist, a small and unarmed nation such as the one I represent has the duty to support the Charter in order that its own security may be safeguarded.

45. When international conflicts are not dealt with in the framework of the solutions envisaged in the Charter, but are the subject of bilateral or unilateral action in which force prevails, there is a serious erosion of the international system, which does great harm to all countries and, above all, to countries such as Costa Rica, which have entrusted their security to internationalism.

46. Hence, I fully share the Secretary-General's concern about the consequences of the failure to observe the principles of the Charter, when the framework they provide are replaced by methods that give priority to the threat or the use of force, so detrimental to the countries that are the victims of it as well as to the international system based on the Charter. The result is that the Charter is irreparably violated.

47. On the basis of those ideas taken from the Secretary-General's report, and because I cannot now refer specifically to each of the serious problems facing the General Assembly at this session, I shall confine myself to stating my country's position on some of those problems, which illustrate the tensions making it impossible to view the international situation with serenity.

48. First, I shall refer to the problem of the Malvinas Islands. The echoes of a war that would never have taken place if international negotiating machinery had been used effectively have died down. Nevertheless, the inter-American system, relations between the Americas and Europe and relations in the Organization require that the parties continue their efforts to deal in a rational and friendly way with the problem dividing them. It should not be difficult for two civilized nations and two democratic Governments to find a solution to their differences that does not prejudice their dignity, their legal position or their history.

49. Costa Rica is particularly concerned at the struggle being waged by the people of Namibia for its independence, which must be granted to it under Security Council resolution 435 (1978). We regard as completely unacceptable and anachronistic the doctrine of *apartheid,* which the South African Government persists in applying.

50. We regret also that the Korean nation, with an age-old culture and rich traditions and with such a promising future, has not yet been able to overcome the obstacles to its reunification. We believe that it is time for that country—preferably reunified, but even divided—to take its rightful place in the Organization.

51. Of course, our main concern must be for the fate of our own region, Central America. In this respect, we Costa Ricans must bear witness to our commitment to peace and our desire that democracy, well-being and freedom should be promoted in our region.

52. We feel sorrow and pessimism, on the one hand, and hope and optimism, on the other. Since the thirty-eighth session, Central America has experienced more crises, more hatred, more death than in previous years. But, at the same time, the democratic frontier has advanced in Latin America and has reached Central America. The commitment to democracy is deeply rooted in our continent, and Central America is no exception. We rejoice in the

fact that today, for the first time in the history of our subregion, there are three civilian Governments that have been elected by the people, and there is talk of holding elections in the other countries.

53. José Napoleón Duarte became President of El Salvador as a result of two free processes of consultation with the people. Those processes, held under the critical eye of a large number of observers, represent an advance towards democracy and an unquestionable reaffirmation of Central America's will for democracy, bearing in mind the very difficult circumstances in which they took place. On Monday [*24th meeting*], the Assembly heard President Duarte put forward the most positive proposals so far for the national reconciliation of a Central American country. That initiative should be welcomed by all Governments and peoples concerned about peace in Central America and the future of that region.

54. The newspapers today carry the news that representatives of the guerrillas have accepted President Duarte's invitation, effectively opening up the possibility of domestic peace for El Salvador.

55. The Government of Costa Rica supports the proposal made from this rostrum yesterday [*26th meeting*] by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Honduras that the Central American countries should meet at Tegucigalpa before next week's Contadora meeting. To the extent that, within the spirit of Contadora, we Central Americans regain the initiative in settling our problems among ourselves, we shall have taken steps towards peace and made it possible to take action ourselves, without the need for mediators.

56. The hopes of Central Americans have been raised by the progress of the Contadora effort. Since January 1983, with the co-operation of Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela, we, the five Central American countries, have been trying to find a remedy to the problems besetting the region. No one could be better fitted to endorse our efforts than our immediate neighbours, who are familiar with the nature and scope of the crisis, are far removed from all claims to hegemony and share the same historical and cultural roots.

57. We have made great progress, culminating in the revised version of the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America [*A/39/562, annex*]. The Act was a comprehensive effort, and never before had a regional crisis been examined in its political, military, economic and social aspects. The Act is also a bold effort, because it aims not only at reducing the sources of conflict in our region but at promoting the political, economic and social development of our peoples. It is innovative, because it proposes verification of compliance with the commitments entered into when it is signed and because it places the fate of our peoples above the old, narrow concepts of the internal sovereignty of States. In sum, the Contadora process, carried out with full awareness of our history, has looked towards a peaceful, richer and freer future for the peoples of Central America.

58. We said last year that Costa Rica was not a part of the problems of Central America, but that Central America was a part of the problems of Costa Rica. We are continuing to build our nation in peace and democracy. But the peoples of Central America are prey to political instability, war and economic crisis and the painful consequences are felt by us Costa Ricans. This gives us another reason to participate actively in the Contadora process and to fight there, as we have fought throughout our independent life, for institutionality, democratization, respect for human rights and the economic and social development of the whole region.

59. I reiterate from this rostrum our readiness to comply with the obligations imposed upon us by the Contadora Act. Furthermore, I can state that Costa Rica already complies with those obligations, because they are a part of the pacifist and democratic tradition of the Costa Rican people.

60. We believe, however, that the verification and control mechanisms provided for in the Act should be improved and strengthened. We hope that the foresight of the Central American Governments in voluntarily submitting to international verification will have as its reward verification that in all the countries of Central America there is strict observance of the spirit and letter of the Act. We understand clearly, as we are sure the other Central American States do, that the commitments we shall make upon subscribing to the Act are binding and enforceable. The very nature of those commitments explains the need for effective and reliable verification and control.

61. We Costa Ricans are aware that a comprehensive agreement on peace and co-operation in Central America is a fundamental step. But we are also aware that the great harm caused to our region by the international economic crisis, political upheavals, underdevelopment and war can only be remedied with the continued support of the international community. That is why when the President of Costa Rica, Mr. Luis Alberto Monge, travelled to Europe last June he extended invitations—as the spokesman for Central America—to the Conference which was held at San José, Costa Rica, on 28 and 29 September 1984. We received in our capital the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the countries of the European Economic Community, of Spain and Portugal, of the countries of the Contadora Group and of the Central American States. As the host country, we felt that our ideals and realities were being recognized. We are grateful for the friendship and acknowledgement of the Governments represented at San José. At that ministerial meeting, we received European support for the process of democratization in Central America, the restructuring of our common market and our development through increased co-operation programmes.

62. Europe's concern about the fate of Central America is now added to Latin America's, expressed in the Contadora process, and that of the United States, shown by the Caribbean Basin initiative. That European concern was demonstrated by the presence in San José of 12 Ministers for Foreign Affairs from Western European democracies. This opens up for Central America the prospect of beginning a new period in its history, characterized by well-being and the full enjoyment of freedoms.

63. The presence of members of the European Economic Community in Central America strengthens the ideal of integration, efforts to achieve which we embarked upon 25 years ago. Besides the triumph over nationalism represented by the establishment of the European Economic Community, the readiness of its members to help Central America shows that the old and obsolete concepts of colonialism have

been replaced by a modern concept of co-operation. We are sure that this attitude will find expression in the prompt and successful negotiation of an agreement between Europe and Central America.

64. Although the desirability of creating a more harmonious and just international economic order is recognized, there is a remarkable lack of political consensus which is preventing the dialogue that is needed to make the necessary structural changes to bring about that greater harmony and justice.

65. In approaching the end of this century, we realize that many countries are not in a position to meet the most basic needs of their peoples; others hope barely to halt the deterioration experienced in the living conditions of their peoples. Indeed, the situation in Africa, especially with regard to food, is becoming alarming; and Latin America is entering its fourth consecutive year of economic recession, as part of a crisis the most salient manifestation of which is the external debt. That debt exceeds the $300 billion mark; it represents 36 per cent of the gross domestic product of the region and servicing the debt absorbs 65 per cent of its export receipts. To indicate the degree to which the situation has deteriorated, suffice it to mention that in 1975 the debt represented merely 20 per cent of the gross domestic product and used up only 26 per cent of export earnings.

66. The reasons for the problem have been broadly discussed in various forums and I need not dwell upon them here. I wish to emphasize the fact that attempts to solve the problems that countries are facing in isolation and individually are clearly not sufficient. Furthermore, that has led to a very unjust situation in which the cost of the necessary adjustments is borne exclusively by the debtor countries.

67. In the search for solutions, we should bear in mind not only the cost for the world economy of the fact that developing countries are less able to participate in international trade but also the very high social and political cost that will no doubt be incurred if our countries must continue in a process of internal deflationary adjustments.

68. There is no doubt that Latin American countries are facing up to this crisis with proved responsibility. It is now time for the other actors in this drama to make a comparable contribution to resolve a situation which in fact is a shared responsibility and the solution of which ultimately benefits all. The industrialized countries must adopt forceful measures to reduce interest rates and combat protectionism. Multilateral agencies must contribute more medium-term and long-term resources, and on more favourable terms, to support the programmes of external adjustment and structural change, and the international banking system must continue to provide commercial credit because, if it were not to do so, that would jeopardize those resources already committed.

69. Costa Rica speaks on these issues with a certain degree of authority. In mid-1982, the Government undertook a series of adjustment measures aimed at stabilizing the economy. Those efforts meant that the deficit in the public sector in one year went down from 9.3 per cent of the national product to less than 3 per cent, inflation was reduced from 90 per cent to 19 per cent, and the exchange rate which was 64 colones per dollar was stabilized at about 45 colones per dollar.

70. The crisis has taught the Government of Costa Rica a number of lessons: first, to ascertain the degree of maturity of the Costa Rican people in accepting the impact of the adjustment and the strength of its commitment to the country's democratic institutions; secondly, to understand that recovery and long-term stability are beyond our reach when the meagre possibilities of a small country to handle the situation are reduced even more by an adverse international environment.

71. All Latin American nations have learnt an equally important lesson from this crisis: that it is pointless to try to face up to this situation in isolation. We recognize the urgency of concerted political action at the regional level. In this context, the Quito Declaration and Plan of Action[2] and the more recent Cartagena Consensus[3] represent an effort to give a serious and responsible answer by Latin America to the crisis.

72. I wish to take this opportunity to mention in particular the impact of the crisis on what is dearest to our societies—children. Tragically, one of the results of the adverse economic climate in which we live has been a fall in the indicators which measure the well-being of the young population of the developing world. We must commit ourselves to an effort that would enable us to isolate the impact of the economic cycle on our children. I therefore appeal to the Member States and the Secretariat of the United Nations to mobilize the creativity and necessary resources to find ways in which to protect children and other especially vulnerable groups from the harshness and irrationality of the fluctuations of the international economy.

73. I cannot conclude this statement without making a specific reference to the ideal of the protection of human rights, which has been a constant concern of Costa Rica and its Governments. It seems to me necessary since the United Nations, from the moment of its birth, embarked upon an important task in this field. The Charter was dedicated to that major objective and became a point of departure for the task of making fundamental rights become an international commitment. Then came the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and increasingly concrete and specific international covenants. The Legislative Assembly of my country, which was the first one to ratify the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the Optional Protocol thereto and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights [*resolution 2200 A(XXI), annex*], has just approved the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women [*resolution 34/180, annex*].

74. Nevertheless, we still note a major omission in that field. The United Nations does not yet have a truly effective mechanism for the defence of human rights. The extraordinary number of documents, declarations and treaties on the subject have not yet given the Organization the power to restore the enjoyment of rights to victims of violation. This does not detract from the merits of the work done by the Commission on Human Rights and the Human Rights Committee; rather, it is a recognition of the limitations placed upon their work. For our part, Costa Ricans have insisted on imbuing the defence of human rights with an effective structure, despite the fact that we must recognize that many Governments lack the political will to do so.

75. Our sincere concern relates to the fate of peace and security in the world. Recently, the President of Costa Rica mentioned before the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Europe, Central America and the countries of the Contadora Group that when violence comes from above it inevitably leads to violence in the opposite direction, thus altering and destabilizing countries and regions. We can infer from that idea that peace cannot be possible so long as the stifling of the fundamental rights of the human being persists. We Costa Ricans have tried in our own land to avoid phenomena of that type. We are a peaceful and stable society, within the convulsed Central American region, because we have been able to build a society based on respect for human rights. We should like that kind of society to be extended now so that we may have a Central America that is an example and not a cause for concern, that contributes to peace instead of giving rise to problems, that provides first the hope and then the reality of human beings working and striving peacefully for development, free from fear.

76. Because this is linked with the subject of human rights, I cannot fail to appeal for international solidarity with respect to the problem of the more than 600,000 refugees who have been displaced because of the turmoil in Central America. They have been treated generously by the receiving States, but not enough is being done, for this is a problem which exceeds their capacity. The dedication and timely aid of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the Intergovernmental Committee for Migration and other international agencies represent a form of assistance which we Central Americans appreciate for its full worth. However, we require the help of the international community while, within the framework of Contadora, we promote in the nations to which the displaced persons belong the internal conditions conducive to their return to their lands and their work.

77. Costa Rica proposed that the year 1986 be proclaimed the International Year of Peace. It should be a constant task of the United Nations to call for peace, because this has been the great objective of the Organization since its foundation. The International Year of Peace will be devoted to emphasizing this commitment, at a time when, because of world tensions, it is necessary to uphold the purposes and principles of the Charter, in which special prominence is given to the maintenance of peace.

78. In a tribute to that concept the President of Costa Rica, in November of last year, recalling our traditional position on the problems of the region in which we live, proclaimed the neutrality of our country in the face of the military conflicts in the region but pointed out that, because of our democratic commitment, we could not in any way be ideologically neutral.

79. I shall conclude by quoting what the President of Costa Rica said in the formal proclamation of our neutrality:

> "Costa Rica is not an economic Power; nor can it be. Costa Rica is not a political Power; nor can it be. Costa Rica is not a military Power; nor does it wish to be. Costa Rica is a spiritual Power, because the people practise a true faith in the power of common sense, the power of the will and the power of morality."

80. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly will now hear a statement by the Prime Minister of Malaysia, the Right Honourable Mr. Mahathir bin Mohamad. I have great pleasure in welcoming him and inviting him to address the General Assembly.

81. Mr. MAHATHIR (Malaysia): Sir, it is with special pleasure that I greet you, a distinguished son of Zambia and of Africa, as President of the General Assembly and offer you my warmest felicitations on your unanimous election. Yours is a heavy responsibility as you guide our work during a very difficult period for the United Nations, and I want to begin by assuring you of the fullest co-operation of the Malaysian delegation in all your efforts, because Malaysia's support for the United Nations is unstinting and unabashed.

82. It is this support which has brought me here twice to address the Assembly although I have been Prime Minister of my country for only three years. For far too long, the United Nations has been abused, denigrated and ignored. For far too long now, we have been hearing about the so-called tyranny and irresponsibility of the majority, about waste and "paper" resolutions and double standards. We all know that the United Nations is not without fault, but in the face of ignorance and bigotry, of myths and falsehoods, we must continue to proclaim our faith in what the United Nations at its best stands for—a world which is secure for all, just for all, prosperous for all and humane for all.

83. These were the ideals of international co-operation and justice proclaimed by the founding fathers of this institution: not a world in which only the rich and the powerful make the important decisions; not a world in which small nations fight proxy wars on behalf of big nations; not a world in which might is right; not a world half-rich and half-poor, half-well-endowed and half-deprived. What has happened now to those ideals? We who believe in them want also to believe that the founder-Members of the Organization meant what they said when they proclaimed the Charter of the United Nations. It is understandable that the excitements and the expectations of the dawn of 1945 should inevitably be tarnished in the cold light of experience over the last 39 years. But the sad truth is more than that.

84. For the first 15 or 20 years of the Organization's existence, we did not hear anything about the disproportionate voting strength of small States—and there were small States—or about the tyranny of the automatic majority—and there was often an automatic majority. Instead, we heard about the virtues of a more democratic international life as exemplified in the United Nations. What has happened to those sentiments? Were we naive to believe that those countries which loudly proclaimed such ideals in the early decades of the Organization did, indeed, believe in them? What, then, are we to make of the constant barrage of perverse criticism, the threats and the denigration which have now become the fashion in certain quarters? Is it because the United Nations can no longer be manipulated and manouevred?

85. Malaysia, for one, would like to believe otherwise. Yet we see the big Powers continuing more and more to ignore and to belittle the United Nations. They have established a network of relationships outside the United Nations system to resolve world problems. They have formed their own economic

clubs, to which from time to time the developing countries are permitted to make their supplications. But the clubs, like all exclusive clubs, essentially look after the interests of their members. In the mean time, in the economic as in the political field, the United Nations continues to be ignored. Indeed, we witness something even more negative, namely, the threat to withdraw from certain United Nations agencies. Unhappy about the direction and leadership of these agencies, they sometimes make these threats under the guise of management or budgetary concerns.

86. To that I wish to respond: we, the small and the poor, also pay. What we contribute may not be much, but in terms of our own budgets it is substantial indeed, sometimes even more substantial than the contributions of big nations. We do not like to see anyone squandering our money any more than the rich. But what we would like to see is not savings through the destruction of the agencies but a thorough overhaul of the system to ensure that it is cost-effective and serves the agreed objectives. Undermining the agencies is definitely not the way to tackle the problem, and so let us say: enough of this short-sightedness; enough of cynicism; enough of distortions and falsehoods. As we stand on the eve of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, let us first of all pledge ourselves once more to the United Nations and, in that spirit, to a practical and realistic appraisal of where we can go from here.

87. Looking back at the past four decades, I believe that from time to time we have succeeded in acting in the true spirit of the Charter. No one can deny that the United Nations has had its successes and it still does much valuable work, often in unspectacular ways. All this has been due to the consciousness that there exists an international community and that our national interest can in fact be safeguarded in the larger context of the international interest. It is this consciousness that we must constantly cultivate.

88. The fact is that the further development of the United Nations depends first and foremost on the attitude of the major Powers. It is they, more than anyone else, that are in a position to decide the future of the Organization. This is because the major Powers cannot be ignored. The resolutions of the United Nations can be ignored, as they have been. The weak developing countries can be ignored, as they have constantly been. The question then is: do the major Powers want the United Nations to become what it can become—a centre for resolving conflicting interests and a catalyst for peaceful change—or will they abandon it because they can no longer manipulate it?

89. But, of course, the responsibility is not theirs alone. The smaller nations are disillusioned at the ineffectiveness of the United Nations, which has been paralysed on so many occasions because the major Powers have prevented effective action. But Malaysia has always believed that just as the major Powers must avoid alienating the smaller countries by their obstructive policies, so also must the small countries prevent the alienation of the major Powers from the Organization through the wholesale imposition of decisions by majority vote. Speaking as a representative of a small developing country, I am very conscious of the fact that a United Nations resolution that is obtained by majority voting along group, political or ideological lines will not in itself solve any problem. There is often a need for greater realism and restraint. More efforts can be made through the process of negotiation and consultation to arrive at solutions of principle that are both realistic and practical.

90. But the principles must remain at the core of any solution. The United Nations, if it is to mean anything at all, must stand firm on principles, and there will be a need for adjustments and compromise on the means, the processes and the modalities. We, the smaller nations, cannot be blamed if we insist on that. It is hypocrisy to accuse us of being emotional or unrealistic, irresponsible or irrelevant only because those principles are now inconvenient to the major Powers.

91. I turn now to another subject of equal importance to contemporary international and human relations. I refer to the misunderstanding that is so prevalent in the Western world, fed by deliberate distortions by interested parties about what is happening in the Islamic world.

92. The fact is that there is a resurgence of faith in the Islamic world as well as among other religions. Do not allow yourselves to be manipulated so as to fear this resurgence or even the word "fundamentalist", which has triggered so many ancient suspicions and prejudices. Yes, we are the Islamic "fundamentalists", because we believe in the fundamentals of Islam—in peace, tolerance and justice—and, yes, there are extremists just as there are extremists everywhere in every religion and in every phase of history. Surely no one can deny that, historically, there have been aberrations in all religions and it is plain prejudice or deliberate distortion to allow these aberrations to determine our perception and our judgement. Let us ask ourselves: would it be fair to judge Christianity by the excesses of the Spanish Inquisition, or by the obscenity of *apartheid*, or of nazism? Would it be fair to judge Judaism by the perversities that political zionism represents?

93. The answer is obvious. The current revolution in Islam deserves to be judged fairly and objectively. I do not deny that violence, injustice and much that is against universal good values have been perpetrated in the name of Islam. But the concentration on these aspects—which, I repeat, are aberrations typical in any historical movement—to the exclusion of all others that are true and good does harm to the world. It leads to misunderstanding, fuels suspicions and reinforces prejudices to the detriment of us all.

94. And yet there are some who, for their own racist reasons, are only too prone to highlight and gloat over every excess, real or imagined, which they can focus upon. If all the money, time and energy spent on distorting what is going on in the Islamic world were spent instead on a careful and objective understanding of one of the most important developments in the contemporary world, how much better off we would all be. The great liberation movements after the Second World War could be understood only when people knew that Gandhi was not "a half-naked fakir", nor Kenyatta a representative of the forces of evil and darkness, nor Nasser an upstart and an irresponsible trouble-maker. Similarly, what is happening in the Islamic world today must be understood as a movement that seeks to consolidate political freedom, economic justice and cultural identity; a catalogue of values which everyone, if he is to be true to any notion of decency and civility, must surely support.

95. It is not my purpose in these remarks to place the current Islamic resurgence in its historical context. There is a long and turbulent history of relations between Islam and the West during which many prejudices became ingrained. What is more tragic is that these are now being revived, fanned and exploited by the Zionists to serve political ends. The great peoples of the Book—the Jews, Christians and Muslims—have much in common with each other, have contributed much to human civilization and surely have much more to contribute.

96. Why is it then that we allow one of the most significant movements of our times—the resurgence of Islam—to be wilfully misrepresented and misunderstood? Who stands to gain from such misunderstanding? Why cannot we instead turn to one another and learn from one another, from our respective historical experiences, from our dreams and hopes and fears? Let us find charity in our hearts; let Christians, Jews and agnostics alike find the charity in their hearts to recognize what is going on in the Islamic world for what it really is: a search for spiritual succour in a world that is confused and troubled. Let us be rid of hatred, of the anti-Islam propaganda of bitterness and prejudice that the Zionists continue to spew.

97. I appeal therefore for understanding between Jews, Christians and Muslims. Many Muslims today are disillusioned and shocked at what they regard as contemporary aberrations in the Judaeo-Christian tradition, and this has resulted in a resurgence of Islamic orthodoxy and extremism. The Zionist-inspired Western reaction to this Islamic resurgence, as well as its aberrations of intolerance and self-righteousness, has further increased the separation and antagonism between the West and the Islamic world.

98. It is time that we—all of us—put a stop to this. The contemporary aberrations in the Judaeo-Christian traditions and, similarly, the contemporary aberrations, in a few instances, within the Islamic tradition must not be allowed to obscure their fundamental virtues. Let us study each other's teachings. Let us be true to those teachings. God willing, the great understanding that this will generate will help Jews and Christians and Muslims alike to contribute first of all to peace in the Middle East and then to greater understanding in the world. It will at the very least stop the machinations of those with selfish and narrow, racist ends who are seeking to exploit ignorance and suspicion and prejudice. It will be a development of historic significance.

99. I would like to turn now to economic issues, and here my theme is consistency and fairness.

100. For a long time, the banner of free trade was held high, and the colonies of the metropolitan Powers were vigorously taught the virtues of free trade. At that time, and for years after independence, we could not export anything except primary commodities, and, true to the lessons we had been taught, our markets were open to imports of manufactured goods from the industrialized countries. However, now that we ourselves have learned the trick of manufacturing and exporting goods, although the amount is insignificant, what has happened to that proud banner of free trade? It flies limply or at half-mast in the industrialized countries. We see quotas and other restrictions, so-called voluntary restraints and other threats and pressures. We even see our industrialization policies, which seek to attract foreign investment through such devices as export incentives, preferential financing and so on, being challenged. We also see to our surprise labour unions in industrialized countries which in the days of empire had not been in the least concerned about the lot of our workers—who were then certainly exploited—suddenly become champions of our workers, urging them to demand higher wages and improved working conditions, even though our workers have already gained better treatment since independence. Why this unusual concern, we wonder? Is it coincidental that the result of this concern is that our products are less competitive?

101. We will be forgiven, therefore, if in the face of all this we are a little cynical about the principles of free trade which they have been preaching and about the interest of their labour unions in the welfare of our workers. Therefore I say this. Do not merely preach free trade, practise it. Do not be so presumptuous as to think that you know better than our labour leaders how to look after the interests of our workers. We can compete with you freely and fairly in certain areas. These are usually those of low-technology goods which, in any event, you, who are much higher up on the industrial scale, can best leave to us so that in turn we can import the higher-technology goods that you produce. In this way, we can all mutually fuel international trade, which is an essential engine of growth and the only real solution to our poverty problem.

102. I want to turn to another area in which the comfortable and the rich in the industrialized countries still have the colonial mentality and want to lead us by the hand. During colonial times, many of our forests were cleared for timber and for planting rubber, oil palms, tea, sugar, coffee, and so on. Little concern was then expressed about the environment. Now, as we seek to open up our lands for modern farming, for the generation of power and for industrialization, a whole host of environmentalists from the industrialized countries have descended upon us to educate our people about preserving the natural beauty of our tropical forests, and so on. Certainly, we want to preserve our forests. Certainly, we want to maintain our clean environment, our clean atmosphere. But, make no mistake, it will not be at the expense of the living conditions of our people. We will not accept a situation in which our rural people live in poverty and misery so that the rich, when they come by, can say "What unspoilt beauty!", tip the "happy" native children 10 cents to pose in front of a thatched hut, and then go their comfortable way. The preservation of the environment requires money, which we will not have unless we develop. We fully intend to develop, and it is we, and we alone, who will make the judgement about environmental standards and about the preservation of our natural beauty, which we, surely, more than anyone else have an interest in preserving. Help the poor countries to develop economically and the environment will be taken care of. Being poor in a beautiful environment does not mitigate poverty.

103. While on the subject of environment, I want to draw attention to yet another imposition on certain poor countries. I refer to the pollution of the sea, specifically to pollution in the straits regarded as international shipping routes. More specifically still, I want to refer to Malaysia's experience in the Straits of Malacca. In the days when ships were not so numerous or so huge, their passage through the

narrow Straits posed little problem for the littoral States. But now hundreds of these behemoths, filled with all kinds of goods, including dangerous chemicals and petroleum, clog the Straits. Every now and then they collide with each other, spilling their contents into the sea. While tankers no longer clean their holds in the narrow waters, other ships still do. There is still a considerable amount of rubbish being discarded into the sea. The net result is filthy Straits with patches of oil, pieces of paper, plastic and other rubbish. Eventually all this lands on our shores, making them equally filthy.

104. In the face of those developments, the equipment and boats which Malaysia maintains to clean oil spillage at considerable cost to ourselves are no longer enough. Now we have actively to consider sweeping the sea of the wastes and rubbish thrown or flushed out of ships. I believe that in the circumstances we are right to ask that the maritime nations and the shipping firms, which obviously benefit from using the Straits, should help to maintain the facilities for keeping the waters clean. I have no specific formula in mind but I am convinced that the international agencies concerned must examine this question and make necessary provisions for keeping the waters clean. The developing countries which face these Straits should not be further burdened with having to equip and maintain costly facilities for dealing with oil spills and extensive damage to fishing, sometimes for years. Nor should their polluted beach resorts, from which they earn a few tourist dollars, be cleaned entirely at their own expense. The ships generally belong to the rich and they must defray the cost, at least partially.

105. I have in these remarks focused on a number of broad issues affecting the United Nations, the Islamic world and the developing countries. However, I shall be failing in my duty in this general statement if I do not also touch upon certain other issues which are pertinent as Malaysia looks at current developments in the world.

106. Before doing so, however, may I take this opportunity, first of all, to express the appreciation of my delegation to the outgoing President, who carried out his tasks so admirably during the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly.

107. I would also wish to express from this rostrum, on behalf of the Government and the people of Malaysia, our warmest welcome and felicitations to the delegation of Brunei Darussalam as it takes its seat in the United Nations—an event which has given us very special pleasure. Brunei Darussalam is a neighbour of Malaysia and a fellow member of the Association of South-East Asian Nations [*ASEAN*]. Since 7 January this year, when Brunei Darussalam formally joined ASEAN as a full member, we have worked closely and amicably with it and we know that it will make many important and serious contributions to the work of the Organization. Malaysia looks forward to a future of close and fruitful collaboration with Brunei Darussalam.

108. As we survey developments around the globe, we cannot but be filled with a sense of foreboding at the downward spiral of international understanding, of outrage at so much blatant injustice and even, alas, of cynicism at the wide gap between professions of principles and their practice.

109. Take the case of Palestine, which has been referred to for too long as an Arab-Israeli conflict. That is a deliberate misnomer, because the conflict is in essence and in reality an Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the root of which is the adamant denial by Israel of Palestinian nationhood. Of all those who insist on direct talks between the parties concerned, I ask: who are the parties but the Israelis and the Palestinians? Of all those who talk of democracy, freedom, self-determination and all the other lofty principles of justice and human rights, I ask: in the name of what can the people of Palestine be denied their right to their own independent homeland? Is it in the name of Israel's security, which can be ensured, in any event, in many other ways? Can this be seriously argued by countries which, at the same time, are vociferous in condemning the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea? No. The fact is that the Palestinians are being denied their freedom because Israel wants it so and it has the support of a powerful ally to enforce its will. Let us avoid debating points. Let us avoid dredging up minutiae of history. This is the basic issue. Despite the clear will of the international community and the undeniable rights of the Palestinians, Israel adamantly and violently opposes Palestinian freedom. If another State were to do this, it would be rightly condemned, as Israel is by some, and rightly repudiated, as Israel is not, because of its powerful ally. And yet Israel and its friend attempt to portray it as the victim, the injured innocent.

110. Sometimes it is also said that the Palestinians, or more specifically the Palestine Liberation Organization [*PLO*], must first of all recognize Israel—and let us bear this in mind—not before Palestinian independence can be accepted, but before the PLO can be allowed to take part in any discussion on Palestine's future: an explicit recognition of Israel by the PLO, in return for which the PLO will be allowed an undefined seat in undefined negotiations about an undefined future for Palestine. This is insisted upon—never mind about the Fez resolution of the Arab Heads of State, never mind about the resolution of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, whose provisions about the security of all States in the Middle East are clear for all who wish to see. And yet, by the same token, have those supporters of Israel asked Israel for an explicit recognition of the PLO and for Palestinian freedom? The answer is no. Or even for an implicit recognition? Again, no. And, what is more, not only has Israel neither explicitly nor even implicitly recognized the PLO and Palestinian independence, it has quite explicitly and categorically rejected any possibility of dealing with the PLO or any prospect of Palestinian independence. In those circumstances, those who still point the finger of responsibility at the PLO cannot expect us to take them seriously. No doubt they have their own reasons for what they do, but they cannot expect us to believe that those reasons are remotely connected with any principle of democracy, justice or human rights.

111. As to southern Africa, how can we adequately express our outrage at the manner in which the rights—and even the lives—of black Africans are being treated? At the risk of being misunderstood, I venture to suggest that if white people were treated by a black Government, or any Government for that matter, in the way that the black people of South Africa are being treated, the entire world would rise up and take decisive action. And yet what do we see? Certain countries press into service all manner of

arguments under sophisticated labels, such as constructive engagement. They appeal for patience, they draw attention to practical realities and, in the case of Namibia, they even advance the almost incredible and totally irrelevant concept of "linkage"—arguments which they themselves would not tolerate for one moment if the victims of this monstrosity that *apartheid* and the racist régime represent were whites. I urge those Governments to leap beyond oblique intellectualizing, beyond calculations of economics or power politics to understand that what is at stake is a moral issue. How can you support a Government whose philosophy is immoral and whose methods are brutal and cruel? How can you justify denying to the black people of South Africa a life of freedom and decency in their own land? History will judge you, and do not be outraged that, in the mean time, we are judging you too.

112. Looking elsewhere in the world, it is ironic to see in Afghanistan the contrast between professions of lofty principles and actual practice. In the name of good neighbourliness and fraternal relations, a vicious and bloody war is being inflicted on the people of Afghanistan. This violation, like any other violation of the independence and territorial integrity of a sovereign nation, must be resisted. Malaysia has therefore supported and will continue to support, in whatever practical way it can, the struggle of the valiant Afghan people for their freedom and honour. That is why we have given facilities for the *mujahidin* freedom fighters to have an office in Kuala Lumpur. That is why we continue to support the diplomatic efforts of the Secretary-General to seek a political solution to this problem. Faced with the might of stronger neighbours, small weak States need to know that the United Nations will not allow them to be trampled on by the boots of invading armies. Everything else must depend on this fundamental right to freedom and sovereignty.

113. Nearer to us in Malaysia, we see the same cynical manipulation of words such as self-determination and fraternal assistance and human rights in order to justify what cannot be justified, namely, the Vietnamese invasion and continuing occupation of Kampuchea. The ASEAN countries, which had offered a hand of friendship and co-operation to Viet Nam at the end of the Viet Nam war in 1975, have opposed and will continue to oppose this blatant violation of Kampuchea's independence and territorial integrity. The situation is ironic because Viet Nam, which once earned the high admiration of many for standing up in defiance and, finally, in triumph against overwhelming odds to uphold the right of the Vietnamese people to freedom in their own homeland, is committing now exactly what it had accused its adversaries of attempting to do: namely, the imposition of its will by armed might on a smaller and weaker country. This tragic irony is compounded by the fact that those of Viet Nam's neighbours which are members of ASEAN have categorically shown that they are fully ready to meet Viet Nam's legitimate security interest. A further irony is that the ASEAN countries had agreed in 1971 to the concept of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in South-East Asia and it is Viet Nam's continued occupation of Kampuchea which is the obstacle to the realization of a conflict-free neutral area untroubled by the rivalries of the major Powers, which Viet Nam also claims to be its objective.

114. The choice between conflict and co-operation is Viet Nam's. From the contacts and meetings, both public and private, that it has had with individual ASEAN countries, Viet Nam knows that ASEAN is flexible and sincere in its wish to bring the present conflict to an end, but ASEAN cannot and will not compromise with regard to the right of the Kampuchean people to choose their own form of Government free from any external coercion. We will stay the course. The position we have taken is not only in conformity with United Nations principles and relevant resolutions but offers a fair and honourable exit for Viet Nam. It is now up to Viet Nam to decide.

115. I would like to turn now to the subject of Antarctica, to which I feel compelled to refer as Malaysia was one of the sponsors requesting the inclusion of this item at the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly.[4] As we await the Secretary-General's study and the subsequent debate on this subject later during this session, I want to emphasize most of all that Malaysia approaches the forthcoming discussions with an open mind and with the hope that, by listening carefully to each other's concerns and views, we shall all be able to move forward together on this issue. I also want to stress that Malaysia raised this subject in a constructive spirit—to build, not to destroy. We do not dispute the good that the present Antarctic Treaty[5] system has done. But what we are seeking to build is a broader basis and a firmer foundation for international co-operation in Antarctica which would be acceptable to, and in the interest of, the international community as a whole and thus ensure the long-term stability and effectiveness of the system. We have an open mind as to how that can best be brought about. Of course we have some ideas of our own: in the particular circumstances of Antarctica—a large land mass occupying some one tenth of the globe's land surface, situated in a strategic part of the world, with a fragile ecosystem and possessing rich marine and, possibly, mineral resources, a part of the world, moreover, with no settled inhabitants and where, indisputably, there is no recognition of the claims to sovereignty except between the seven claimants—we believe that there is at least a strong case for Antarctica to be in one way or another the common heritage of mankind.

116. But we are aware that there are practical and legal realities as well as a great deal in the way of national sensitivities which cannot simply be swept aside. The United Nations has only begun to consider this question of Antarctica and all of us will therefore need to proceed cautiously and carefully. Hence, whatever Malaysia's views may be, we will approach the forthcoming discussions with an open mind and sensitivity to the concerns, views and interests of other Member States. We earnestly urge a similar approach by all concerned. It is in that spirit that we have proposed the establishment of a special committee on the question of Antarctica. It can be expected that the discussions which will take place later during this session will not be conclusive. Such a committee should build upon the discussion in the General Assembly and examine the subject in greater depth so as to arrive at a consensus on the objectives of a régime in Antarctica and the machinery to achieve such an objective.

117. One matter that needs constant serious attention is the drug problem. As we are aware, the drug problem is international or global in character and

knows no national boundaries. Thus, no country can handle this problem single-handed. It requires a serious and concerted effort at the international level by all countries and international agencies concerned.

118. The present co-operation at the international level has not resulted in much. There are many reasons for this, of which the lack of commitment and co-ordination among the various countries is a major factor. This lack of co-operation is due in part to the conflict of interest which may be commercial and economic in nature. It is also observed that some countries are reluctant to implement United Nations decisions relating to the prevention and control of narcotic drugs owing to various factors, including the lack of political will. This could also be because many countries do not consider their drug problems to be serious, partly because of their outlook and partly because their problems are small.

119. It should be noted that the drug problem not only brings with it criminal implications, but, if left unchecked, can weaken and eventually destroy the social and cultural fabrics of our societies. It also has security ramifications that can threaten the very survival of a nation. It is for this reason that Malaysia has adopted harsh laws to curb the drug menace. Other countries may take exception to these laws, but the best way they can help stop the harsh sentences on drug traffickers is by co-operating in the prevention of drug production and trafficking. We appeal to the world community truly to internationalize the prevention of drug trafficking.

120. I have, in these remarks, expressed my views openly and frankly. I do so because I take the United Nations seriously and I do not believe that the general debate at each session of the Assembly should be an exercise in platitudes or politeness. We must mean what we say, and say what we mean. I have tried to do that, although in doing so I may have caused some uncomfortable feelings. Only frankness, an open mind, a willingness to work hard on the details of issues and to accommodate other views and, above all, a firm commitment to the vision of the Charter—a world of peace, freedom, justice and human dignity—will see us through the critical days that are upon us now. It is in that spirit that the Malaysian Government approaches its duties at, and to, the United Nations.

121. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the Prime Minister of Malaysia for the important statement he has just made.

122. Mr. ADDERLEY (Bahamas): Mr. President, I extend my congratulations to you, on behalf of the Bahamian delegation, on your election to the presidency of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. I am confident that the proceedings of this session will be executed skilfully under your able leadership, which you have already demonstrated for many years as President of the United Nations Council for Namibia, and I can assure you of my delegation's support throughout our deliberations.

123. I should like to commend Mr. Jorge Illueca for the excellent manner in which he carried out the functions of the office of President of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly. His qualities as a leader and his knowledge of the issues were evident throughout his term of office.

124. I must also pay tribute to the efforts of the Secretary-General in seeking to identify and establish those means whereby international peace and brotherhood, economic security, respect for human dignity and sovereignty of States can become realities.

125. It also gives me great satisfaction to welcome to the United Nations the delegation of Brunei Darussalam, a sister Commonwealth State.

126. I believe that all nations can see the wisdom of the observation that, if the United Nations did not exist, it would have to be invented. This being the case, then all States large and small, whether powerful or weak, industrialized or developing, must uphold the ideal of interdependence. This body has not been immune to negative comments. Nevertheless, I believe the world holds the Organization in high esteem. If all Governments demonstrated a willingness to implement its decisions, there can be no doubt that the image of this body would be enhanced and its credibility strengthened. Towards this end, among the many activities envisaged for the celebration of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, all States should renew, through concrete goals as well as declarations, their commitment to the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

127. My Government is deeply troubled by the problems of our region. Political ideology and the tendency of some to view the uncertainties of the area from a geopolitical point of view, thus placing all of the area's problems under the umbrella of East-West confrontation, is in our view a mistake. My delegation, however, shares the opinion that, notwithstanding ideological factors, the fundamental crisis faced by the people of the region is rooted in deep-seated social and economic ills. In this context, we welcome the continuing efforts of the international community to provide assistance to the people of Central America. The efforts of the Contadora Group in trying to devise a peaceful settlement of the problems of Central America, which would take into consideration all political views, are commendable and deserving of the support of the international community. The history of our region has taught us that an imposed settlement which does not accommodate the views of all parties will never stand the test of time.

128. The national security and defence of small States is a matter of grave concern to countries such as the Bahamas, and it ought equally to be of concern to the international community. Given their limited resources, it is impossible for small States to incur the expenditure necessary to create and maintain military capacity for self-defence against powerful forces of aggression.

129. In the case of the Bahamas, the problem is further compounded by its geographical make-up. The Commonwealth of the Bahamas, with a population of less than a quarter of a million, is an archipelago comprising some 700 islands, fewer than 30 of which sustain a permanent population. Given the priorities incumbent upon any Government for the provision of adequate services, inclusive of national health, social security, education and the other prerequisites of welfare, the creation and maintenance of a military cannot, especially for a country of extensive archipelagic expanse such as the Bahamas, be an objective of high priority.

130. The United Nations is charged with the responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. Strict adherence by Member States to these obligations will eliminate the necessity for small States to be concerned with these matters. But we today live in a world characterized by super-Power rivalry and competing self-interest where States guard jealously their national sovereignty, thus making it more difficult for the Organization to discharge its functions.

131. We are aware that efforts have been made by organs of this body responsible for international peace and security to make arrangements under which the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States can be preserved. We are also aware of the obligations imposed upon all States not to interfere in the domestic affairs of another State. As the matter relates to economic aggression or coercion, there exist, in particular, the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations [*resolution 2625 (XXV), annex*] and the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [*resolution 3281 (XXIX)*] of 1970 and 1974, respectively.

132. At the fifth meeting of the Conference of Heads of Government of the Caribbean Community, held at Nassau from 4 to 7 July 1984, the problem of the security of small States was considered. The communiqué issued at the end of that meeting states the following:

> "The Heads of Government expressed their concern that the security of small States continues to be seriously threatened. They observed that small States were increasingly vulnerable to external aggression, manifested in traditional as well as new forms, and were being subjected to various forms of economic aggression, including the attempt of some States to impose extraterritorial jurisdiction."

133. The Heads of Government also renewed their commitment to the maintenance of the territorial integrity of the Caribbean Community and of its member States. They emphasized the need for continuing efforts within the Caribbean Community to identify and document the various forms of threat to the security of States in the region. They took note of the proposed study by the Commonwealth Secretariat on the security of small States and agreed on a procedure which would ensure that the particular needs of the States of the Caribbean Community would be adequately reflected in the study. The Heads of Government further called for the early convening of the previously established working group to consider a unified approach to the question of economic aggression and the establishment of a scheme of mutual assistance. We are not convinced, however, that sufficient viable machinery exists today to tackle successfully the problem of threats posed to small States. We therefore pose the question: does not the necessity now arise for the codification and conclusion of a multilateral treaty concerning this issue?

134. Someone once referred to disarmament as any plan or system for the limitation, reduction or abolition of armed forces, including their arms and budgets. It is clear that this approach is not now being followed for, despite the fact that Governments are aware that the arms race has resulted in the wastage of valuable resources that could have been put to more productive use, there is a great unwillingness by many to desist from acquiring and—even more disconcerting—developing newer and more sophisticated weapons of destruction.

135. While we can take comfort in the fact that a global war is not going on now, we are disheartened by the war between Iran and Iraq, by the situation in the Middle East, in Afghanistan and in Kampuchea and by the conflicts in the Latin American region. A paradoxical concept exists that security can be had only through an accumulation of weapons of mass destruction, which both sides claim they will never use. It seems incongruous that, at a time when nations decry the use of chemical weapons and assert that nuclear weapons would annihilate our planet, they seem to be rushing into a race to build, acquire and use these deadly weapons. If the words of the Charter of the United Nations, "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war", are to have any meaning, then there must be more concerted efforts on the part of all nations to desist from the senseless act of escalating the arms race. While it is recognized that the United States and the Soviet Union, as super-Powers in the military field, have a moral and social obligation to the peoples of the world to curb the arms race, no State, big or small, militarily significant or militarily insignificant, can continue to shirk the responsibility that comes from the fact that globally every State is involved directly or indirectly in the web of military arsenals with which we could be destroyed.

136. Mahatma Gandhi, in his timelessly inimitable fashion, directed our attention to our responsibilities when he said:

> "If we are to reach real peace in this world and if we are to carry on real war against war, we shall have to begin with children; and if they grow up in their natural innocence, we won't have to struggle, we won't have to pass fruitless idle resolutions, but we shall go from love to love and peace to peace, until at last all the corners of the world are covered with the peace and love for which consciously or unconsciously the whole world is hungry."

137. Another matter of urgent global concern is that of stagnated economic development. Given the economic state of affairs of the world, it is amazing that a total collapse of the monetary system has not yet occurred. High interest rates, inflation and defaults on loans are all contributors to the mounting crisis. Protectionism is on the rise and exploitation of natural resources in developing countries by transnational corporations aggravates the problem. The new international economic order and global negotiations lie dormant because of the lack of commitment to and acceptance of the concept of interdependence. John Donne's "no man is an island" theory is not being practised and consequently nations have become more selfish and introspective.

138. Granted there are no easy answers to the sensitive matters of finance and economic development. My Government is convinced, however, that too much of the world's wealth is concentrated in too few hands. There has to be a much greater broadening of this base if the concept of equity is to be effectively applied and the downward spiralling international economy is to be revived.

139. There is an obvious relationship between political independence and economic independence

and there is an equally obvious relationship between political independence and the global ideological conflict in which, willingly or not, we are all caught. So it must follow that failure to reach agreement on the means by which economic independence will be achieved is bound to influence political and ideological considerations. Hence it is necessary that those of us who wish to preserve our freedom and the political independence we have must seek to promote the reconciliation of legitimately conflicting points of view among developed and developing countries.

140. Freedom and political independence are rich harvests to reap, but they become an empty feast at the table of economic dependence. The economic philosophy of development which dictates that the rich should get richer and let riches trickle down to the poor is an affront to national dignity and sovereign independence. It is a philosophy of dependence worse than colonialism. The evolution of a more equitable system of economic relations among nations must not be deferred by those who fail to realize that the total interdependence of the world requires, paradoxically, that the road to self-sufficiency and economic independence is called co-operation.

141. We are rightly proud of the level of liberty and freedom enjoyed by the people of the Bahamas, but we are not unmindful of the fact that that level of sovereignty is still denied large numbers of persons in the world. Consequently, there is today some movement, sometimes overt and sometimes less open, of people attempting to secure a larger measure of political freedom and more real control over their own affairs. No super-Power's armed might or economic authority can deter indefinitely the peoples' movements—which we support everywhere—in which man claims freedom from minority rule and economic oppression. Those movements may take the form of peaceful revolution, such as we were able to achieve in the Bahamas; others may be less fortunate and choose a separate route. But so long as the ultimate objective is greater freedom through giving the people the unfettered right to choose their own form of government, who would find fault with that?

142. It is not trite to inquire here today who speaks with a powerful, clear and credible voice for the rights of man. The old world order of the ideological right and left has failed to provide either leadership or hope for mankind. Super-Powers feed us unrelentingly with a morality of physical confrontation and our hope of peace and tranquillity is balanced on the scales of something called nuclear parity and deterrence. I do not believe that mankind is ennobled or that people of the world are impressed or their lives enriched by the magnificent means of world destruction which are being accumulated, but I do believe that all people are dismayed, frustrated and frightened by them. Those who value power over principle, and political ideology over ideas and reason, occupy the seats of the controllers of our destiny. Freedom and democracy are on the defensive. Those who have the voice, the power and the riches to mobilize those forces which do exist and which are in pursuit of democracy, political freedom, territorial integrity and economic and racial justice are silenced completely or muted beyond recognition. The recognizable power centres of the world are locked in the bondage of power politics, as they are held hostage by their histories and cultures, which, unfortunately, time is quickly passing by. Is it too much to hope that during the thirty-ninth session of this Assembly of the nations of the world some tangible signs will be evinced that will touch the conscience of mankind and kindle in the mighty some vision, reason and courage to promote, encourage and indeed lead those who cry out for more freedom, more democracy, more regard for human rights and more economic and racial justice?

143. It is incumbent upon me to state unequivocally that it is time *apartheid* and racial discrimination came to an end. We believe that it is the duty of each and every Member State to do its utmost to see that *apartheid* and racial discrimination are thoroughly eliminated, indeed eradicated. Our commitment to the promotion and encouragement of human rights and fundamental freedoms is clearly evident in our Constitution and in our determination to uphold the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

144. The Bahamas condemns, without reservation, the racist minority régime of South Africa, which continues to oppress the black majority and, through its institution of *apartheid*, seeks to destroy and deny this majority their inherent dignity and the exercise of their inalienable rights as free human beings. The Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the various human rights instruments adopted by the Organization theoretically form the core of the international community's defences against racism and racial discrimination. Not only are ideas based on racial superiority and hatred renounced and rejected in those instruments, but the equality of man and the entitlement of all to basic human rights and fundamental freedoms, regardless of race, colour, place of origin or any other consideration, are reaffirmed. By blatantly and unashamedly declaring the superiority of one race over another, the policy of *apartheid* challenges, directly, the very foundations and principles on which the Organization was based. This really ought not to be condoned by any member of the international community. Nor should any member of the international community condone the fraudulent so-called new constitution designed to foster the entrenchment of the abhorrent system of *apartheid*.

145. It is discouraging and even deplorable that year after year we continue to be plagued by some of the same issues. The racist régime of South Africa poses a threat to international security and peace, not only through its policies within its borders but also through its actions beyond its borders, in Namibia, by constantly setting up obstacles to the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which provides the basis for the independence of Namibia and the establishment of democratic rule in that country.

146. South Africa's occupation of Namibia is illegal. The current ploy by South Africa, to link Namibia's independence to the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola, is totally unacceptable to the Bahamas Government. We support whole-heartedly Security Council resolution 539 (1983).

147. We reiterate the concern expressed by the Commonwealth Heads of Government at their meeting held at New Delhi from 23 to 29 November 1983[6] in regard to the delaying of Namibia's independence. They urged the contact group as well as other negotiating bodies to make more serious efforts to

ensure the speedy and unconditional implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

148. A solution to the Cyprus problem has eluded us for far too long, and now, once again, recent developments in that country pose a serious threat to international peace and security in that region. While the Bahamas firmly believes that the principle of the right of peoples and countries to self-determination is a paramount aspect of international relations, national unity, which is a precondition for the development of nationals in any society, is not fostered by unilateral declarations of independence. In the Cyprus situation, such a unilateral declaration has created more problems than it has resolved. We are therefore convinced that effective social and economic development in Cyprus, or in any other nation or region, will evolve only in a situation where there is peace and respect for human dignity and freedom.

149. The Bahamas commends the Secretary-General of the United Nations and endorses the utilization of his good offices in seeking to formulate a framework for an overall solution to the Cyprus problem. To this end, we urge the speedy implementation of Security Council resolutions 541 (1983) and 550 (1984) as means whereby the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and non-alignment of that country will be ensured and any disruptive interference by others will be precluded.

150. The problem of drug control and, in the case of the Bahamas, trafficking in drugs represents the primary social and moral problem facing the Bahamas. Two factors—the geography of the Bahamas itself and the geographical location of the Bahamas—are contributory factors in the incidence of the traffic in drugs through our archipelago. The Bahamas covers an area of almost 100,000 nautical square miles of water with many isolated islands where ships and aircraft engaged in drug trafficking may seek haven to elude detection. The geographical location of the Bahamas also makes it a convenient transit country for illegal drugs destined for the big and profitable markets in North America.

151. The Bahamas is not now and has never been a producer of drugs and is not, in the international context, a major consumer, but consumption in the Bahamas has increased in direct relation to the volume of traffic passing through. Producer countries are generally south of the Bahamas; the major consumer country is to the north. This puts us in an unenviable position. As a result, drug trafficking through the Bahamas is straining the economic, moral and social fabric of the islands of our Commonwealth. What is important to the Bahamas is the effect the traffic in drugs is having, and has had persistently for years, on small Bahamian communities where a high percentage of the adult male population may find it economically to its advantage to become involved in this illegal business. This is a moral and cultural threat the long-term ramifications of which could be devastating to the social fabric of the country.

152. The major participants in this trade are not Bahamian nationals. They are almost all nationals of the producer and consumer States. It ought therefore to be readily understood why the primary concern of the Bahamas in this matter is for greater involvement of the United Nations system to internationalize the approaches to these problems of trafficking so that those who contribute the most to the traffic, that is, the producer and consumer countries, would be required to bear a greater share of the burden of law enforcement and eradication.

153. The resources of the Bahamas, as a developing country, are not unlimited. Narcotics control should not have to be in competition with social services for funding from the national budget. What is urgently needed is adequate international co-operation among all States: the producer States, the consumer States and the transit States such as the Bahamas.

154. The Bahamas wishes to see the problem of international drug control in all its aspects given priority in the United Nations system. As a member of the Commission on Narcotic Drugs, my Government pledges itself to do its utmost to work for the speedy implementation of the suggested international measures which have been discussed and recommended in this and other bodies. It hopes that, with the support of this body, the participation of the Bahamas can continue to make a contribution to international drug control.

155. Undoubtedly, one of the most valuable resources of any country is its youth. Particularly in the developing world, youth comprises a significant proportion, or, in some cases, the majority, of national populations. The United Nations is therefore to be commended for fulfilling an important part of its mandate in proclaiming 1985 International Youth Year: Participation, Development, Peace.

156. It is not sufficient, however, simply to identify or codify issues and problems which concern youth. National Governments, in particular, must seize this opportunity to increase their knowledge of this valuable resource and to adopt and implement policies and programmes directed towards the specific human needs and conditions of young people.

157. To be successful in our endeavours, two important considerations must be borne in mind. First, efforts for youth must be undertaken in consultation and co-operation with youth. Secondly, the momentum of International Youth Year must be sustained to ensure that youth is utilized as a force for economic progress, nation-building, and peace. In pursuit of these goals, the Bahamas has undertaken efforts to implement many of the United Nations recommendations in this field, and will co-operate fully with regional and international programmes in support of International Youth Year.

158. Even the detractors and the harshest critics of the United Nations, and therefore, much more, declared supporters, would agree that the world would be a worse place without it. Yet one must ask: is everything being done which can be done to use and improve this most invaluable global institution? I believe the answer, unfortunately, is no.

159. Member States' actions in many instances reveal contradictions between legal, theoretical and practical political support for the purposes and principles of the Organization. If the opportunities afforded by the United Nations are to continue to improve the security and well-being of mankind, there must be a closing of the gap between declared expectations and commitment.

160. At the level of international action there must be, generally speaking, more frankness in the evaluation of the total magnitude of resources present among Member States and the part that is diverted to United Nations endeavours to turn a recession- and conflict-ridden international society into a mutually

co-operating healthy community of States. There must also be courage and enlightened self-interest in the establishment of priorities to solve long-standing problems. Such courage and enlightened self-interest should have its practical expression in a more critical review and consequent revision of the Assembly's agenda.

161. In closing, I reiterate my Government's uncategorical support for the work of the United Nations, based on the principles and objectives delineated in its Charter. It is our view that the United Nations is indeed a unique and indispensable Organization, which, among other things, serves to cushion those harsh realities with which we are faced as members of the international community. While we recognize its shortcomings, we are convinced that, with the appropriate degree of commitment by its Member States, the United Nations could become the greatest institution for progress through co-operation and interdependence that mankind has ever known. We believe that this was the implicit intent of its founding fathers and, with this vision as a guiding beacon, the Bahamas will continue to promote the principles and objectives of the Charter and to enhance the functioning of the Organization, in a spirit of hope and brotherhood with other Member States, in pursuit of our ultimate goal of world peace.

162. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly will now hear a statement by Mr. John G. M. Compton, Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Saint Lucia. I have great pleasure in welcoming him and inviting him to address the General Assembly.

163. Mr. COMPTON (Saint Lucia): Mr. President, many a distinguished statesman has occupied the presidency of this parliament of the world—the General Assembly—and I have no doubt that, with your fine record of public service, you will follow the precedents of fairness and impartiality which have been the hallmark of your distinguished predecessors and that, as you pass the mantle of the presidency of this body to your successor, you, too, will be remembered as having served with honour.

164. During your presidency, Sir, you have seen a new Member, the State of Brunei Darussalam, admitted to the Organization. That this new nation has added the name "Darussalam" to its pre-independence designation is a happy indication of the policy it intends to pursue. As we welcome this proclamation, we also welcome this new Member to our Organization.

165. The fact that countries such as Saint Lucia and Brunei Darussalam can gain independence, and retain it against the blandishments of international predators, is a tribute to the work of the United Nations, the fortieth year of existence of which we commemorate next year.

166. The Charter of the United Nations is not only based on mutual respect for sovereignty and the peaceful settlement of disputes between States; even more important are the moral underpinnings of the principles of human rights and human dignity—principles which are often buried in the torrents of words and the snowstorms of conflicting resolutions that daily pour forth from this body or its various agencies. It is therefore necessary sometimes to remind ourselves of the Biblical injunction concerning the sabbath, and remember that as "The sabbath was made for man, and not man for the sabbath" [*Mark 2:27*], so, too, the State was made for man and not man for the State.

167. The lot of ensuring that this injunction is not lost sight of has fallen upon the shoulders of the Secretary-General. On behalf of the Government of Saint Lucia, I thank him for his untiring efforts, not only in the cause of world peace but also in other, less dramatic but equally important, areas of human concern. His efforts in mobilizing resources to relieve famine in the sub-Saharan areas of Africa, whose millions live constantly in the shadow of death, will always be remembered as one of the high points of his tenure of office.

168. But there are times when, despite the efforts of the Secretary-General and his staff, the conduct of some Member States, even in the precincts of this very Hall, drive us, in small countries, to despair and to cry out with Mark Anthony, of Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar:*

> "O judgment! thou art fled to brutish beasts,
> And men have lost their reason."

169. Time and again, resolutions passed and ratified by the United Nations have been defied or ignored by Member States. There have been attempts to condemn, without the observance of one of the most basic principles of natural justice—hearing the other party. The "gag rule" has been invoked, as in the notorious case of the Grenada resolution, and the veto has been used on occasions which can only lend aid and comfort to the racist régime of South Africa. All this can lead us to conclude that the United Nations has lost its moral underpinnings and is in danger of losing that reverence and awe in which it was once held, particularly by small nations such as our own.

170. But, in the encircling gloom of the clash of angry speeches and angry denunciations by Member States of each other, even within these revered halls, of the seemingly endless arms race, and the threat of nuclear holocaust, we yet see that tiny light of hope held aloft by such agencies as UNESCO, UNDP, the Pan American Health Organization, UNICEF and a host of others, whose untiring efforts, away from the glare of news headlines, bring hope and relief to untold millions in the developing world. It is for these reasons, if for no others, that we are strong and steadfast supporters of the United Nations.

171. It is therefore in sadness, rather than in anger, that we speak when we discern attempts to dislodge the Organization from its moral foundations and weaken the voice of the collective conscience of mankind. It is in sorrow that we see the furnace of the arms race being fed with such a large proportion of the world's resources, the product of the finest brains and the labours of millions, while nightly into our very living rooms is brought the sorry image of starving children. It is in sorrow that we call attention to the fact that while some developing countries can hardly provide the basic necessities for their people, their Governments parade the latest military hardware supplied by some of the developed countries, some of which contribute not a single rouble to United Nations famine relief funds.

172. But it is in anger that we protest at the conduct of certain States which should provide moral leadership to the Organization but which encourage, wittingly or unwittingly, that repulsive régime of South Africa in its errant ways and its defiance, which reduces this world body to impotence. South Africa is

the pariah of all nations and should be made an outcast of the world, and any conduct which in any way lends aid and comfort to that repulsive régime in the perpetuation of its racist policies must be deplored and unequivocally condemned.

173. The issue of Namibian independence continues to defy solution, as South Africa, in contemptuous defiance of world opinion, continues its illegal occupation of that Territory, enforcing its doctrine of racism upon that unhappy land. The work of the contact group of Western nations, upon which so much reliance was placed, has ended in frustration, and United Nations efforts to find a peaceful and speedy solution have been repeatedly thwarted. South Africa must be continuously pressured to comply with the edict of the United Nations, and a Namibia whose independence and neutrality is guaranteed by the United Nations must be brought into the community of nations without further delay.

174. How can some countries condemn the genocide of Hitler and Pol Pot and yet openly encourage South Africa with trade and investment? How can we live with our consciences when we stand impotent in the face of the blatant genocide of large sections of the black population, who are moved from their traditional homelands into barren lands to die of hunger and our only response is the passage of pious resolutions? How can the veto of a resolution exposing the sham of the so-called power-sharing in South Africa be justified when that sham has already been exposed by the very people it is supposed to benefit?

175. How can certain countries reconcile their superficial subscription to the Charter of the United Nations with their conduct outside the Organization? How can countries, some of our own friends, line up in mute obedience to condemn the initiative in Grenada which liberated the people of that country from the iron boot of military tyranny and removed the threat to the very existence of the small, democratic and defenceless nations of the eastern Caribbean—an initiative that was supported by the overwhelming majority of the peoples of the Eastern Caribbean and by almost the entire population of Grenada? Yet many of those nations remain silent on the continued bleeding of the people of Afghanistan.

176. Those are questions which small countries, defenceless but for the umbrella of the moral authority of the United Nations, continue to ask. The answers, when they come, bring us but cold comfort.

177. The technological revolution, which could have been employed to solve many of the social and economic problems that beset the world, instead has brought people in every part of the globe under the mushroom cloud of fear. We now have the spectacle of two super-Powers, with contending ideologies and sharply differing political systems, both armed to the teeth with nuclear weapons capable of reaching the furthest end of the earth, standing off like characters in the cinematographic film *High Noon* and glaring at each other across a gulf of hostility which even sportsmen and sportswomen are not permitted to cross. But it must be realized that there can be no winners in the arms race. As we raise the stakes so, too, do we raise the danger of mutually assured destruction. This madness must stop and the resources of the earth must be put to the service of mankind to fight the only wars that should be fought—wars against hunger, ignorance and disease.

178. Other wars are being fought, however, wars by proxy, and the chosen battlefields are countries of the developing world. Lebanon continues to bleed in agony, and we welcome the initiatives at present being undertaken to end that fratricidal strife. Nor can we fail to raise our voices in support of those who seek to end the seemingly interminable war between Iran and Iraq, a war in which so much blood and treasure is being senselessly expended.

179. It is now 40 years that there has been no peace in the Middle East. It has been said and frequently repeated that the Palestine question lies at the heart of the problem. Saint Lucia subscribes to that statement, but Saint Lucia also recognizes the fact that Israel exists and that, short of a nuclear holocaust, Israel will continue to exist. That certain countries in the area refuse to accept this fact is also at the heart of the problem. Therefore, while we support the Palestinians' right to a homeland, we also support Israel's right to exist within secure and defensible boundaries. Israel, too, if it is to retain international support, cannot fly in the face of world opinion and pursue an expansionist policy of settlements on land which, if it is to live in peace, it must eventually vacate.

180. The costs of these interminable wars in the Middle East are horrendous and, if the expenditures in military enterprises since 1948 had been used to develop a Palestinian homeland rather than to provide instruments of destruction, the Palestinians would have the highest *per capita* income of any nation on earth. But logic and sanity are at a high premium in that part of the world.

181. It does not appear that the poverty of a country and the destitution of its population preclude its being dragged into the arena of international conflict. Had that been the case, the people of the Republic of Chad would have enjoyed a life of peace and serenity. That is, unhappily, not the case. While the bulk of the population of that unhappy country languishes in poverty, hundreds of millions of dollars are being spent to frustrate the ambitions of one international adventurer. The initiative taken by France to protect the independence of Chad is to be commended, and it is hoped that foreign troops will soon be withdrawn and that unfortunate country left to pursue its destiny without further interference from outside.

182. Wars, in the sense of armed conflict between States, are not the only cause of concern. In recent years, a new and dangerous phenomenon has emerged—the phenomenon of State-supported terrorism. The tragedies of Rangoon and Beirut shocked the conscience of the civilized world and bear sad testimony to that fact. The perpetrators of those dastardly acts and those States which give them aid, comfort and sanctuary must be unequivocally condemned, and concerted international action must be taken to remove this scourge from our midst.

183. It would appear that the sponsors of that form of international mischief spare no country, however small or however far removed from their borders. Only one year ago, certain Governments of the eastern Caribbean, including Saint Lucia's, became aware of a conspiracy to train certain of their nationals in terrorism and sabotage—a conspiracy which was frustrated only by timely intelligence received from certain friendly countries. Such brazen

acts of aggression by proxy cannot be condoned by the international community.

184. Permit me to deal briefly with matters of current concern in the Caribbean and Central America. In this area, within the last decade, there have been stirrings of a people anxious to remove the weight of centuries from its back. These stirrings, in the main, have not evoked sympathetic response from the international community but, rather, have provided opportunities for international adventurers and attracted the attention of the sensation-seeking media. The problems of the region are social and economic in origin, with roots deep in the colonial past of which they are legacies. Such problems as the unequal distribution of land and wealth, the wide disparity between rich and poor, the denial of such basic human needs as education and health facilities, deep-seated though they may be, are not amenable to military solutions. If neglect in addressing them has driven some sections of the population, in despair, to take up arms against their sea of troubles, hoping that by opposing they will end them, that should not be seen as an opportunity for international adventurers to fish in the troubled waters of social discontent, in an area hitherto free of international entanglements, and to pour in military equipment and advisers in quantities and numbers which must cause alarm as to the ultimate intentions of the suppliers of such assistance.

185. For more than a century, the Caribbean and the Americas have endeavoured to sort out their problems without international entanglement. This approach should continue, and those problems that exist must be left to the wisdom of the statesmen of the region, who, with regard to the current problems in Central America, have already taken the initiative under the umbrella of the Contadora Group. All peace-loving nations should therefore support their endeavours. This support can be convincingly demonstrated by the cessation of supplies of military equipment and the withdrawal of all military advisers from the region. What the region needs is ploughshares, not the sword; tractors, not tanks; bread, not bazookas; teachers, technicians and doctors, not military advisers, and, most important, an environment of peace in which economic development and social transformation can take place.

186. Therefore, we welcome the recommendations of the Kissinger Commission on Central America, with its emphasis on economic and social assistance. We welcome, too, the opportunities available for expanded trade and development under the Caribbean Basin Initiative and the initiatives taken by the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the States members of the European Economic Community in support of the Contadora Group.

187. After centuries of colonialism throughout this hemisphere, coupled with slavery in some parts, western hemisphere leaders are wary of becoming involved in ideological struggles for fear that by so doing they might exchange one colonial master for another. Recent events in the Caribbean have forcefully demonstrated to us the need for vigilance if we are to preserve our fragile independence—vigilance particularly in the removal of any areas of social conflict. If the Caribbean is to be made a "zone of peace" as some have proposed, this should mean not only "peace", as opposed to military conflict, but "peace" in terms of the removal of social conflict between various groups in our society, by removing the root causes of such conflict.

188. In this regard, we urge the appointment, specifically for the Caribbean region, of a Commission, akin to the Kissinger Commission on Central America, to address the needs of the Caribbean and to recommend a programme of economic assistance which would help in removing areas of social discontent and to provide the environment of social peace which is so crucial to economic and social development and the preservation of our democratic way of life.

189. In our part of the world—and I speak specifically of the Commonwealth Caribbean—we know of one way and one way only of choosing and of changing our Governments: that is, by the ballot box, in free and fair elections, held at regularly specified times. We do not subscribe to the doctrine that power comes from the barrel of a gun but, rather, we hold steadfastly to the imperative that power comes from the will of the people, who giveth and who taketh away. It is for this reason that we became so alarmed when in 1979 one member of our closely knit family of nations departed from this traditional path. This departure provided an opportunity for international adventurers to invade our region, introducing alien ways and strange concepts intended to keep the people of Grenada in subjection far worse than colonialism and, by subversion, to extend their influence throughout the region, with domination their ultimate goal.

190. What other explanation is there for the introduction of over 10 million rounds of ammunition in a small country with a population of fewer than 100,000? What other explanation can there be for the supply to a country, surrounded by unarmed and friendly neighbours, of arms far in excess of its needs for self-defence, or for the construction of the most powerful radio station in the region and of a satellite earth station, or for the vast array of instruments of propaganda and subversion? What other explanation is there when young people from neighbouring islands are recruited and trained in subversion and terrorism and sent back home to practise their newly acquired skills?

191. Our needs in the Caribbean are great, but guns and instruments of war are not among them. In most countries of the eastern Caribbean, our only defence is a police force seldom numbering as many as 300 men, including the band, armed only with batons or ceremonial rifles. Military assistance is, therefore, not welcome.

192. However, between 1979 and 1983, the militarization of the island of Grenada progressed at a rate that caused alarm. One distant country with which we have no traditional association provided in excess of $15 million in military hardware, but not a single dollar for water supplies in a country where over 50 per cent of the population is without potable water. Others provided hundreds of military advisers, but not a single teacher in technical education. Armoured personnel carriers came, but not a single agricultural tractor. There were elaborate provisions for military training, but no provision for job training. Elaborate military installations were built, but not a single mile of farm road. And so the litany goes on. These were not the needs of the Grenadian people and were not the solutions to their needs.

193. We, in the eastern Caribbean, drew our own conclusion, and this gave us no comfort. In fact, we became alarmed and when the opportunity presented itself we took action under the Treaty establishing the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States[7] for our own self-defence and self-preservation and removed this cancer of militarization from our midst—action which is permitted under the Charter of the United Nations. Today, Grenada is a free country, and the eastern Caribbean can breathe easily again; we can sing the popular song that has now become an anthem: "We hope the day will never come when we will awake to the sound of guns."

194. We are peace-loving countries struggling to provide basic essentials for our people, whose history of colonization has been so long and is so recent. Those with military and imperialistic ambitions must therefore look elsewhere. The Caribbean will provide them no haven. Bayonets planted in Caribbean soil will not grow. In a few weeks' time, Grenada will have a Government elected by the democratic process, the fairness of which is open to observation by the international community. That is our way, the only way we will have it. How many countries can boast of such a record?

195. On another encouraging note, Saint Lucia applauds the recent proposals for a peaceful solution of the Beagle Channel dispute and the acceptance of these proposals by Argentina and Chile, and we congratulate these countries on so doing. I note, too, that Guatemala is prepared to negotiate a peaceful settlement of its dispute with Belize, and it is our hope that the dispute between Guyana and Venezuela, which has been submitted to the Secretary-General so that means of mediation may be found, will be speedily and satisfactorily disposed of so that these two countries—one a brother and the other a close friend—can then devote all their energies to the solution of their social and economic problems.

196. We, in this hemisphere, have in this manner demonstrated to the international community our approach to the solution of disputes between ourselves. It is my hope that such an approach will be used as an example in providing a solution for the Falkland-Malvinas dispute—a continuing irritant between traditional friends. One approach which I commend to the parties is that Argentina should forswear the use of force as a solution to the dispute, while the United Kingdom, for its part, should suspend the fortification of the islands pending mediation under United Nations auspices.

197. While the high drama of political issues held the spotlight, equally important, though less dramatic, were the battles of reviving the world economy from the longest and deepest recession since the 1930s, and the organs of the United Nations have played a leading role in this field. Though there are positive signs of recovery in the more developed countries, even in those the recovery is patchy and uneven, and most developing countries are still firmly held in the grip of the recession.

198. Protectionist policies adopted to shield domestic industries from competition are still obstructing the free flow of trade; prices of the primary commodities on which most developing countries depend for their very survival are still depressed and in many cases below 1975 levels; and interest rates are so high that to borrow at all is to court financial disaster.

199. The low level of earnings from exports from the third world, the decreased capital inflows and the high level of resources deflected to finance the arms race of the developed countries or to provide arms in some developing countries have resulted in a decreased demand for manufactured goods from the industrialized world. These have been analysed as the principal causes of the world recession. High interest rates have resulted not only in reduced capital inflows from the developed to the developing world but, in many cases, in a reverse flow. At current rates, the aggregate of less than five years' repaid interest equals the capital sum borrowed. This is nothing short of usury and exploitation.

200. Economic growth in the developing world holds the key to sustained recovery in the industrialized world and, while there is a large reservoir of unsatisfied demand, with low commodity prices and high interest rates even the tenuous recovery which we now experience will not long endure.

201. As long ago as 1969, the Pearson Commission recommended in its report[8] that the industrialized nations pledge a mere 1 per cent of their gross national product as economic assistance to the developing world. That plea was repeated in the Willy Brandt report.[9] Many were the pledges, but few were honoured. In fact, the World Bank has reported a substantial decrease of concessionary aid flows in both real and actual terms since 1975, and there has been a disappointing response to the call for the seventh IDA replenishment. The Nordic countries are therefore to be commended for having continued, the world recession notwithstanding, to honour their commitments and, in some respects, to exceed the required target.

202. The economies of island developing States have been identified as areas for special attention. But it would appear that the concept of their special position within the international system is being eroded, as the report by UNCTAD that was to have been prepared for this session of the General Assembly is not yet available and no satisfactory explanation has been forthcoming. It would appear, therefore, that in these cases the international community responds only to crises, and then too hastily and in too ill-considered a way, and consequently at too great a cost and therefore ineffectively.

203. As small countries, we are here because of the insistence of the United Nations that all countries have a right to independence, and that size and economic circumstances should not be criteria. But independence should mean more than a flag, however colourful, or an anthem, however stirring; or even a place in this body. It should mean, among other things, the ability to provide one's people with the basic amenities of civilized life. Small countries cannot, like the Israelites of old, emerge from the bondage of colonialism to die in the desert of neglect. Small countries cannot be left like orphans stranded on the international shores by the receding tide of colonialism, only to be gobbled up by international predators or to become client States of powerful neighbours. Small countries such as our own need the umbrella of the social and economic programmes of the United Nations. They need help to help themselves without being dragged into the slip-stream of ideological struggles. Their entry into the international community must mean more than the right to address the Assembly.

204. We sit here as equals whatever our size or importance, military or economic. It is because of the interdependence of the world community that each nation, like each man, should be his brother's keeper. The plight of the dirt farmer in the Sahel should evoke a sympathetic response in the vaulted halls of Moscow. The thirst for knowledge of a Saint Lucian child should tug at the heart-strings in Tokyo. Those who by accident of geography or history now possess most of the world's resources or the world's storehouse of knowledge must share with those who wish to cast off the bondage of underdevelopment. The goal in world politics today should therefore be not the exercise of power over the less fortunate but, rather, the dispensing of social justice to those in greatest need. This is what I referred to as the moral underpinnings of the United Nations and this is what membership of this family of nations should be all about.

205. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Saint Lucia for the important statement he has just made.

The meeting rose at 1.35 p.m.

NOTES

[1] *Official Records of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea*, vol. XVII, document A/CONF.62/122.

[2] A/39/118-E/1984/4, annex.

[3] A/39/331-E/1984/126, annex.

[4] *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-eighth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 140, document A/38/193.

[5] United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 402, No. 5778.

[6] See A/38/707, annex.

[7] Concluded at Basseterre on 18 June 1981.

[8] *Partners in Development*, Report of the Commission on International Development, Praeger Publishers, Inc., New York, 1969.

[9] *North-South: A program for survival*; report of the Independent Commission on International Development Issues, under the Chairmanship of Willy Brandt (Cambridge, Massachusetts, the MIT Press, 1980).

42

United Nations
GENERAL ASSEMBLY
THIRTY-NINTH SESSION
Official Records

29th
PLENARY MEETING

Wednesday, 10 October 1984,
at 3.30 p.m.

NEW YORK

President: Mr. Paul J. F. LUSAKA (Zambia).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. TALASASA (Solomon Islands): May I first of all congratulate you, Sir, on your election to the presidency of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. With your vast experience as a diplomat and as an outstanding representative of your good country, Zambia, I am sure you will guide the deliberations of the Assembly with success and distinction.

2. Also, I should like to pay a tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Jorge E. Illueca, of Panama, for his skilful leadership of the thirty-eighth session.

3. I join previous speakers in extending a warm welcome to the friendly country of Brunei Darussalam as it joins our family of nations. I congratulate the Government and people of Brunei Darussalam on the achievement of independence and offer them my Government's and my people's best wishes for the future. We look forward with pleasure to working closely with the delegation of Brunei Darussalam in the Organization, its related agencies and the Commonwealth.

4. Last year, my Prime Minister, in addressing this great assembly of nations, voiced the concerns of the Government of the Solomon Islands about certain international issues. Today, I shall make no apology if I again touch on some or all of those same issues. In my humble opinion, it is our duty not to lose sight of the major issues that come within the sphere of responsibility of the Organization: disarmament for peace and security; social and economic development for human betterment, including human rights; the eradication of the traces and remnants of colonialism; and the development of international law and justice.

5. Those are the noble aims and ideals for which this great Organization was founded; those are the issues that we must continue to address in our efforts to achieve those objectives, even if it takes us an eternity to achieve them hoping that meanwhile the world is not blown up by the pressing of a button.

6. It is timely, I believe, to remind ourselves that four decades ago a single nuclear bomb brought peace to the world and today only man can keep that peace. This is the crucial question that should be answered honestly by those concerned. For us, small peace-loving nations, the threat of imminent bombing brings the nightmarish realization that our planet will no longer be safe unless a genuine effort is made to bring about peace in all the corners of the world. Thus, my Government earnestly urges the super-Powers to resume disarmament negotiations at the earliest possible opportunity—not for the attainment of superiority, but for the definition of civilized behaviour in arms control.

7. Twelve months ago, we were concerned about global peace and security, threatened as it was by the instability in certain regions. That same threat is still with us today, in spite of the noble resolutions and decisions of the General Assembly and the courageous and diplomatic efforts of the Secretary-General. My Government's position remains unchanged, in that the unstable situations in southern Africa, the Middle East, Asia, the Korean peninsula and Central America are still threats to global peace and security.

8. In southern Africa, the question of delaying Namibia's independence is a cause for concern and my Government would like to see the early settlement of this question, in conformity with the principles of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). Related to the question of Namibia is the evil system of *apartheid*. Solomon Islands has consistently condemned that system and will maintain and uphold its condemnation until that inhuman and uncivilized practice is totally eradicated.

9. The situation in the Middle East is also of concern to all of us. Peace in that region is an important objective of the United Nations. The principles of secure territorial integrity and sovereignty are involved here. The position of the Solomon Islands has always been that Israel's right to exist must be recognized and that the Palestinian people have a right to self-determination. But the attainment of this depends on the search for peace by all the parties involved.

10. In the Asian region, the occupation of Afghanistan by Soviet forces and of Cambodia by Vietnamese forces perpetuates the threat to peace in the whole region and in the adjacent region of the South Pacific. Therefore, we call again for the withdrawal of those forces from those respective countries.

11. With regard to the Korean peninsula, Solomon Islands will support a negotiated reunification process, which should be pursued without outside interference. In the mean time, we would see merit in the admission of the two Koreas to the United Nations as a necessary step towards the process of reunification.

12. I now turn to the danger we face in the South Pacific region, that is, the danger of nuclear pollution. We are convinced that our reefs and seas are endangered by the nuclear-testing activities that have been carried out in our region. Hence we have condemned and will continue to condemn the nuclear testing by France in Mururoa atoll. We are totally

opposed to that and to the proposal by Japan to dump nuclear waste in the Pacific Ocean. Japan has heeded our objections thus far and we are grateful.

13. France, on the other hand, has shown no sign of willingness even to listen to our protests. Instead, it has had the arrogance to invite a team of scientists and to show them what they should be shown by the authorities in Mururoa. To this sort of unfriendly gesture, all I can say is that we are not developed industrially but we are humanly mature enough to tell truths from lies and rights from wrongs. It is morally wrong to lay the foundations for killing the source of our livelihood, that is, the resources of our seas and reefs, and for endangering our lives. The team of scientists made it abundantly clear that they were not allowed the freedom to observe certain crucial aspects of the nuclear-testing activities on Mururoa atoll and their conclusion is equally clear that there is no guarantee that, either in the short term or in the long term, there will be no adverse effects on our region and on future generations.

14. In this connection, I should like to endorse the statements by my colleagues from the South Pacific who have already addressed this session with regard to our collective decision to work towards a nuclear-free zone in our region. We regard this as fundamental and important because the island States in this region depend very heavily on the resources of our seas. In fact, many of our people depend almost exclusively on marine resources.

15. This is why we attach such importance to keeping our seas free from nuclear pollutants; this is why we subscribe so strongly to the principles of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, which stipulates the 200-mile exclusive economic zone and the 200-mile fisheries zone; this is why we are concerned about the spirit of international co-operation and about the fact that certain countries are still creating a serious obstacle by their refusal to recognize this Convention in its entirety.

16. I have dealt with the issues that are a pre-condition of successful economic and social development. What will be the good of the development of our islands' economic and social infrastructures if they are to be destroyed by nuclear pollutants and bombs? Of course, with modern technology these can be repaired in a matter of days, but for whose benefit? For the benefit of those who destroy, certainly, for they will manufacture equipment and machinery for repairs and reconstruction.

17. Thus, in order to come to grips with the problems of economic and social development in small island nations such as mine, we have to appreciate and understand the fundamental and practical obstacles to development.

18. Today's global economic situation must surely be the reflection of our unstable world. While economic recovery seems to have taken place in some industrial countries, the developing countries are still struggling and in the process are becoming worse off.

19. There can be no universal economic recovery, in my view, unless there is a new international economic order which aims to bridge the development gap between industrial countries and the heavily populated developing countries; a new international economic order which allows for a fair and free flow of trade between countries and relaxed and investment-generating regulations for international and multilateral financial institutions. Unfortunately, the global negotiations on a new international economic order are still in limbo.

20. Herein lies the interdependence of peace and security on the one hand and social and economic development on the other. The stalling of the global negotiations on a new international economic order is a direct result of the breakdown in genuine disarmament negotiations. The arms build-up, which has given rise to economic recovery in certain quarters, is a drain on scarce resources that are needed for development in the developing third world countries, which are the hardest hit by the recession.

21. As I mentioned human rights in relation to social and economic development, I would like to assure the Assembly of the high regard for this principle in my country. All the fundamental human rights and freedoms enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations are provided for and safeguarded in our national Constitution. There are also various legislative frameworks within which are spelt out detailed provisions concerning certain constitutional obligations, such as our leadership code to govern the conduct of our leaders in the exercise of their powers and the fulfilment of their responsibilities when in public office, and the Ombudsman Act to protect and safeguard the rights of individuals in their dealings with Government and statutory institutions.

22. In this context and in line with our policies and laws to safeguard human rights, I am pleased to see continuing efforts to work towards some regional and subregional institutional arrangements for the protection and promotion of human rights in the region of Asia and the Pacific. The proposal that resulted from the Seminar on National, Local and Regional Arrangements for the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights in the Asian Regions,[1] held at Colombo from 21 June to 2 July 1982, can be commended for further consideration. We welcome the objective of establishing an open-ended working group to continue the overall analysis with a view to further promotion and encouragement of human rights and fundamental freedoms, including questions relevant to the work of the Commission on Human Rights within the United Nations system.

23. These are noble goals, but here I sound a note of caution regarding regional institutional arrangements. Every care should be taken to avoid overlap and duplication, and, whatever we do, we should be mindful of the danger that such institutions, conceived in good faith, sometimes tend to lose sight of the purposes for which they were established and concentrate their efforts on self-promotion and self-perpetuation.

24. Turning now to decolonization, I remind the Assembly of the communiqué of the South Pacific Forum relating to the question of New Caledonia, issued after its fifteenth meeting, held in Tuvalu on 27 and 28 August 1984. The relevant parts for our purposes are as follows:

> "The Forum reaffirmed its support for the transition of New Caledonia to independence in accordance with the wishes of its people and in a manner which guarantees the innate and active rights of the Kanaka people and the rights, interests and aspirations of all its inhabitants. It urged the French Government and all political and community groups, including the Independence

Front, to keep talking to ensure that this transition to an independent, multiracial New Caledonia is achieved speedily and peacefully within a shorter time scale than presently envisaged.

"It was the Forum's view that the process of decolonization would be advanced by a public statement by the French Government that independence was the desirable, logical and acknowledged outcome of the Act of self-determination currently planned for 1989, and that this referendum should be brought forward by agreement between all parties involved.

"The Forum believed that France should transfer additional political and administrative powers to the Territory to ensure that it is adequately prepared for independence and take the practical steps necessary to guarantee the full and active participation of the Melanesian community in the Territory's educational, vocational and administrative institutions."

25. The persistent refusal by France to reinscribe New Caledonia on the list of Territories to be decolonized reflects a fundamental breach of the principle of self-determination and independence. My Government condemns this.

26. The underlying fact is simply that the people who were actually colonized—the Melanesians, and not the settlers—are the very people who are asking for self-determination and independence. It is these people who are asking for their disengagement from being a Department of the French Republic. There is a very genuine request and appeal to the United Nations, and we, their Melanesian brothers, very much appreciate their desire for independence. It is therefore my Government's obligation to put to the Organization the urgent proposal that New Caledonia be reinscribed on the agenda for decolonization during this session.

27. The Melanesian people of New Caledonia are being indoctrinated with two basic negative considerations: first, that they are not ready for independence and, secondly, that if France left their Territory, their peace and security and that of the South Pacific region would be endangered.

28. With regard to the first point, New Caledonia is the most developed Territory in the South Pacific. The city of Noumea is far more developed than the capitals of all the independent island States in the region. What, then, is the basis for readiness? Is it political, social or economic development? If it is all of these, then, as the Melanesians themselves are saying, they are ready, and France should accept this. With regard to the second point, what threatens the peace and security of our region is the presence of colonial Powers.

29. Independence has brought about the establishment of cordial and happy relations between the countries of our region, including Australia, Fiji, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, Western Samoa, Vanuatu and Solomon Islands. This augurs very well for the peace and security of our region. Therefore, I ask all members to think very seriously about the situation in New Caledonia, for the longer we postpone the consideration thereof, the more serious the threat to peace and security in our region will become.

30. Closely related to the question of global peace and security is the question of international co-operation. There is still much room for fairness. We have seen, and are seeing, injustice in the application of the new status of certain countries.

31. I now turn to the United Nations itself. Much has been said about its inadequacies and weaknesses. There have been comments from certain quarters that the Organization is heading in the wrong direction. While these might appear to give cause for concern, we believe that, under the able leadership of the Secretary-General, anything that needs to be improved will be attended to. Over all, however, one thing is certainly very clear: the Organization has the vital role of serving as the forum within which we can meet and try to resolve our problems through dialogue instead of confrontation. The United Nations holds humanity's last hope of maintaining peace and security. It has also done much, and is now doing more, for the development of the developing countries.

32. Solomon Islands is committed to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. That is why, in spite of our difficulties in the areas of manpower and finance, we are trying to participate as effectively as we can. Thus, I am obliged to conclude this brief statement by reaffirming our commitment to this great Organization.

33. Mr. BEYE (Mali) (*interpretation from French*): Next year we shall commemorate with enthusiasm a double anniversary—the fortieth anniversary of the Organization and the twenty-fifth anniversary of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

34. At a time when we are drawing up balance sheets, we must note that the world is in crisis—political crisis and socio-economic crisis—which seems to arise from self-interest, the power complex and mutual fear. Never have men been dying in such numbers for freedom, or from hunger and malnutrition in this world of surplus food.

35. Yes, the freedom fighters are still falling under the bullets of anachronistic colonial wars, and the *apartheid* system is persisting with ever more insidious, virulent and arrogant practices and the flagrant violation of the elementary human rights of peoples. At the same time, for most of the world population, the present and future are immersed in a situation of absolute poverty because of the absence of appropriate solutions to development problems. We are very far from achieving one of the objectives of the Charter of the United Nations, namely, the promotion of social progress.

36. The peoples of the world continue to live in a nightmare of uncertainty and in growing insecurity, because there is no significant progress in negotiations on general, complete and controlled disarmament. Worse still, the nuclear danger raises the ever more threatening spectre of a new holocaust. The world is dumbfounded by crises and is virtually on the threshold of war. Diplomatic language has become more and more abrasive. The international situation is explosive.

37. It is therefore comforting that, at a time when there is a growing tendency to turn away from this remarkable institution, the United Nations, a happy combination of circumstances has led to you, Mr. President, guiding the work of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. It is a pertinent symbol. The eminent President of the United Nations Council for Namibia is a worthy son of the southern part of Africa, which is in the vanguard of

the African peoples' struggle against the bastion of *apartheid*. Your outstanding election to the presidency of the thirty-ninth session is not only an honour to your country, Zambia, a friend of my country, but also a tribute to the entire African continent. There is no doubt that, thanks to your outstanding qualities as a man of dialogue, prudence, tolerance and compromise, the work of the session will be successful. It goes without saying, of course, that you can be sure of the full co-operation of the delegation of Mali in carrying out your delicate mission.

38. It is also a pleasure for me to convey to your predecessor, Mr. Jorge Illueca, now Head of State of his country, Panama, my respectful congratulations on the competence, dedication and calmness with which he guided the work of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly.

39. It is also encouraging that, on the eve of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the Organization has welcomed to its midst the 159th Member—the State of Brunei Darussalam. My delegation offers this new Member of the Organization its sincere congratulations on the freedom it has gained and assures it of our readiness to seek frank, full and brotherly co-operation with it—co-operation which has already commenced within the Organization of the Islamic Conference.

40. The United Nations has thus moved one step further towards the achievement of one of the fundamental goals set forth in the Charter signed at San Francisco, namely, universality. There is reason to hope that very soon Namibia will be able to join this great family of the United Nations, in accordance with the principles contained in the historic General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

41. That would, in any case, be fair recompense for the untiring efforts made with great openness by the Secretary-General, to whom we pay a special tribute for his devotion to the cause of the Organization. I am very happy to express to him the gratitude of the people of Mali and its leaders, who will always remember his friendly visit to our country. The Secretary-General also visited other countries in the Sahel and saw the extent of the disaster there. Then, in New York and at Geneva and wherever he had an opportunity to do so, he found the simple, decisive words needed to awaken the international conscience further and, in agreement with the countries concerned, was able to define a new approach to the problems of drought and desertification and to formulate a global strategy for combating those disasters which, I can never repeat enough, constitute a universal calamity.

42. The agony created among the people of the Sahel through the constant deterioration of the ecosystem—the causes of which do not yet seem to have been studied in depth and the scope of which is not fully understood—is due to a more disturbing phenomenon than that attributed to cyclic variations in the balance of the world ecology. Desertification has become a fact, one which presents a challenge to our knowledge and which is shaking our belief in our mastery over nature. The scope of desertification can be found in the frightful spread of the phenomenon, year after year, to the point where drought now afflicts every continent, without exception. It has been established that, in 1983, the vegetation line in Africa shrank by 230 kilometres in comparison with 1982. During that period, the food situation in Africa reached a critical threshold. Twenty-five years after independence, Africa is, alas, the only continent where per capita food production has shrunk. Thus Africa has replaced Asia as the main beneficiary of food aid. Indeed, per capita food production south of the Sahara is less than it was 10 years ago, and even 20 years ago.

43. Mali, like other Sahel countries, has been experiencing this disaster for more than 12 years. My country has devoted the greater part of its resources to fighting the phenomenon through an appropriate restructuring of its development programmes, by mobilizing all its means of production and by an acute awareness of the phenomenon of desertification to the point where the Head of State, President Moussa Traoré, called upon all Malians to live with the phenomenon and to integrate it into our economy. That appeal is universal in scope, for in the gigantic battle against drought that has become universal, the devotion of a single people, however courageous or determined, is not enough. Therefore, in dealing with this global vision of the preservation of nature, we talked from this very rostrum about the establishment of the Permanent Inter-State Committee on Drought Control in the Sahel, about its goals and the hope that animated its partners and its development programmes and about that Committee's hope of reviving affected regions of their countries. None the less, as is so correctly recognized in the *World Economic Survey 1984*:

> ". . . in addition to the reforms which these countries can undertake on their own, others require investments which are beyond their capacity at the present time. Adequate external support is therefore essential to help sub-Saharan countries accelerate progress in what has become a painful adjustment process."[2]

44. Twenty-one African countries decided at Dakar, last July, to combine their resources to fight desertification, and once again they have appealed for international action to counter predictions to the effect that African countries were running the risk of being wiped off the face of the earth because of the implacable desert creep.

45. To be sure, in spite of its relative slowness, international support in the struggle against desertification has not always been lacking. Subsidies or assistance granted to the Sahel countries by friendly countries, international organizations such as the World Bank, the European Economic Community, the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the United Nations system will never achieve the desired goals unless the volume and quantity of assistance are adapted more and more both to the rationalization of existing economic machinery and to the extent of the damage.

46. The strategy for combating drought is essentially composed of two parts: emergency assistance and medium-term programming. Among the measures to be taken within the framework of emergency assistance is that of giving priority to restoring food supplies in order to meet the acute and pressing needs of the population. The appeal made in Rome, at FAO, last January by the Permanent Inter-State Committee on Drought Control in the Sahel is part of that strategy, although it also deals with the concerns for the future. In this context, the food strategy tends

to transform food assistance into development assistance, and that depends on the political will of our people. Refusing to settle into a mentality of dependence, and convinced—as President Moussa Traoré has constantly repeated—that the noblest and most useful assistance is that coming from themselves, the people have entered the fray, which involves a wholesale revision of our assumptions concerning desertification.

47. The harmonious evolution of our society depends upon the attainment of progress by all. It is dependent also upon our capacity to assure a collective security, without which there is no development. The United Nations, which has been created precisely to weave strands of harmony and peace among peoples, is undergoing a crisis because of the fact that some negative attitudes are paralysing its essential organs and preventing them from realizing their ideals. At this time, when the Organization has reached the age of maturity, we call upon all nations present here to show a little more wisdom and determination so as to restore to our peoples all the hope they have in this remarkable instrument of close co-operation. I refer here to rehabilitating the world Organization in terms of scrupulous respect for the sacred principles of non-resort to force, non-interference in the internal affairs of other States and abandonment of all forms of political or economic domination.

48. One of the cardinal principles set forth in the Charter of the United Nations is, in fact, the refusal to resort to war, in order to save succeeding generations from "untold sorrow."

49. Refusal to wage war implies resorting to peaceful means in order to resolve conflicts. Last year, it was our task in this very Hall to insist upon the creative dynamics of dialogue in the search for solutions to disputes arising from the errors and vicissitudes of history. That is the keystone of Mali's foreign policy. Mali constantly cultivates and strengthens its good-neighbourly relations with all the surrounding countries on the basis of fraternal and fruitful dialogue.

50. In Africa, a land of dialogue, this step is more than ever necessary to resolve the painful crisis of the Western Sahara, especially since the ways and means of resolving that question were carefully defined by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its nineteenth ordinary session,[3] held at Addis Ababa from 6 to 12 June 1983. That dialogue, I say, is more than ever necessary at a time when the Organization of African Unity [*OAU*] needs to mobilize all its resources to preserve its indispensable unity and meet the difficult problems of development that beset the continent on all sides.

51. It has already been our task to recall the deep historic wellsprings from which Western Sahara and Morocco have drawn their common civilization. That civilization, which is shared by our entire subregion, elevates man to his full grandeur, in all his dignity, with strict respect for his ideals—ideals which imply in particular respect for political and economic choices, and therefore the principle of self-determination for all peoples. It is only natural, therefore, for both parties to the conflict in the Western Sahara to have accepted the principle of the organization of a general, free and orderly referendum on self-determination.

52. The African Heads of State, in adopting at Addis Ababa the resolution on Western Sahara, pointed out the path to the restoration of peace in the subregion to which Western Sahara belongs by urgently inviting the Kingdom of Morocco and the Frente POLISARIO[4] to engage immediately in direct negotiations to define practical modalities, internationally recognized by the Organization, for a referendum on self-determination in the Western Sahara so that there will at last be a further clasping of hands in restored friendship and will for co-operation, hands which, in spite of the vicissitudes of history, have woven the fabric of brotherhood down through the ages. This urgent appeal which we reiterate to Morocco comes from our assessment of the outstanding role that country has had to play in its own liberation and in the liberation of other countries under foreign domination and of its capacity as a founding member of the African organization.

53. In these times of grave uncertainties, the OAU, the pride and hope of all sons of Africa, needs to use all its resources in order to work towards the fulfilment of the aspirations for freedom and progress of its peoples—peoples who, in spite of the enormous wealth of our continent, remain the most disadvantaged peoples on earth.

54. The principle of the peaceful settlement of disputes must also prevail in order to end the four-year fratricidal war between Iran and Iraq, two brother countries, Members of the United Nations, of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, and of the Organization of the Islamic Conference. It is time, high time, for those two countries to heed the voice of reason and wisdom and achieve a speedy settlement of that tragic conflict, which is constantly growing, in a region where the situation is already very worrisome.

55. Similarly, unless care is taken, the Korean peninsula is again in danger of losing its peace. The artificially created barriers to reunification of that country are unacceptable. They oppose the will of the Korean people, they are contrary to all international commitments made at the end of one of the most painful wars ever fought, and they herald even bloodier conflicts.

56. Fidelity to the Charter of the United Nations and commitment to its ideals therefore demand not only refusal to wage war but also, and perhaps above all, refusal to prepare for war. Unfortunately, the proverb that says "Let him that desires peace prepare for war" has not been disproved.

57. Thus persists the dangerous illusion of maintaining security through accumulation of weapons, through possession of the ultimate weapon. In reality, the safeguarding of international security resides in confidence among nations. It is strengthened by the desire to bring peoples ever closer and not make them live in the nightmare of uncertain days. It is strengthened by a firm political will in negotiations on disarmament and not by research and the abusive stockpiling of weapons, the perfecting of which is constantly postponed by ever newer findings on the part of science and technology.

58. Thus we see the perpetuation of the arms race with the development of anti-satellite and anti-missile systems. Dialogue has virtually ended in the Conference on Disarmament. Reciprocal accusations made by the major military Powers with regard to disturbing the balance of forces do not deal with the

real object of disarmament, because this imbalance can exist only in people's imaginations. The appeals made by world leaders, and in particular by the Heads of State or Government of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries tends precisely to treat the question of disarmament on the basis of the real facts in a climate of confidence and collective responsibility, without which Star Wars will soon cease to be a game shown on the movie screen. It would be enough really for a slight error of calculation to take place, or for some equipment suddenly to fail, and our planet would be transformed into the last volcano.

59. Impediments to the launching of decisive negotiations on general and complete disarmament will remain so long as measures to ensure collective security are perceived as the special preserve of those who, thanks to the strength and quality of their weaponry, only threaten that security.

60. Disarmament is dependent on trust and acceptance of responsibility for saving and enriching our common civilization. The incredible waste of resources in the service of war thus becomes more than disturbing. I need make no comment on the ever-rising spiral of expenditure on weapons, but we must highlight the fact that, in this world which longs for social justice, 30 children—I repeat, 30 children—die from hunger each minute while during that same minute $1.3 million is spent on weapons. The cost of a single nuclear submarine is the equivalent of the operations and equipment budget of the world's 23 least developed countries. All the studies on the world economic and social situation have shown that senseless expenditure on arms is one of the direct causes of the present world crisis, which is itself the cause of so many nightmares both in the developed countries and, in particular, in the developing countries.

61. It seems to my delegation that, in the light of the disturbing developments in the international situation, rejection of preparations for war should be as much a duty as non-interference in the internal affairs of other States.

62. Regarding this principle, the conflict in Chad—which for us is a cause for great concern and distress—can only, we repeat, be settled nationally. Therefore, we urge the people of Chad to resume the path of negotiations to reconcile their differences—differences which can arise in any society but should not be allowed to destroy it—and not to stray from the path of wisdom and honour. We support them in this noble initiative, for the sovereignty of Chad can be maintained and remain inviolable only by the will of the people of Chad, free from all outside interference. The withdrawal of all foreign forces from Chad, which is now under way, should make a positive contribution to national reconciliation. Then the sons of Chad will be reconciled and the external aspect of the crisis will be more easily dealt with, because with unity peoples have always known how to respond to threats to their sovereignty, integrity and independence.

63. Outside Africa, after long years of wastage of energy and resources in terms of human lives, peace has yet to be restored in Afghanistan and Kampuchea. The intercommunity talks have been suspended in Cyprus. Central America is more deeply engulfed in armed conflict. We must accept the fact that these unfortunate situations cannot be resolved by military means.

64. We had hoped that after the glorious sacrifices made in South-East Asia a new era of fruitful and fraternal co-operation would begin for the peoples and the age-old culture of that subregion, through respect for the principle of good-neighbourliness and through joint efforts. Unfortunately, however, that has not been the case. Mali calls on the countries concerned to embark on and broaden the path of dialogue in order to settle the conflicts which only expose them to interference of all kinds.

65. We call upon the sons of Kampuchea to undertake such negotiations, without outside interference. They would gain much by joining together to face the priority tasks of development. For its part, the Government of Mali will support any action towards a political—and therefore negotiated—settlement of this tragic question.

66. It is impossible to overemphasize the fact that the solution to the tragedy of the Afghan people must be a completely political one. Only peaceful negotiations carried out with a true political will to achieve a genuine solution can enable Afghanistan to regain its unity and its status as a non-aligned country. Mali pursues the same objectives regarding the disturbing situation of the Cypriot people. My country is a member of the contact group of non-aligned countries on the Cyprus question, and, while welcoming the Secretary-General's tireless efforts, we invite the two communities to negotiate and engage in fruitful dialogue so that this conflict, the source of international tension, may be resolved in a way that is just and will protect the unity and territorial integrity of Cyprus.

67. In Latin America and the Caribbean, just as in South-East Asia, interventionist activities are also taking place. In the Final Communiqué adopted by the Extraordinary Ministerial Meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Countries held at Managua from 10 to 14 January 1983[5] on the situation in Central America and the Caribbean, among other things, and, more recently, in the Quito Declaration, adopted by the Latin American Economic Conference held at Quito from 9 to 13 January 1984 [*see A/39/118, annex*], the attention of the international community was drawn to the fundamental problems facing South America and the Caribbean. To the problems of development, unfortunately, another must be added. I refer to interference of all kinds. Here, as elsewhere, this is a matter for the peoples alone. They demand only to live in peace, with respect for their chosen political, economic and social systems, the differences in which sometimes show originality and are a source of further progress.

68. Reason always triumphs in relations among men of good will. It is on the basis of reason and understanding of the true interests of Latin America and the Caribbean that the Contadora Group is attempting, with remarkable patience, to put an end to futile conflicts over boundaries and sovereignty between countries which are the heirs of Simón Bolívar, who considered them all to be one and the same homeland.

69. Year after year, in the face of the many problems that we have just outlined, we end up believing that the United Nations is incapable of resolving the crises that break out in various places and spheres.

70. In Africa, racism is becoming increasingly insidious and virulent. Colonial wars continue.

71. Only one year after its establishment, the United Nations came into conflict with South Africa over the political future of Namibia. For 18 years, the people of Namibia, under the banner of the South West Africa People's Organization [*SWAPO*], its sole authentic representative, has faced with increasing success, despite extremely difficult conditions, the army of South African invaders. SWAPO would have been easily crushed had it not genuinely embodied, expressed and defended the deepest aspirations of its people. SWAPO has consistently fulfilled its national responsibilities. Its political maturity and its devotion to the ideals of peace need no further proof. It is a model for authentic national liberation movements: it shows firmness and persistence in struggle and openness to dialogue and concessions without capitulation. We, in Mali, would like to believe that Africa is incapable of betraying an African cause, and that the great diplomatic activity seen recently between South Africa and some of its immediate neighbours is explained only by irresistible economic necessity brought about by the timid support of African States for the front-line countries, division in the OAU, a lack of effective and active support from friends of Africa, and the requirements of the long and complex struggle of the peoples of southern Africa.

72. Thus, the war for the independence of Namibia is more than a national liberation struggle. Its nature and scope can be compared to those of the determined, universal struggle against racism, nazism and fascism, the triumph of which led to the drafting of the Charter of the United Nations and the founding of the Organization. That fact is clear, and it explains why, despite much resistance and much culpable accommodation with the *apartheid* régime, the United Nations has associated itself with the liberation struggle of the Namibian people while constantly pointing out the peaceful paths that could lead to its success. The most recent initiative is reflected in Security Council resolution 435 (1978), the implementation of which, six years after its adoption, is still being blocked by the simple fact of South Africa's ingrained hostility to the principles that are the glory of the United Nations: democracy, freedom and respect among peoples.

73. The stumbling-blocks placed in the way of the rapid and proper implementation of resolution 435 (1978) are therefore serious and of great concern because they are highly prejudicial to international peace and security. While such acts of procrastination can delay Namibia's accession to independence, they can never prevent it. Such dilatory manoeuvres exacerbate tensions in southern Africa rather than reducing them in the interest of peace. Respect for the ideals enunciated in the Charter calls for the full implementation of resolution 435 (1978), which was adopted with the favourable vote of four of the Powers that have the right of veto. The United Nations cannot be indifferent to the agony suffered by the Namibian people.

74. You, Sir, who have presided tactfully and effectively over the United Nations Council for Namibia, know that the history of decolonization teaches us that negotiations entered into in good faith have often been long and arduous. They have, none the less, made it possible to resolve many colonial conflicts.

75. In the past, prior to the holocaust, people believed that nazism was merely an epiphenomenon. They were wrong and, alas, mankind paid dearly for it. Today, in southern Africa, the strategy of the Nazi leaders is resurfacing: we see the deliberate violation of the borders of neighbouring countries and racist confiscation of fundamental freedoms. Today, here and there, we can still see shields being raised up in defence of human rights, sometimes on behalf of peoples that have not even asked for that much, but, on the other hand, powerful information media, the most modern weapons and facilities of every kind are, with inadmissible complicity, being placed at the service of *apartheid*.

76. Last June, the fortieth anniversary of the Normandy landing was celebrated in Europe. We reverently recalled the glorious sacrifice of millions and millions of men deprived of their lives in order that liberty might prevail, in order that racial hatred should not be handed down to future generations. The *apartheid* leader took part in those commemorative ceremonies. He most certainly must have taken advantage of the occasion to spit upon the graves of the non-whites who lie in the far-distant soil they helped save from tyranny.

77. The electoral farce that was quite rightly and widely boycotted by the Indian and coloured communities is part of the same strategy of revamping *apartheid* in order to make it look presentable.

78. The Preamble to the Charter of the United Nations calls for redressing assaults on its purposes and principles through peaceful means, and states that armed force shall not be used—save, as it makes clear, "in the common interest". The presence of South Africa in Namibia is an insult to history, to logic and to the lofty purposes set forth in the Charter. It is in the common interest to isolate and destroy the hateful system of *apartheid* by all available diplomatic, cultural, economic and, above all, military means, in keeping with the relevant provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter. Thus, history will one day reproach us for having tolerated this abject system for so long and in so shameful a way, and mankind will not have to suffer another mistake with incalculable consequences.

79. In view of the ethic that has served to support the Pretoria-Tel Aviv axis, the Palestinian people, too, continue to carry their heavy cross. Having failed to find an equitable solution to the question of Palestine, the Middle East ceased decades ago to be one of the privileged meeting grounds for different races and cultures. The Government of Israel has waged war there on the pretext of protecting the Jewish homeland, but to the detriment, none the less, of the Palestinian people's right to preserve their own identity and draw strength from the teachings of their age-old history, to build their own future on the basis of their own values and aspirations. However, like all wars of liberation, the war forced upon the Palestinian people will also end with the triumph of right over injustice, with the triumph of faith in fundamental human rights and with the advent of an era of reconciliation among all the children of Palestine. This is inevitable and will come to pass notwithstanding the occupation of Arab territories by force or the proliferation of settlements and the systematic and savage bombardments of Palestinian refugee camps.

80. We shall never tire of repeating that the question of Palestine lies at the heart of the Middle East crisis. Its solution is not to be found in an augmented arsenal of armaments but in recognition of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, especially its right to independence and national sovereignty.

81. Despite the difficulties inherent in the protracted state of tension, Lebanon has entered a new phase of national reconciliation, the success of which depends primarily on the total and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli forces from that territory.

82. Peace derives strength from movements towards peace. The glimmer of hope that has appeared in Lebanon could extend to the whole of the Middle East if the reality of Palestine prevails. In recognizing, in its various resolutions, the right of the Palestinian people to a national existence, the United Nations has faithfully reflected international public opinion.

83. The Organization has called for a new dialogue to re-establish confidence in this troubled and highly sensitive region of the Middle East by advocating, in General Assembly resolution 38/58 C, the convening of an international peace conference on the Middle East. The reactions of Governments to that sound recommendation have demonstrated the need for such an initiative, one that has also been advocated by many international organizations. The people of Mali, a people of peace, will spare no effort to ensure that that conference takes place—a conference that will be responsible before history, one representing hope to all the peoples of the Middle East who are victims of endless and bloody wars that lay waste their legitimate aspirations to security and economic progress.

84. Obviously, the holding of such a conference would be pointless without the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization [*PLO*], the sole and authentic representative of the Palestinian people. Its agenda will be limited if it does not include the root causes of the growing deterioration in the situation in the Middle East, namely, and in particular, the recognition of the fundamental rights of the Palestinian people, withdrawal from all Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, and non-interference in the internal affairs of States of the region. A decisive step towards peace will be made if the largest possible number of countries can participate in that conference and, obviously, all those Powers to whom the Charter has given special responsibilities in the area of safeguarding and maintaining international peace and security.

85. In addition to these serious political crises that are tearing the world apart, one of the major threats to international peace and security is posed by the overall world economic situation, which continues to be alarming. In its deterioration, the economic social crisis has passed through several critical stages. It represents a kind of structural violence that is becoming endemic.

86. The economic situation in the developing countries is disastrous. For some of them, even that word is a euphemism, since negative factors affecting world economic growth are compounded in those countries by additional climatic and ecological factors that are depriving them of the meagre resources from which they already derive paltry benefits. For most of the poorer countries, we are unfortunately witnessing so-called bad development, since their development is being blocked by the weakening in the flow of official development assistance, the crushing burden of debt servicing, which forestalls any improvement in the standard of living, the rise in interest rates, the relentless collapse in raw commodity prices with the concomitant deterioration in terms of trade and, lastly, the alarming reduction of the share of developing countries in world trade.

87. For the developed countries, the announced economic recovery becomes a mere assumption with the collapse of the world economic structures. The development and intensity of the present economic crisis rest on many factors which have been amply described in many manuals and publications, and we therefore do not need to dwell on these. If we cited too many figures, we might mask the tragedy which lies behind this situation.

88. The scientific studies on the chronic balance-of-payments deficits, the uncontrolled rise in the cost of borrowing and the foreign debt burden hide a simple reality, namely, that our economies are at a standstill. While the burden of indebtedness—$800 billion—prevents any economic progress or improvement in the standard of living of the developing countries, the repayment of this debt is gradually becoming impossible. This explains the awesome words of one exasperated leader, who asked: "How can that debt be repaid except through the hunger of our people?". Already, $500 billion has been deemed lost—that is, more than the total capital of the Western banks. Chain reactions are taking place which endanger the economic and social system in the so-called developed world, and it is impossible to forecast what can emerge from this chaos except greater poverty and violence. The world economy will remain at a standstill because of the absence of the co-operation needed to take the necessary action. This situation will persist until a responsible dialogue taking into account mutual interests is begun on the establishment of a new international economic order which will safeguard the sovereignty of States over their resources.

89. Renewed co-operation between the North and the South is an absolute necessity if we wish to maintain a climate of peace and understanding in the world.

90. The African States, in adopting the Lagos Plan of Action,[6] demonstrated their desire to contribute to the building of a world in which the progress and happiness of all would be promoted. The Lagos Plan, based on the strategy of collective autonomy and designed to encourage and strengthen South-South co-operation at the subregional and regional levels, is one of the main components of the new international economic order which must be built in a spirit of harmony and solidarity in order to respond to the deeply felt aspirations of man. That is also the strategy of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. Indeed, the non-aligned countries, noting that the exacerbation of East-West confrontation not only threatens world peace but also dangerously jeopardizes co-operation between nations, decided, surmounting the problem of blocs, to build a new international economic order which would ensure peace and justice for all. The global negotiations, which have not yet gone beyond the stage of exploratory contacts, must be continued. The present world economy, because interdependence is a fact, cannot be adapted to the natural order of things simply by willingness to do this. As we have stated, the

harmonious development of international society hinges on the achievement of progress for all. It can be maintained only by our ability to deal with international problems in their entirety and to find global solutions for them.

91. The third world, the Group of 77, must continue to demonstrate open-mindedness in order to achieve steady progress.

92. The world horizon is dangerously uncertain. The international situation is one of growing insecurity, injustice and human tragedy. Monetary and financial chaos, the slowing-down of trade, poverty, social deprivation—particularly hunger—desertification and poor employment prospects for coming generations are the ills which threaten to destroy our international society. In the face of these real dangers, I wish, on behalf of the people of Mali and President Moussa Traoré, to make an appeal to reason and unity of action. Indeed, while we fear that the developing countries are headed for disaster, we doubt very much that they will be alone.

93. Mr. RADRODRO (Fiji): Today, Sir, my country celebrates the fourteenth anniversary of its independence and it is a singular pleasure for me to extend to you my delegation's congratulations on your election as President of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. It is also a great pleasure to welcome to the Organization, on behalf of my delegation, the 159th Member State, Brunei Darussalam.

94. All Member States have solemnly undertaken to maintain international peace and security and to settle international disputes by peaceful means. Events around the world indicate a drifting away from that undertaking. The list of crises and conflicts is ever increasing. This trend must be checked, and it can be if there is an international resolve to act in the interest of peace. The United Nations resolutions on these crises and conflicts provide ample basis for that kind of resolve and action.

95. A manifestation of the lack of resolve to undertake negotiations and dialogue as a means of settling disputes between States is seen in the upsurge of terrorism and terrorist activities throughout the world. Respect for the rule of law and the principles and rules of international law governing norms of behaviour is of such paramount importance that any deviation or persistent breach of those norms could easily lead to anarchy. The recent incidents of the bombing of the American Embassy in Beirut and the appalling bomb attack on the Republic of Korea's high-ranking officials in Rangoon last year should be condemned by all. For its part, my Government has unequivocally condemned those acts of terrorism and urges all States to contribute to the elimination of such acts.

96. A number of items on our agenda refer to crises. I would like to refer to a few of them. My delegation will no doubt be referring to others in due course.

97. With regard to the situations in Afghanistan, Cyprus and Kampuchea, the international community has repeatedly called for comprehensive political solutions, and we fully subscribe to this. The relevant resolutions of this Assembly call for the withdrawal of all foreign forces and respect for the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-aligned status of those countries. In this connection, we continue to support the determined efforts of the Secretary-General and urge all parties directly concerned to co-operate with him in order to settle those crises.

98. The Korean peninsula remains an area of persistent tension. We continue to support the aspirations of the Korean people to a speedy resumption of the dialogue between North and South in order to settle the Korean question by peaceful means and without any external interference.

99. The question of the Middle East is becoming even more complex. Ever since its inception, the United Nations has sought a just, comprehensive and lasting peace in the Middle East, but a solution has eluded the Organization to this day.

100. The question of the Palestinian people remains at the core of the Middle East crisis. There will be no durable peace in the Middle East until the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to a homeland, and the rights of all States in the region, including Israel, are assured. To move in that direction, dialogue and negotiations between all the parties directly concerned are essential. But, for them to succeed, conditions conducive to peace have to be created. To this end, the most immediate need is the withdrawal of all unauthorized forces from occupied Arab and Lebanese territories.

101. As a Member of the United Nations, Fiji remains fully committed to doing all it can to contribute within its modest means to the attainment of peace and stability in the Middle East. Our participation in the United Nations peace-keeping operations in Lebanon is a tangible manifestation of this. It would, however, be remiss of me if I did not mention the drain on our limited financial resources as a result of our participation. Other troop contributors also feel the financial strain. Yet this situation would not have arisen if all Member States had met their financial obligations.

102. It is, regrettably, all too clear that serious violations of human rights are taking place in many parts of the world. We, the Members of the Organization, have a special responsibility to take action on violations of human rights wherever they occur and to endeavour to find solutions which can contribute to putting an end to such violations.

103. Nowhere is such violation more flagrant and agonizing than in southern Africa, where the evil policy of *apartheid* is systematically perpetuated and consolidated. The international community must redouble its efforts to work towards the dismantling of that policy and it must reject categorically the recent so-called constitutional reforms, which, instead of eliminating the policy of *apartheid*, serve only to consolidate it further.

104. The United Nations has a proud record in the area of decolonization, yet we cannot become too complacent. We must continue to work towards the elimination of the remaining vestiges of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations in various areas of the world. Undoubtedly, our biggest challenge in this area is in southern Africa. In defiance of the United Nations and of the global consensus on the urgent need for independence for Namibia, South Africa continues its illegal occupation and exploitation of that country. Fiji is of the firm view that Security Council resolution 435 (1978) must be implemented fully and urgently and that attempts to link the independence of Namibia to what is happening in another country must be rejected.

105. In my own region, my Government has followed with close interest and attention the developments in the neighbouring Territory of New Caledonia. At its recent meeting in Tuvalu, the South Pacific Forum leaders took the opportunity to examine closely the situation evolving in that Territory. They welcomed the administrative and land reforms which have been instituted as part of the movement towards the granting of self-determination to the people of New Caledonia and called for further administrative and political reforms in the Territory as a preparatory measure for independence. In calling for those additional measures, the Forum leaders recognized the critical importance of ensuring the active participation of the indigenous Melanesian community in the Territory's educational, vocational and administrative institutions, to facilitate the Territory's early and peaceful achievement of independence.

106. In this regard, Fiji and other members of the South Pacific Forum would welcome an unequivocal affirmation by France of its commitment to the independence of New Caledonia and to bringing this about speedily, in accordance with the wishes of the Territory's entire multiracial population, including especially its Kanak community.

107. If there is a single issue which alarms the world today it is the nuclear-arms race and the threat of a nuclear holocaust. The lack of any real progress in the arms negotiations leading to disarmament and the strained relations between the super-Powers have heightened that alarm.

108. It is true that nuclear disarmament will depend primarily on the nuclear-weapon States, and especially the super-Powers. This forum, however, provides an opportunity for all States to voice their concern. The nuclear-weapon States cannot and should not ignore that concern; the survival of everyone is at stake.

109. It is my delegation's hope that the concern and deliberations in this forum will provide an important and necessary impetus to meaningful negotiations leading to the halting of the arms race and eventually to arms reduction and disarmament by the nuclear-weapon States. It is with that hope that my delegation welcomes the continuing inclusion of items that are pertinent to this issue on our agenda. It is also with that hope that we once again urge the reconvening of the stalled Geneva and Vienna negotiations between the two super-Powers. Without any meaningful agreement, the arms race will continue. Ultimately, the failure to check this unremitting arms build-up and thereby avert a nuclear holocaust will render irrelevant all other issues on our agenda.

110. The Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*] is an important security measure and we hope that the Third Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, to be held in 1985, will promote positive co-operation to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons. We look to the nuclear-weapon States to demonstrate their good faith in our disarmament efforts.

111. A moratorium on the testing, production and deployment of nuclear weapons constitutes, in my Government's view, the most basic and the most essential element of our disarmament efforts.

112. The conclusion of a comprehensive test-ban treaty should continue to have high priority on our agenda. While we are concerned at the lack of progress towards such a treaty, we nevertheless urge the Conference on Disarmament to pursue in all earnestness the early conclusion of a comprehensive test-ban treaty.

113. Apart from the considerations that I have referred to, my Government's concern lies closer to home. One of the major nuclear-weapon States continues to conduct its nuclear testing programme in the South Pacific. This it has done persistently for the last decade now, disregarding the overwhelming opposition and condemnation of my Government and the Governments of our South Pacific neighbours. Needless to say, the nuclear tests carried out in the region pose real threats to our marine environment and our peoples. At their meeting in Tuvalu recently, the South Pacific Forum leaders reiterated their strong opposition to the continuation of nuclear testing by France in our region. We are heartened in this regard by the support of the shared concern expressed in a declaration conveyed to the Secretary-General by the Permanent Commission for the South Pacific, our Latin American South Pacific neighbours.

114. With the combined calls of the Pacific and Latin American countries for the cessation of all nuclear testing in the South Pacific, my Government had hoped that France would abandon its nuclear testing in the South Pacific. Instead, in complete disregard of the feelings of the peoples of the region, France has announced its intention to continue its nuclear testing programme in our region for the next 15 years. In response to this announcement, our Minister for Foreign Affairs, only two days ago, reiterated the strong opposition of my Government. The Minister also made it clear that if the testing is safe, as it is claimed to be, it would be logical—as it is advisable and expedient for all concerned—to conduct it on European soil.

115. In recognition of the overwhelming desire of our peoples to remain free from the risk of nuclear fallout, the South Pacific Forum leaders have taken a collective decision to work towards the establishment of a nuclear-free zone for the region. Their concern for the safety of their peoples and their environment is also manifested in the position that member countries of the Forum have taken in the ongoing negotiations on a treaty on the development and protection of the natural environment of the South Pacific region.

116. Our commitment and resolve in the South Pacific to protect our environment from nuclear contamination stem from our anxieties and concerns as island peoples. With the limited land area of most island States in the region, our seas and their resources are of overwhelming importance to our survival. We therefore reiterate our request to the United Nations and its agencies for assistance to the small island countries in the South Pacific to enable them to elaborate and implement ocean development policies that will ensure the optimum and rational utilization of their living and non-living resources, for the benefit of their peoples and their region.

117. As a small island developing country, Fiji attaches great importance to the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea. All-encompassing in its nature and scope, it is in our view one of the very few legal instruments that attempt to redress the inequity of the past, in favour not of one but of all

and devoid of partisan doctrine. It was for this reason that we were the first to ratify the Convention, and it is for this reason that we now urge Member States to ratify it so as to bring its provisions into force. When that happens it will represent an important instrument for international co-operation for the economic and social development of all peoples.

118. I conclude by reaffirming my country's support for the Organization. The United Nations remains the only organ through which the international community can address our common enemies of war, colonialism, human rights violations and poverty. Undoubtedly some of its deliberative organs need to be strengthened. Its principles, however, are as valid as ever. Fiji will continue to support those principles.

119. Mr. BONGO (Gabon) *(interpretation from French)*: Allow me to extend to you, Mr. President, on behalf of the Gabonese Government and people, as well as on behalf of Mr. Omar Bongo, President of the Republic, the warmest congratulations of the Gabonese delegation on your unanimous election to preside over the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. You are a worthy son of Zambia, a friendly country with which Gabon has the most brotherly relations, and your election does us honour. You have earned the admiration and support of the international community as represented here by your unswerving dedication to the principles of the self-determination and independence of peoples and your personal contribution to the efforts to bring about lasting world peace—particularly peace in southern Africa—and the independence of Namibia, notably in your capacity as President of the United Nations Council for Namibia.

120. I should like to include in these congratulations Mr. Jorge Illueca, President of Panama, for the way in which, as President of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly, he conducted our work. His constant availability and the qualities he demonstrated in fulfilling his responsibilities, despite his difficult and important duties, enhanced his personal reputation and his country's prestige.

121. In the same vein, the exemplary dedication to duty and the pragmatism of the Secretary-General guarantee that the questions submitted for our consideration, no matter how sensitive, will be tackled with the determination needed to find solutions to them in the appropriate framework and through negotiation.

122. Finally, I take this opportunity to welcome most cordially the sovereign State of Brunei Darussalam as the 159th State to become a Member of the Organization. I pay a whole-hearted tribute to the delegation of that country, and to the delegations of all the other States that champion the noble ideals of the Charter of the United Nations.

123. Once again, we are gathered here to discuss the major problems of our time and together to seek ways and means to help strengthen international peace and security and consolidate multilateral co-operation in a way more in keeping with reality. The climate of generalized insecurity which we are experiencing, compounded by a frenzied arms race, indeed demands that peace and détente be given a new chance. It is in this context that the Gabonese delegation, going along with the general consensus, supports all efforts to enhance the Organization's effectiveness and enable it better to discharge its primary responsibilities, namely, the maintenance of peace based on justice, on the one hand, and the contribution of all to the strengthening of international security, on the other.

124. Respect for the Charter and the relevant resolutions that we have adopted here is naturally part of those concerns. We must encourage all States Members, and particularly the major Powers, to turn this political will of theirs into reality, that is, to have recourse, as required, to one of the fundamental principles of the Charter, namely, dialogue, which is the primary tool for the settlement of conflicts, which the Gabonese Government has chosen as the backbone of its foreign policy. It is on the basis of that conviction that I should like to revert to and stress some issues to which Gabon attaches the utmost importance and to the settlement of which we would like to make our modest contribution.

125. First, disarmament. It is essential to pursue relentlessly the quest for an open dialogue and full co-operation between the two blocs in order to reduce tensions and establish a climate of confidence which is now lacking. Détente, a *sine qua non* of the maintenance of peace, should be part of a world-wide system of peaceful coexistence, encompassing all regions of the world and all aspects of State relations. It must be based on respect for territorial integrity and the political independence of all States, non-interference in internal affairs and non-use of force. To achieve a lasting peace, détente must also be sought in the context of a universal effort to achieve general and complete disarmament. All the more so since, at the thirty-eighth session, the General Assembly adopted resolutions—we shall not mention them all here—which have the virtue of showing quite clearly the links that exist between disarmament and development. That is the case with regard to resolution 38/71 of 15 December 1983, which establishes a proper relationship between those two ideas. Thus, Gabon whole-heartedly hopes that the various negotiations on the control of armaments will soon lead to specific and positive results making possible the resumption, as soon as possible, of the negotiations that have been suspended.

126. The Gabonese Government also supports certain initiatives which have been put forward from various quarters, particularly those which stress the need to hold an international conference on military expenditures and the different implications of the relationship between disarmament and development, such as the initiative taken on 24 September last from this rostrum by the President of the United States [*4th meeting*] who suggested to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics the establishment of regular ministerial or governmental meetings between their two countries on those issues.

127. I turn now to the situation in southern Africa. I continue to believe that the attitude of certain States which have important interests in that region—a mercantile approach which chooses to ignore the inhumane dimension of the policy of *apartheid*—cannot fail further to exacerbate tensions between the black and white communities and expose the entire South African society to upheavals that will not be confined to that area alone. That is why Gabon is of the view that a progressive disinvestment of the transnational corporations that operate in South Africa and the halting of all new investment would help bring about a peaceful solution to this problem.

128. As we have done in all our meetings, we have continued to call for strengthening the United Nations role and wish tirelessly to work to achieve respect for the resolutions adopted for the benefit of Namibia. In this connection, Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which provides for Namibian independence and elections to be held under United Nations auspices, must be strictly implemented. South Africa must prove to the international community its desire to put an end to its despicable policy of *apartheid* and establish with its neighbours and the rest of the world relations based on mutual respect, non-interference and non-intervention. I therefore appeal to the conscience of statesmen who still support South Africa and whose countries have as the very foundation of their constitutions the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and call upon them to promote on a global, non-selective basis those rights wherever they have as yet not been achieved, in particular in South Africa, where the authorities, with reference to the recent constitutional reforms, have elevated discrimination to the level of a governmental system.

129. The double defeat suffered by Pretoria following the sham parliamentary elections organized in August 1984—which have been declared null and void under the terms of Security Council resolution 554 (1984), confirmed a few days ago by the General Assembly at this session—becomes a warning and seems to us to constitute both encouragement and a guarantee of the justness of the heroic attitude of the black population.

130. The Gabonese Government takes this opportunity to reaffirm its staunch opposition to this new strategy, which is now dividing the South African community into antagonistic classes. Gabon believes that that strategy cannot ever be a proper solution for the problems existing in that part of our continent. Therefore, my delegation supports and will always support the position that only the total eradication of the system of *apartheid* by means of sustained international pressure will enable us to overcome this tragic situation that victimizes the black majority.

131. Still with reference to Africa, I wish to mention two cases of conflict of particular concern to my delegation. I am speaking of Chad and Western Sahara. Without reverting to the efforts already made in the past by the Gabonese Government and, more specifically, by President Bongo for the settlement of those two conflicts, I should like once again to voice the hope that an African and peaceful solution will be found. We can therefore most solemnly reaffirm here the role to be played by the OAU, which in our view is the appropriate place for the various parties to these conflicts to meet around the negotiating table. Gabon whole-heartedly hopes that the African continent may become a haven of peace and security and we will always support all initiatives to this end.

Mr. Al-Sabbagh (Bahrain), Vice-President, took the Chair.

132. Other hotbeds of tension in the world continue to be a source of concern for us. In the Middle East, first of all, the Gabonese Government is convinced that a settlement that would not take into account the deeply felt aspirations of the Palestinian people cannot be a lasting one. In this connection, we reaffirm the right of the Palestinian people to a peaceful existence and to remain permanently within secure and recognized boundaries, like all other peoples in the region. Once again, we call upon the Government of Israel to put an end to its settlements policy in the occupied territories, a policy that is endangering the chances of an overall settlement of the conflict.

133. Iraq and Iran continue to wage a war which has grave consequences not only for their populations but also for the very security and balance of that part of the world. The Gabonese Government supports the initiatives undertaken by the Secretary-General to help those two fraternal countries to engage in an effort at de-escalation of that war. We again renew a pressing appeal to the two sides to cease hostilities immediately and begin a dialogue with a view to achieving a settlement of the conflict, which has lasted all too long already and which clearly serves neither their interests nor those of the other peoples in the region.

134. Finally, as regards Lebanon, a country with which Gabon maintains excellent relations, we wish to express appreciation for the efforts at national reconciliation made by President Amin Gemayel, who has always worked very hard to help his country recover its sovereignty and territorial integrity. Here, the important thing is that all foreign forces should withdraw from the territory.

135. With respect to South-East Asia, and more specifically the situation in Kampuchea, Gabon reaffirms its support for the principles of territorial integrity, sovereignty and the inadmissibility of the use of force in international relations. All States of the region must embark upon a dialogue leading to a settlement of their disputes and the establishment of lasting peace and stability, as well as the elimination of interference, threats of intervention and the hegemonistic designs of outside Powers.

136. Concerning the Korean peninsula, I should like also to stress that Gabon is following with special interest the development of the situation and we remain committed to the idea of a negotiated solution designed to bring about the peaceful reunification of the two countries.

137. Finally, my delegation favours a political settlement of the question of Afghanistan on the basis of the withdrawal of foreign troops, full respect for its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, and strict observance of the principles of non-intervention and non-interference.

138. We cannot examine the hotbeds of tension which in our times are threatening world peace and security without mentioning the disturbing events in Central America and the Caribbean. Gabon believes that, despite the progress achieved recently by the Contradora Group and the five countries of Central America through the adoption of the document stating the objectives worked out in Panama,[7] the situation in Central America continues to be a matter of concern and we believe that we must put an end to it on the basis of the universally recognized principles we have just mentioned and, in particular, dialogue. Better understanding among all peace-loving men largely depends on this.

139. It was on the basis of this same spirit of dialogue, understanding and *rapprochement* among peoples bound by the same culture and ideals that our Head of State undertook the felicitous initiative of proposing to his counterparts in Central Africa the establishment of the International Centre for Bantu Civilizations, grouping together some dozen coun-

tries for the benefit of 170 million people. I take this solemn opportunity to pay a tribute to all the institutions and men of good will that worked to ensure the creation of this organization on 8 January 1983 by signing its constitution.

140. The gravity of the international economic situation is of no less concern to us than the political questions we have just mentioned. Indeed, the serious recession which has so severely stricken all countries, in particular those of the third world, and the difficulties faced by our countries at the present time are a source of great concern, inasmuch as the survival of our populations hinges on their solution. Thus, for the developing countries, the hope of a new international economic order is an earnest guarantee of better control over the world economic system based on the observance of major imperatives, without which there cannot be any improvement in relations between rich and poor countries.

141. Thus, for the delegation of Gabon, solidarity is the only asset that can truly reconcile the interests of the international community as a whole.

142. The political and economic interdependence of the world in which we live indeed implies that we must manage the world as a single entity for the benefit of mankind as a whole. What else could we do when we know that one of the tasks entrusted to us by the Organization is precisely that of preparing a better world for future generations? And yet we must say that the way current economic relations are developing does not show a will on the part of some countries to fulfil this task.

143. In this regard, I should like to stress the gravity of the current economic situation, characterized in particular by the instability of the prices of commodities, which has disastrous consequences, such as fluctuations in the export earnings and deficits in the balance of payments of the poorer countries.

144. We must therefore emphasize the dimensions of the present threat to world trade, which is steadily shrinking because of the deterioration in the terms of trade and the instability of international liquidity. We must therefore seek ways and means to undertake an in-depth realignment of international economic structures so that the developing countries may be able, because of the quality, diversity and competitiveness of their products, to ensure their exports and thus obtain the financial resources they need for their growth and harmonious development.

145. Moreover, the problem of the indebtedness of the third world countries appears day by day to be a serious matter for concern, reflecting the extent of the difficulties facing this category of countries.

146. The paralysis of most third world economies causes us to argue in favour of a new definition of policies of development assistance. The success of such policies depends not only on the necessary co-ordination of efforts by the various partners but also on a better adaptation of the international financial institutions which must administer those policies.

147. The experience of recent years makes it clear that it is becoming increasingly difficult to organize the appropriate co-ordination between the countries of the North and of the South. The failure of the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held at Belgrade from 6 June to 2 July 1983, and of the Fourth General Conference of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization, held at Vienna from 2 to 19 August 1984, reflect better than anything else the lack of the will on the part of the rich countries to reach joint solutions in co-operation with the countries of the third world, especially on such fundamental questions as borrowing rates and industrialization. It is well known that industry in our countries represents only 11.9 per cent of the world economy.

148. Notwithstanding the frequent failure of international economic conferences, Gabon reaffirms its support for the launching of global negotiations, without which the world economy will never really be able to regain its momentum.

149. My delegation therefore believes that the present deadlock in the dialogue between the industrialized countries and the countries of the third world should lead the latter to achieve self-sufficiency and promote the conditions for their internal, self-reliant development, thus making possible genuine, mutually advantageous South-South co-operation.

150. With regard to the strengthening of horizontal co-operation, 18 October 1983 has become a memorable date for the countries of Central Africa, because on that day we saw the fulfilment of another initiative of President Omar Bongo: the establishment of the Economic Community of Central African States, covering a vast economic region comprising approximately 60 million people and endowed with immense and diverse natural resources. I have no doubt that the Community will make resolute efforts to permit our States to take control of their economies and thereby improve the living conditions of their populations.

151. All the matters I have mentioned have in common the interdependence of the political, economic and human factors. They also have in common the need for reliable international institutions. That is why, as I have already had occasion to say, the role of the United Nations must be strengthened. All things considered, there is no viable substitute for the United Nations system in our efforts to build a new and better world, even if that system is far from perfect. But what work of man can ever be perfect?

152. That is why Gabon, since its admission to the United Nations, has been grateful to benefit from the work of the Organization and, in its turn, within the limits of its modest resources, has constantly supported United Nations programmes and its efforts to achieve a more peaceful world, a more just world, a better world.

153. With that noble ideal in mind, my delegation remains convinced that the Assembly will devote itself at the thirty-ninth session to strengthening the capabilities of our international system, on whose harmonious functioning peace, security and balance in large measure depend.

154. Developments in international economic relations have not always been satisfactory, and the political situation is shaky, but my country, on the eve of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, supports the idea of intensifying international co-operation and believes that our efforts to this end must be encouraged, stimulated and renewed.

155. A few years ago, His Holiness Pope Paul VI rightly declared that "the new name of peace is development". If the efforts of the Organization are aimed consistently at that noble objective, our hopes cannot fail to be fulfilled. Buoyed up by those same hopes, the Gabonese delegation is ever ready to co-

operate fully with the Assembly so that the work of this session may be truly successful.

156. Mr. MADI SOILIHI (Comoros) *(interpretation from French)*: I wish first of all to join all the speakers who have preceded me in sincerely congratulating Mr. Paul Lusaka on his unanimous election to the presidency of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. My delegation is convinced that his eminent qualities and long diplomatic experience at both the national and the international level guarantee the success of our work. My delegation rejoices at the choice of a worthy representative of our African continent and of a brother country, Zambia—with which my country, the Islamic Federal Republic of the Comoros, maintains close and friendly ties of co-operation—as President of the present session. We wish him every success in carrying out his heavy but inspiring task and assure him of our full co-operation.

157. We also thank his distinguished predecessor, Mr. Jorge Illueca, President of the Republic of Panama, for the skill and wisdom with which he carried out the functions of President of the Assembly at its thirty-eighth session.

158. I wish to pay a special tribute to the Secretary-General, for his tireless, unceasing efforts to defend the sacred principles of the Organization and to preserve peace in the world.

159. My delegation welcomes to our midst the State of Brunei Darussalam, whose admission to membership strengthens the universal character of the Organization. We assure its people of our friendship, wish them every success as an independent nation and are ready to establish with them frank and mutually beneficial co-operation in all areas.

160. We meet here again in this forum to reassess, as we do each year, the work done by the Organization since the thirty-eighth session and also to sketch out a picture of the world political and economic situation.

161. To our great regret, we are forced to acknowledge that not only have our efforts been slow in yielding results but that, far from having improved, the international situation, both political and economic, has considerably worsened. Indeed, all over our planet, hotbeds of tension persist and in some instances show a tendency to spread. The increasing super-Power rivalry as well as the unbridled arms race do not contribute—quite the contrary—to relaxing the climate of tension that prevails in international relations. Any hope we might have had of the abatement of the economic crisis was quickly dashed. And, as always, it is the weakest countries, in particular the countries of the third world, that are bearing the heavy cost of this tragic situation. In one place and another, might prevails over right, and *fait accompli* replaces dialogue and joint effort. In other words, in a world in such turmoil, the role the Organization must play is even more important. It must play a primordial and capital role if we want to avoid our planet being subjected to a new war—with consequences that everyone agrees would be disastrous for the very survival of the human race.

162. In Africa, certain hotbeds of tension remain explosive and are of the greatest concern to the OAU, as well as to the international community as a whole. In southern Africa, although certain recent events—such as the Nkomati Agreement,[8] the motivations for which we can understand—have contributed to lessening the tension to a degree, the overall situation in that region none the less remains very precarious. Indeed, Namibia has still not attained its independence, despite the relevant resolutions of the Organization, and that country is still being illegally occupied. My country, which categorically condemns the inhuman system of *apartheid*, reaffirms its total support for the struggle being waged by the Namibian people for their independence under the leadership of their sole, legitimate representative, SWAPO. We remain convinced that only a prompt implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) will make it possible to achieve the peaceful decolonization of Namibia.

163. For the time being, it is up to the international community to take the measures necessary to guarantee the existence and independence of the front-line countries that are experiencing a constant threat of destabilization.

164. The situation in Chad calls for very special vigilance. Indeed, that country, a founding member of the OAU, has for 17 years been living through the tragedy of a civil war that is leaving it torn apart and in ruins. That is why my country welcomed with great satisfaction the agreement on complete and simultaneous disengagement that was signed by France and the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. We dare to hope that, once foreign forces have left Chad, the leaders of N'djamena and the opponents of the régime of President Hissein Habré will manage to evidence reason and wisdom in sparing the people of Chad further futile suffering in order to begin rebuilding their country.

165. With regard to Western Sahara, my country fully subscribes to the decisions taken at the eighteenth ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, held at Nairobi in June 1981, and that it remains convinced that a satisfactory solution to this serious problem involves the implementation of the resolution calling for the organization of a referendum on self-determination by the people of that country. In that connection, my country welcomes the commitment made here at this very rostrum on 27 September 1983, at the 8th meeting of the thirty-eighth session, by King Hassan II of Morocco to abide by the results of such a referendum.

166. My country remains concerned, as do other countries in the region, over the continued strengthening and increase of the military presence in the Indian Ocean. Such a situation, further exacerbated by the continuing rivalry between the great Powers, is creating a climate of explosive tension that is of concern to the littoral countries. Desirous of preserving peace and security in that region, my country unreservedly supports the idea of establishing a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean, in keeping with the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace [*resolution 2832 (XXVI)*], and we reiterate our hope that the international conference scheduled for that purpose will be convened at Colombo.

167. For more than 30 years, the Middle East has frequently been shaken by murderous wars and no end is yet in sight. As we have already stated many times in the Assembly, there can be no doubt that it is Israel's intransigence, dictated by its annexationist and expansionist plans, that stands in the way of a lasting solution to this problem.

168. The Israeli Government's policy in the occupied Arab territories and the mistreatment daily meted out to the indigenous population of those territories clearly demonstrate that the Zionist entity has no intention of implementing the pertinent resolutions of the United Nations. So long as Israel persists in its attempts to destroy by any means available to it the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, there can be no lasting peace in that region. I should like to reaffirm here once again my country's unswerving support for the just struggle of the Palestinian people under the leadership of the PLO.

169. Despite the many problems that still persist in Lebanon, problems that are the consequences of a lengthy civil war, the situation in that country has improved greatly, and once again there is every reason for hope. We feel that the plan adopted by the new Israeli coalition Government for the withdrawal of its troops from southern Lebanon, if it is translated into deeds, would greatly contribute to the establishment of peace in that country. My country hopes, therefore, that that plan will be rapidly implemented so that there may be a return to normal life in the tortured land of Lebanon.

170. My country watches with great sadness the continuing fratricidal war between Iran and Iraq, two neighbouring Muslim and non-aligned States. Tens of thousands of men, women and children have already fallen on the field of battle in that bloody war. We appeal once again, solemnly and urgently, to both belligerents to cease hostilities forthwith and to replace hatred and intransigence with wisdom and reason. In this connection, we hail the offers for a cease-fire that have been made many times by the Iraqi Government, and we urge the Iranian Government to accept them, convinced as we are that in that war, which is as futile as it is absurd, there can be neither victor nor vanquished.

171. The question of Cyprus continues to be included in the agenda of the General Assembly [*item 42*]. My country, for its part, has always been in favour of a just and lasting solution that can preserve the peace, unity and sovereignty of Cyprus. We believe, nevertheless, that such a solution, in order to be acceptable to all, must of necessity take into account the legitimate aspirations of both the Greek and the Turkish communities. We encourage the two Governments, Greek and Turkish, to persevere with their negotiations in order to reach a satisfactory solution that will preserve the interests of both communities affected by this problem.

172. In Asia, foreign interference is continuing and hinders solutions to the problems presented by the hotbeds of conflict that have for many years shaken that region. In spite of the numerous resolutions adopted by the United Nations, foreign armed forces continue to occupy Afghanistan illegally, thereby forcing more than 3 million people to flee into exile. If this situation were to continue, it could seriously threaten world peace and security. We appeal urgently for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan and reaffirm once again our support for the brotherly Afghan people.

173. With regard to Kampuchea, we note with deep disappointment that the States involved in the occupation of that country continue to ignore the appeals made by the international community and the decisions of the General Assembly calling for the immediate, unconditional withdrawal of foreign troops from that country. The people of Kampuchea must be able to choose in complete freedom the system of government they desire and finally to achieve peace and freedom.

174. The situation in the Korean peninsula has not yet been resolved. My country notes the commitment of the States of the North and of the South to reach an agreement on the independence and peaceful reunification of the country. In this regard, we support the idea of direct negotiations between the two Governments as essential for the attainment of a happy and successful solution of this serious problem. We also feel that the admission to the United Nations of the Republic of Korea, and even of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, would greatly contribute to the search for the desired solution, namely, the reunification of the country.

175. The world economic situation is not much more promising than the international political situation, which I have briefly outlined. Indeed, beset on all sides by many problems which are both cyclical and structural, the developing countries, in particular the non-oil-producing developing countries and, among them, the weakest in the world, the least developed countries, face a situation which is often desperate.

176. Indeed, the developing countries face a continued fall in the prices of their raw materials, thus reducing their export income and thereby the resources available to the State at a time when the burden of indebtedness, made heavier by the skyrocketing dollar, is becoming less and less bearable. This crisis does not spare the fragile economies of the least developed countries. It seriously accentuates their underdevelopment and makes more difficult their access to international financial markets, where there is an ever-greater tendency to lend only to the richest.

177. My country, the Islamic Federal Republic of the Comoros, which is one of the least developed countries, suffers particularly from the harmful effects of this crisis. Indeed, an island country with very limited resources, the Islamic Federal Republic of the Comoros, in spite of the efforts at rehabilitation which have been undertaken since 1978, has suffered a continued fall in its export income, which has clearly involved a very substantial drop in its purchasing power. In order to overcome those difficulties, to get back to the path of growth and to improve the living standards of the population, the Comorian Government, under the enlightened leadership of President Ahmed Abdallah Abderemane, has drawn up a development plan based on the recommendations of the new programme of action, the Lagos Plan of Action[6] and the Final Act of Lagos.[9] The fundamental purpose of that plan is both to improve as quickly as possible the living conditions of the population and to reduce the dependence of the country as regards food, technology and finance. Therefore, the plan envisages accelerated, balanced growth of national production through the rational and intensive use of the resources of the country. Within the framework of the liberal option chosen by the Government, that task will be entrusted mainly to private enterprise and the State will be responsible for providing the infrastructures and the basic studies and establishing appropriate structures and institutions.

178. The major priorities are still those defined in the Substantial New Programme of Action for the 1980s, which the Government presented to the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries, held in Paris from 1 to 14 September 1981,[10] namely: food self-sufficiency, ending economic isolation, reducing energy dependence, satisfying water needs and developing human resources. Those same goals are contained in the national document which the Comorian Government prepared and submitted to the countries and international organizations which participated in the first international solidarity conference for the development of the Comoros, which was held at Moroni, our capital, from 2 to 4 July 1984.

179. By the overwhelming response to our appeal, the many countries and bodies which were kind enough to participate actively in that conference not only showed their solidarity with and confidence in the Comorian Government and people, but also acted in line with the resolutions of the Organization regarding assistance to the Comoros. This is thus a happy opportunity for me today to offer them once again, on behalf of the Government and people of the Comoros, our sincere thanks and our deep gratitude for their contribution to our development effort.

180. The first international solidarity conference for the development of the Comoros was a great success in terms of the quality of the documents presented. The credit for this must clearly go to the international bodies, especially UNDP, and to the many friendly countries for their unstinted efforts. The very positive results of that conference encourage us to redouble our own development efforts. A great step has just been taken, but an enormous amount remains to be done.

181. The Comoros, which are peaceful and stable islands, will not be able to go forward without increased and sustained assistance from the international community. The Comorian Government, firmly committed to the spirit of enterprise, appeals to all those who can make a contribution to our work of reconstruction.

182. I cannot conclude my statement without referring before the Assembly to a question which is of the greatest concern not only to the Comorian people and Government but also to the entire African continent, and even to the entire international community. I am of course referring to the problem of the Comorian island of Mayotte. As members know, this question is still on the agenda of the General Assembly [*item 27*] and will so remain until it is satisfactorily settled. This year again it will be the subject of a specific debate. We shall return to that subject in detail when the time comes.

183. Today, without going into too much detail on this subject, I should like to inform members that the relevant resolutions adopted by the Organization and by regional organizations involved in this question have not been implemented. That explains the deep concern of the Comorian people, because this problem has lasted too long and while it persists the Comorian people will be in the tragic situation of a divided nation, a nation that cannot develop and flourish in perfect harmony.

184. We believe that, because of the age-old links of friendship between France and the Comoros and the goodwill which the Comorian side has constantly shown, this problem should already have been solved. The situation in Mayotte today benefits only those sad, nostalgic individuals for whom the return of Mayotte to the midst of the entire Comorian nation would signify a loss of their grip on and their political and economic domination of the island. There is no doubt that the interests of those people are diametrically opposed to those of the local population of Mayotte. Those people, in our view, must be denounced, just as their ambitions and their domination must be ended.

185. In this connection, we welcome the statement made recently by a senior official of the French Government in which he publicly and explicitly recognized the soundness and legitimacy of our claims. That statement, like other statements made by French officials at the highest level, confirms, if confirmation is needed, the justice of our cause. That is why we feel that it is time to go beyond short-term measures and take the decisive step that will lead to the settlement of this problem.

186. The Comorian people, for its part, remains determined to press its claim, strengthened by the unanimous support of the international community. No argument, legal or strategic, can shake its determination, because for it this is a question not only of right but also of justice.

187. At a time when we are preparing to celebrate the fortieth anniversary of the Organization, my country, the Islamic Federal Republic of the Comoros, solemnly reaffirms its faith and confidence in it. Naturally, there are conflicts with regard to which the Organization can only admit its impotence when faced with national selfishness and ideological intransigence. Nevertheless, we have every right to say that for us it constitutes the last bulwark against a widespread war the incalculable consequences of which would be fatal for the future of the whole of mankind.

188. My country, for its part, always remains faithful to the great principles of peace, freedom and justice that characterize the Charter of the United Nations. It is in this spirit that the Comoros will continue to make its modest contribution to the Organization, so that it can effectively fulfil the noble mission we expect of it, namely, the safeguarding and preservation of world peace and security.

189. Mr. BARON (Dominica): I wish to take the opportunity afforded me today to add my bit to those who have congratulated the President on his election to the presidency of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. His election is a further manifestation of the high esteem in which he is held by the members of this body and an expression of confidence in his ability to guide this session of the Assembly through its deliberations. I have no doubt that his experience and well-known diplomatic skills will contribute immensely to making this session a memorable one.

190. I also wish to offer our appreciation and congratulations to the outgoing President, the President of Panama, Mr. Jorge Illueca, who so ably and successfully presided over the thirty-eighth session.

191. I wish to join with others who spoke before me to welcome Brunei Darussalam, the 159th Member of the United Nations.

192. Nearly four decades ago, a world bleeding and spent by the ravages of war pledged itself to the goals of and objectives enshrined in a Charter of hope and promise for its nations and peoples. One hundred

and more wars and countless economic and social crises later, the Secretary-General, in whom is reposed the responsibility for applying the letter and spirit of the Charter, has stated in rueful terms that the United Nations as a peace-keeper is being frustrated by a proliferation of resolutions that are not being implemented.

193. Since that day, 24 October 1945, when the Charter of the United Nations came into force, countless lives have been sacrificed with shocking frequency in many dispersed theatres of conflict; millions of infants have been weaned and nurtured in environments of insurrection, villainy and hate.

194. The sensibilities of civilized man have been repeatedly stunned by the wanton rape, torture and murder of women, men and children, even in countries where long-standing religious practice and commitment should have been expected to have secured the sanctity of human life.

195. And, as if that were not sufficient, incidents recur of ordinary men, women and children harassed and harried from their homes across tense frontiers, through inhospitable seas infested by marauding pirates. And so, on and on, this morbid period in the history of man's inhumanity to man continues, untouched, it appears, by contemporary pretensions of civilization, sophistication and intellectualism.

196. Like a doomsday book, the record continues to include issues of personal survival for some billions who live in conditions of abject misery, victims of disease from the womb to an early tomb. Even as multinational sales cynically promote death-dealing chemicals across the borders of third world countries, other billions of emaciated, famished and dispossessed beings shift from hope to economic hopelessness as financial crises beyond their control fetter them to an existence of daily, cruel privation.

197. Little wonder then, as pangs of common frustration and deepening depression bind these masses together across national frontiers in ever-expanding communities of despair and resentment, unstable and unreasonable radicalism fills the void between the conservatism of traditional leadership and the virulent anger of desperate followers. And contemporary notions of East versus West or North versus South pale before the potential of an apocalyptic conflagration which any diabolical exploitation of this scenario of mass resentment could ignite.

198. How then, now or in the future, do we discharge our trust to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights and in the dignity and worth of the human person, to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom and to fulfil the noble purpose of the United Nations?

199. It is our submission that our predecessors, with their predisposition to the cause of mankind's welfare and security, envisaged the evolution of an international society with characteristics no less societal for being international, characteristics of common, basic moral values, of common ethical norms, instinctively pervasive, and of common language with all its nuances fluent among the international community.

200. It is our view that the escalating fragmentation of international society into entities such as third world, East and West, North and South, and non-aligned nations, is a clear reflection of pressure groupings in search of areas of commonality which, notwithstanding the Charter's noble precepts, have not yet been translated into universal practice.

201. It is our prognosis that, as more and more States with less and less commonality with their predecessors are admitted to the Organization, more and more will the fragmentation of interests outside the ambit of the United Nations society increase, with inexorable and agonizing costs that the architects of the Charter did not intend for its beneficiaries.

202. Yes, the world situation that the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly is called upon to address is not a substantial improvement upon that which faced the thirty-eighth session. These major problems persist in nearly every sphere of human endeavour, and in some cases have worsened. It is not an entirely comforting thought that, notwithstanding the efforts of the United Nations and its agencies, very few significant changes have been effected in those areas most concerned with the development and enhancement of the human condition. The lack of progress in efforts to bring about meaningful change is of great concern to us, because in nearly every case the least able among us are called upon to bear a disproportionate burden and sacrifice.

203. Recent hurricane damage in North America forces us to recall that just over five years ago, when the Commonwealth of Dominica had begun the process of adjusting to its newly independent status, Hurricane David devastated our small island State, severely crippling our limited productive capacity. The effort to repair the damage of that hurricane is still under way, but it has to be understood that a small nation which, prior to 1979, was hard pressed to find the resources to maintain and upgrade its infrastructure found the task doubly difficult in the ensuing years.

204. Some members of the international community came to our assistance, and we are grateful to them, but, even with the bilateral and multilateral aid the Commonwealth of Dominica has received over the past five years, the struggle to revive our economy, rebuild our infrastructure and provide minimally decent standards of living for our people has at times been hard and frustrating. But the experience has been invaluable, and at every level the people of the Commonwealth of Dominica have shown the determination, industry and leadership qualities necessary to meet the situation.

205. Reference is made here to the problems experienced by the Commonwealth of Dominica because in normal times they are duplicated every day in small island States everywhere, and even in the larger States of the third world, and the arrangements by which the international economic system is meant to be regulated have demonstrated profound weaknesses and an inability to deal effectively with those problems. Inevitably, the problems will most likely grow worse, with disastrous consequences for all, unless new approaches to the world economy are developed to meet the recurring crises that have repeatedly impinged upon, and severely impeded, the development effort of third world countries.

206. We have seen the high inflation and low growth of the 1970s followed, in the 1980s, by the longest recession in 50 years. There are reports of recovery in the industrialized countries, but the benefits of that recovery are not immediately apparent to us. High prices for industrial products, coupled

with decreased demand for our exports, have left the economies of small island States such as the Commonwealth of Dominica in a depressed condition, a situation further aggravated by the protectionist policies being pursued by the industrial countries. Exhorted to place reliance on market forces, the Commonwealth of Dominica finds its attempt to diversify is less than successful, because the major markets will not readily accept the new products resulting from its diversification.

207. The world economic situation should be of concern to all nations, and, in an effort to ameliorate some of the worse effects upon the Caribbean region, the Conference of Heads of Government of the Caribbean Community and Common Market took some action at their fifth summit meeting, held at Nassau from 4 to 7 July 1984. However, the Caribbean Community and Common Market can affect the situation only in a rather limited way, given that international economic relations are so closely interwoven.

208. The Commonwealth of Dominica views with concern and even alarm the international debt situation, which has assumed crisis proportions over the last few years. Admittedly, the ability of the Commonwealth of Dominica to borrow is limited, but, in the face of greatly increased costs, the servicing of whatever debt we have incurred only imposes an additional economic burden on a small State struggling to meet existing obligations.

209. Moreover, our concern goes beyond our own immediate plight. The debt problems with which the international community is at present faced have already resulted in the slowing of economic growth in many third world countries. That has necessitated the adoption of new policies geared to meet the changed conditions. Optimistic forecasts have given way to a gloomy outlook, and aspirations and dreams have been shattered. The new realism is that those who have very little will have to make do with less, and the social implications have already manifested themselves in some areas.

210. The Commonwealth of Dominica believes that the best hope for developing countries lies in a determined and concerted effort by the international community to increase concessional aid to those countries. The Committee for Development Planning spoke eloquently to that issue at its twentieth session, held from 17 to 21 May this year.[11] Noting that "there is disorder verging on chaos in several areas critical to the economic life of all nations", the Committee found that, while "the heaviest burdens are falling on the weakest and poorest economies and therefore on the people within human society least able to bear that burden", concessional "flows have declined in real terms and now face special jeopardy". The Committee views the situation as "little short of an international scandal" in the light of the fact that in present economic conditions "sustained concessional flows to the poorest countries . . . assume an even greater importance than usual".

211. Economic development is ideally undertaken in an international climate that is peaceful and free from tension. In more than one way, development is linked to arms reduction and disarmament, and that is one of the reasons why the Commonwealth of Dominica deplores the continuing arms race at every level. The ever-growing arsenals of nuclear weapons in the possession of the super-Powers are alarming, and the desire of an increasing number of nations to acquire a nuclear potential is frightening. The continuous stockpiling of nuclear arms is the single most important problem facing the world today.

212. Nuclear disarmament and arms reduction must be the goal of all members of the international community. The attainment of that goal is a duty owed to every human being on Earth, and one we cannot shirk. The question is a recurrent theme of General Assembly debates, and the United Nations has convened special sessions to deal with the matter. Regrettably, however, in the face of a lack of co-operation by the nuclear Powers, the United Nations has been unable to make real progress in that important area. But lack of concrete achievement should not dissuade the international community from raising its collective voice against the trend to add to the existing arsenals. Nor should the world be persuaded by the deterrent argument, which, in the light of proliferation, is far outweighed by the potential for disaster resulting from mistake or irrational behaviour.

213. In the endeavour to stem the tide of nuclear proliferation and to proceed on the path leading to the reduction and eventual elimination of nuclear weapons, serious consideration should be given to the establishment of nuclear-free zones. The Treaty of Tlatelolco,[12] signed by the Latin American countries, should serve as a guide in that regard.

214. International peace and security are threatened not only by nuclear weapons but also by the ever-growing trade in conventional arms of increasing destructiveness. That extensive trade in arms, by nations large and small, increases tension, intensifies fear, and adversely affects the stability of regions world-wide. Pursued in the name of national security, it invariably leads to regional insecurity. Militarily weak States feel threatened by their stronger neighbours, especially when there appears to be no correlation between objective security needs and the range and accumulation of arms.

215. The Commonwealth of Dominica, along with its neighbours in the Eastern Caribbean, is not unaware of the problem. Not so long ago, it experienced the potential threat posed to its existence as an independent State by a massive arms build-up in the region by a State whose security could not possibly require armaments of the nature and in the quantity that ultimately came to light.

216. Billions of dollars spent for arms by third world countries keep the munitions factories of the arms-exporting countries operating at full capacity, while economic development programmes stagnate for lack of funds. Five per cent of the amount spent for arms world-wide, if allocated to development programmes, would make the world a much better place for the majority of its inhabitants. It is lamentable that nations apparently see nothing sadly wrong in committing such tremendous energy and resources to potential wars of destruction rather than to the immediate war against increasing hunger, rampant disease, widespread malnutrition and illiteracy, unacceptably high infant mortality and the need to provide homes for millions of people.

217. The ability of the United Nations to maintain world peace and security is being severely tested by the local conflicts that are being waged with mounting intensity in various parts of the world. In many

cases, super-Power rivalry, especially in the Security Council, obstructs the United Nations in the search for solutions to those grave problems; but more than that, it aggravates and exacerbates the conflicts themselves, transforming them into proxy wars and giving them new impetus and rationale. That appears to be the case with respect to the struggles in Central America.

218. The Commonwealth of Dominica believes that the conflicts in Central America are the products of complex social, economic and historical factors endemic to the area, and the infusion of larger amounts of arms into the region is not likely to result in any lasting solution. The conditions that engendered the conflicts must be addressed seriously and urgently, and, in pursuit of that goal, negotiation presents advantages that will surely be absent in any resolution arrived at by military means.

219. The efforts of the countries of the Contadora Group—Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela—in the search for a formula for negotiation and dialogue must be considered the only real hope for some measure of peace in the region. Those efforts should command the active support of all nations that desire an end to the tragic loss of lives and wanton destruction in Central America.

220. Despite the temporary lull in the fighting, the Middle East remains an area of tension threatening international peace and security. Year after year we have taken note in this body of the situation in the Middle East and the threat that it poses to the larger international community, but the central questions remain unresolved. The adverse claims of the antagonists are not irreconcilable; but decades of fear and suspicion have precluded the realization that the nations of that region have a community of interests which, if recognized, should lead them to abandon confrontation and embrace reconciliation and progress.

221. The Commonwealth of Dominica, having gained its freedom less than six years ago, values its independence and unequivocally supports the principle of self-determination for all peoples. Therefore, we cannot but support the claim of the Palestinian people to a homeland and its right to decide its own future under the leadership of men and women freely chosen by it. At the same time, there is a corresponding right of the State of Israel to exist in peace within secure borders. The assertions of those rights are not mutually exclusive. It only requires courage and statesmanship from the leaders of the region and balanced commitment and support from the rest of the world. That is the task which faces the peoples of the Middle East and the rest of the international community, and it does not appear to be beyond our collective effort and resolve.

222. As we assemble today, Lebanon, once a prosperous country of the Middle East, remains divided, its once flourishing institutions in shambles, and its territory occupied by foreign forces. No nation deserves the fate of Lebanon. The Commonwealth of Dominica condemns the continuing violation of the territorial integrity and independence of Lebanon and joins with other Members of this body in calling for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Lebanese soil in as expeditious a manner as possible.

223. The war between Iran and Iraq has dragged on for four years, and there does not appear to be any end in sight. Thousands of lives, including those of innocent civilians, have been lost, but the attention span of the world community appears to be brief and sporadic. That tragic conflict does not seem to have been a great preoccupation of the world community until recently, when the attacks on oil tankers posed a threat to the economic well-being of certain industrialized countries. It is indeed a sad commentary on the state of world opinion that it appears to accord to property damage higher consideration in the scheme of things than it does to the loss of human life.

224. By any yardstick, the Gulf war between Iran and Iraq deserves greater diplomatic effort than it has received in the past, and we believe that the United Nations should seriously undertake an effort to energize all interested parties in an attempt to find a solution to that war.

225. With respect to the situation in Korea—a country that has been divided for nearly as long as the Organization has been in existence—there is an urgent need for a peaceful solution. In our view, this can be done only through direct negotiation among the different factions. Dialogue can dispel the existing antagonisms and distrust and lead ultimately to reconciliation. To this end, this thirty-ninth session should consider favourably the admission of both Koreas to the United Nations fold as full Members, thereby fostering their peaceful existence.

226. Even as this session got under way, the stark realities of the pernicious system of *apartheid* were forced upon the consciousness of the world by the violence of the forces of the South African Government against the black majority peacefully attempting to assert rights recognized by everyone. On the day before the beginning of the general debate, 500 black South Africans were arrested and detained by the police of the minority Government of South Africa for no other reason than that they had attended the funeral of a 22-year-old man.

227. The abominable system of *apartheid* has received the justifiable condemnation of the civilized world but the internationally ostracized régime of South Africa, in defiance of world opinion, has embarked on a policy of further entrenching that odious system by a shameful constitutional arrangement that isolates the black majority of South Africa and fixes it permanently, as it were, beyond the pale of popular representation.

228. The defiance of world opinion by the *apartheid* régime of South Africa is made possible by the glaring inconsistency of some nations which, while condemning the international canker that is *apartheid*, eagerly conduct business as usual with the South African régime. The Commonwealth of Dominica believes, therefore, that in condemning *apartheid* we must also deplore the actions of those nations that serve as an underpinning for the system, and we must also reject the reasons advanced for their actions. Otherwise, many might justifiably accuse us of sophistry and of crystallizing formalisms.

229. The *apartheid* régime of South Africa continues its illegal occupation of Namibia despite the clear responsibility of the United Nations for that Territory and notwithstanding the many resolutions of this body calling upon South Africa to bring its illegal occupation to an end. The people of Namibia have a right to self-determination, freedom and national independence, in accordance with resolutions 1514 (XV) and 2145 (XXI), as well as subse-

quent resolutions of this body in connection with Namibia. Further, we support the just struggle of the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO, and we do not believe that South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia and its repression of and violence against the Namibian people can be legitimately linked to other events in southern Africa.

230. The founding fathers, in drafting the principles by which the United Nations should be guided, called upon all nations "to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person" and "in the equal rights of men and women". That summons was further strengthened by Article 55 of the Charter mandating the United Nations to "promote . . . universal respect for . . . human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion". Concern for human rights by the United Nations also led to the adoption in 1948 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

231. The Charter and the Declaration represent the clearest expression by the international community of the belief that mankind's progress in every field should be consonant with the preservation of individual freedoms and human dignity.

232. The promotion and protection of human rights is a duty imposed on all Members of the United Nations. The evidence of widespread violations of human rights on every continent of the globe should therefore provoke moral outrage in all of us on a scale much larger than is at present evident.

233. The question of human rights violations is ritualistically included in the agenda of the General Assembly, but the selective basis on which condemnation is meted out by this body belies the pretended concern by the United Nations for the victims of human rights violations. That the violation of human rights should be condemned wherever and whenever it occurs is a position unshakeably held by the Commonwealth of Dominica, and we believe that condemnation limited to a few States merely heightens scepticism regarding the Organization and tarnishes its reputation.

234. The search for peace and the general welfare of mankind is not a new concept. Yet mankind still seeks to resolve its differences by conflict of one sort or another. Man himself, in panic and hysteria, has in recent times endeavoured with his intellectual resources and through instruments and mechanisms of his own design to circumvent the golden rule.

235. I wish to suggest that the Organization may yet fulfil its mandate before it is too late if only we can reach out with a bridge of justice, love, truth and understanding across the widening gulf of jingoistic mistrust which now plagues our family of nations.

236. Perhaps the Organization has grown too accustomed to viewing the world as it is. We believe that, in the spirit of the men at San Francisco 39 years ago, we should, in the words of George Bernard Shaw, "Dream things that never were and ask why not?".

237. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Guatemala, who wishes to speak in exercise of his right of reply.

238. Mr. FAJARDO-MALDONADO (Guatemala) *(interpretation from Spanish)*: My delegation would like to refer to the statement made yesterday by the head of the delegation of Belize, Senator Carl Rogers, when he referred to the position regarding the controversy over that territory. In view of the importance of that matter, my delegation wishes to offer the following clarification to the representatives of the international community gathered here.

239. First, without going into too much detail, the Government of Guatemala has explained and maintains its reservations and its rights with regard to Belize. It therefore does not recognize the unilateral granting of independence to that territory by the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. That is why negotiations are taking place effectively and directly with the sole colonial Power, the United Kingdom, with which, historically, we have had this dispute. We reject any other interpretation of these facts as false. Our position is based on the true facts, and within this context we are trying to find a just and honourable solution that will be in keeping with and will safeguard the rights and legitimate interests of the parties concerned.

240. The Government of Guatemala reaffirms its desire to continue to participate in the informal exploratory meetings that are taking place, not only in order to arrive at a just and honourable solution but also to ensure that the ties of co-operation with the people of Belize are reaffirmed and strengthened. It is in this spirit that we make this statement.

The meeting rose at 6.40 p.m.

NOTES

[1] See A/37/422, annex.

[2] See *World Economic Survey 1984: Current Trends and Policies in the World Economy* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.84.II.C.1), chap. I, p. 20.

[3] See A/38/312, annex, resolution AHG/Res.104 (XIX); see also General Assembly resolution 38/40.

[4] Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y de Río de Oro.

[5] See A/38/106, annex.

[6] Lagos Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Monrovia Strategy for the Economic Development of Africa, adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its second extraordinary session, held at Lagos on 28 and 29 April 1980. For the text, see A/S-11/14, annex I.

[7] See A/38/599, annex II.

[8] Agreement on Non-Aggression and Good Neighbourliness between the Government of the People's Republic of Mozambique and the Government of the Republic of South Africa, done and signed at the common border on the banks of the Nkomati River on 16 March 1984.

[9] A/S-11/14, annex II.

[10] United Nations publication, Sales No. E.82.I.8, part one, sect. A.

[11] See *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, 1984, Supplement No. 7* (E/1984/17).

[12] Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America, United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 634, No. 9068.

United Nations
GENERAL ASSEMBLY
THIRTY-NINTH SESSION
Official Records

30th PLENARY MEETING

Thursday, 11 October 1984, at 10.25 a.m.

NEW YORK

President: Mr. Paul J. F. LUSAKA (Zambia).

In the absence of the President, Mr. Wasiuddin (Bangladesh), Vice-President, took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. JACOBS (Antigua and Barbuda): I must first of all congratulate Mr. Lusaka on his election as President of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. His election is a tribute to the outstanding diplomatic skills which he has brought to the work of the Organization. It is also recognition of the important role played by his country in its attempts to bring peace not only to Africa, but to the world as a whole. I am confident that he will bring a steady hand to the helm in the deliberations at this session.

2. It is fitting that in this year, 1984, a son of Africa should preside over the activities of the world's nations in convocation, for 1984 marks the one-hundred-and-fiftieth anniversary of the passage of Acts of Parliament to end slavery in the former British Empire. That slavery was the slavery of Africans snatched from their native lands and transported across the Atlantic. Those slaves endured conditions of human deprivation and moral degradation on a scale that defies civilized comprehension. It is a stain on the conscience of mankind that the justification for the brutality and savagery of African slavery was founded on a doctrine of racism—the assertion that Africans were less than human. But, if African slavery as it existed in the so-called New World, in the United States, in the Caribbean and in Central and South America, if that African slavery was a cause of moral indignation because of its foundation in racism, then it was even more a reason for universal shame because of its brazen exploitation of man by man. It remains one of the tragic symbols of human injustice that, when African slavery ended, the slave owners were compensated while the slaves were only delivered to destitution.

3. In an attempt to remedy this grotesque blemish on the face of humanity and to recall mankind to its highest ideals, my country has proposed that at this thirty-ninth session the General Assembly should commemorate the one-hundred-and-fiftieth anniversary of the abolition of slavery. The world community can make little reparation for the past, but we can ensure that there is no need for retribution in the future. In this connection, my delegation looks forward to the support of every nation represented in the Assembly.

4. While 1984 marks the one-hundred-and-fiftieth anniversary of the formal end to African slavery, it fails to herald an end to modern-day slavery in South Africa, where *apartheid* holds the majority African people in bondage. The year 1984 also fails to record the independence of Namibia, to which the Assembly has dedicated itself year after year.

5. Each day that passes with no change in the conditions in southern Africa diminishes the prospect for mankind's total freedom and enlarges the spectre of a major conflagration in Africa. These developments will have grave repercussions for the world as a whole, for, as Abraham Lincoln asserted, no society can exist half slave and half free. In this connection, the world will not subsist at peace while southern Africa remains troubled by the oppression of many by a few.

6. My delegation wishes to place on record its repudiation of the efforts of the South African régime to perpetuate its *apartheid* policies by the farcical elections recently held and the fraudulent constitution recently proclaimed. The constitution continues to deny the majority Africans a voice in the political life of their country, and the election ignores more than 80 per cent of the Coloured and Indian population, who showed their opposition to *apartheid* by refusing to vote.

7. In a statement I made before the General Committee [*1st meeting*], I asked, on the question of South Africa: "Where are the super-Powers?". And I will ask that question again: "Where are the super-Powers?".

8. It is not sufficient for us to make high-sounding moral statements about the excesses of the régime in South Africa and Namibia without recognizing that many, in this Hall, are contributors to *apartheid*'s continuance. *Apartheid* could not survive without the support of the world's more powerful nations. *Apartheid* will only end when those nations are ready to place principle before profit and justice before avarice.

9. It is well known that gold is the most crucial element in South Africa's strength. On the supply side, South Africa produces two thirds of all the gold that comes from non-communist countries, yet only about one fifth is utilized for practical purposes. But the price of gold is maintained artificially by the holdings of several Governments. The stock of refined gold in government hands is 30 times annual production and six countries alone have stocks greater than annual production. If even a small portion of these holdings were to be released, the total supply of gold in the world would rise and the price would collapse, bringing the South African régime down with it.

10. Will the Governments with the power to do so act in the cause of human justice? Will they end the iniquity of *apartheid* and set the black people of South Africa free? Or will they falter and hesitate as they did with slavery until outrage turns to carnage and bitterness to bloodiness? Let no nation leave the Assembly absolved of the sin of support for *apartheid*, for if we do not act against it then, unpardonably, we act for it. *Apartheid*'s greatest friend is hopelessness. My delegation calls on the Assembly to reaffirm its commitment to end *apartheid*, to renew its resolve to free Namibia, and by so doing to turn hopelessness to resolution and resolution to victory.

11. In addressing the question of *apartheid* in South Africa and the comfort which is given to the régime, my delegation is mindful of South Africa's involvement in the Antarctic Treaty[1] of 1959. We noted, with sympathy, the position adopted by the delegation of Sierra Leone during the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly, at the 42nd and 46th meetings of the First Committee, that South Africa should be excluded from the present Treaty arrangement. We recognized that, while this view was not included in the resolution on the question of Antarctica adopted at the thirty-eighth session [*resolution 38/77*], it was none the less a view supported by many countries.

12. That is as it should be, for as long as South Africa sets its people apart at home it sets its people and itself apart abroad. And the Consultative Parties to the Antarctic Treaty should understand quite clearly that the world will regard South Africa's continuance in the Treaty arrangements as an act of betrayal of international opinion.

13. At the current session, the General Assembly will receive a study from the Secretary-General on all aspects of the question of Antarctica. My delegation does not wish to pre-empt the findings or recommendations of that study, but we must make it clear that the growing tendency for nations, rich and poor, to seek solutions to international problems through confrontation rather than negotiation and the widening chasm between the developed and developing countries intensify our sense of alarm over the arrangements which currently subsist in Antarctica.

14. We still fear that Antarctica could become a final frontier for human conflict. It is of more than passing significance to us that all the nations with the capacity to participate in a scramble for Antarctica are parties to the Antarctic Treaty and therefore are able to initiate a review in 1991. Doubly significant is the fact that poor developing States with no vested interest in Antarctica have no voice in decision-making about the area and are unable to influence the activities of other nations.

15. But small States such as mine cannot abandon international responsibility for developments in Antarctica simply because they lack military might or economic clout. And nothing that the powerful nations have done so far in their relations with each other has convinced us that they should be the sole arbiters of the world's future.

16. To add to all this, the world has changed enormously since the Antarctic Treaty was signed in 1959. There are now 159 Member States of the United Nations, most of which are developing countries. In 1959, they had neither the opportunity nor the sovereign competence to participate in events in Antarctica. It is not only unfair, it is unjust, to suggest that we should abide by decisions made without our involvement. Indeed, we would warn the world that if the *status quo* in Antarctica is maintained and further institutionalized a confrontation is bound to develop between the Consultative Parties and the rest of the world.

17. In our view, it is in the interest of global peace and stability to address the democratization of Antarctica now, for delay will only divide still further an already divided world.

18. Antigua and Barbuda is not so naive as to believe that the Consultative Parties would accept our tearing up the Antarctic Treaty and declaring the region the common heritage of all mankind to be administered by the United Nations. Nor do we see them agreeing to the area's being declared a repository for science or a park for the conservation of wildlife. Since a number of the Consultative Parties have benefited from fishing in the area, and over the last few years have been working on a régime to exploit the mineral resources, it is obvious that they will not surrender Antarctica to the world. However, no country can ignore growing world opinion that Antarctica should not be managed by an exclusive club, particularly when the ecology is so vitally important to global climatic patterns. In this connection, my delegation proposes the following: the retention of the Antarctic Treaty as a basis for administering the region; the creation of an authority, under the umbrella of the Treaty, to manage the Antarctic, with the existing Consultative Parties as members of the authority and equal membership by representatives of every region of the world; environmental non-governmental organizations with an established record in Antarctica to be observers at all meetings of the authority, with the right to speak; and the establishment of a system of international taxation and revenue-sharing administered by the proposed authority for Antarctica.

19. We believe that our proposals, if implemented, would go a long way towards democratizing Antarctica and should be acceptable to all, except those with sinister objectives in the region. We have advanced the idea of a system of international taxation and revenue-sharing because we accept that certain countries will continue to exploit the marine life of Antarctica. But we feel they should do so in a controlled manner and within a framework in which the world, and Antarctica itself no less, benefits from revenue derived from taxation. We propose that the revenues raised from taxes on fishing and, in time, mining should be placed in a special development fund for maintaining the Antarctic environment and advancing global human development. The fund should be subdivided in three ways: expenses for the maintenance of the Antarctic environment, hard loans to developed countries and soft loans and grants to less developed and least developed countries.

20. It is only in these conditions of global participation in decision-making and global sharing of the benefits of Antarctica's resources that the region will be genuinely safe for all mankind. The alternative is an intensification of global confrontation and a fatal step towards the final frontier of human conflict.

21. Much has been made of the close co-operation that exists between the two super-Powers in Antarctica. Indeed, their representatives have drawn attention to the fact that, while they cannot agree on arms

control matters, goodwill and a genuine desire to find mutually acceptable solutions have made it possible to make Antarctica a zone of peace. But it is precisely this unprecedented level of co-operation between the two super-Powers which intensifies suspicions about Antarctica.

22. Why can this co-operation not be repeated in other parts of the world? If the super-Powers could bring to Central America the same level of collaboration that has obtained in Antarctica, the problems of that region could be brought to an end, with enormous benefits for the people of the area and with a corresponding reduction of tension between the peoples of the United States and the Soviet Union.

23. The world would breathe a sigh of relief if the super-Powers concentrated their efforts not on military escalation in Central America but on economic improvement. For, apart from a hard core of activists in the troubled countries of Central America, people want bread, not bullets. In this connection, would it not be a better role for the super-Powers of the world to act as intermediaries for peace rather than agents for war? The question needs no answer, for the response is self-evident. We must all hope that in time the super-Powers will come to recognize the value to the world of co-operating internationally in the same way as they have done in Antarctica.

24. In the mean time, developing countries can offer an example of responsibility. In Central America, Belize has proffered the hand of friendship to Guatemala. These two countries can show the world a new way to peace by reaching out to each other and constructing a lasting solution to their problems, based on recognition of each other's sovereignty and co-operation in the social and economic development of their peoples. We would urge Guatemala to take the first step along the road to global peace by showing the super-Powers that developing States have the maturity and capacity to settle their problems in peace.

25. Other developing States also have it within their power to demonstrate to the super-Powers that conflict resolution is not the exclusive preserve of those with the greatest might. The peoples of North and South Korea can strike a blow for dignity in the third world by acting on the proposals put forward by South Korea to normalize the relations of the Korean people.

26. Action by developing States to establish peace and promote social well-being should cease to be dependent on the influences of one super-Power or another. Developing States should strive to change the image that we are incapable of dealing with our own affairs. We should eschew big-Power politics in our countries and seek our salvation by our own efforts. We should create the conditions for international respect for third-world States and reverse the derision to which we are so constantly subject.

27. Far too many of our problems, which have their genesis in economic inequality, have provided opportunities for protagonists in East-West rivalry to interfere in our affairs. It is time for third-world countries to free themselves from such rivalry and assert their independence with dignity and pride.

28. In the case of Cyprus, which has suffered the torment of strife for so long, my delegation would once again appeal for support for the Secretary-General in his efforts to extinguish the flames of conflict which so persistently threaten to set Cyprus alight. The people of Cyprus are remarkable for their ability to build on the ashes of ruins. They are surely able to transpose this great strength to the future of their country by establishing a united, free and fully independent Cyprus in which the interests and rights of all are fully protected and guaranteed. The international community would bring a welcome respite to the people of Cyprus by promoting peace, not partition; unity, not disunity; nationalism, not separatism.

29. I turn now to the question of the development of third world States. Developing countries have learned the hard way that voting strength in the Assembly and in other United Nations agencies does not convey authority in decision-making. Resolutions, laboriously drafted and painfully negotiated, produce no meaningful results. Hence, in the context of a North-South dialogue on development, there has not only been no progress, there has been nothing. Nothing has happened in the General Assembly; nothing happened at the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held at Belgrade; nothing resulted from the International Meeting on Co-operation and Development, held at Cancún; nothing came of the Fourth General Conference of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization.

30. While nothing has occurred to advance a North-South dialogue on development, the nations of the world have rushed dangerously close to disaster. The one thing that has delayed the moment of catastrophe is that suffering and pain in many developing States is a norm.

Mr. Lusaka (Zambia) took the Chair.

31. The norm of suffering is what has stopped the developing countries from exploding into violence despite the fact that the majority have experienced no growth for the last three years. The norm of suffering is what has pulled back more than 24 countries in Africa from absolute chaos, despite the fact that 30 million people will die this year and next from malnutrition and related diseases. The norm of suffering is what has saved developing countries from economic collapse, despite the fact that in 1983 the loss in income through reduced exports to developed countries was some 50 billion.

32. Paradoxically, it is this same norm of suffering in third world States that has helped to maintain the resoluteness of developed States not to enter into a dialogue on development. For third world suffering is expected in the equation of international politics. It is first world suffering that is not expected.

33. Hence, it seems that the developed countries will only enter into a dialogue on development when their own economic conditions reach the point of inflicting pain upon their own peoples. It is a sad commentary on the state of human relations that mankind has reached such a woeful point.

34. Given this situation and the further dimension of declining official development assistance and a constraint upon the international financial institutions to carry out reforms necessary to discharge their responsibilities, third world States may find value in promoting the concept of a greater co-operation among themselves. Indeed, there may even be relevance in creating a third world secretariat to institutionalize trade and other commercial arrangements among third world States and to provide expertise for

more co-ordinated and beneficial negotiations with developed countries.

35. My delegation agrees with the sentiment of Thomas Paine, so eloquently cited by the President of the United States, Mr. Ronald Reagan, in this very Hall on 24 September last, at the 4th meeting: "'We have it in our power to begin the world over again'". My delegation would urge developing States to ensure that, in any efforts to begin the world over again, we have a strong and effective voice.

36. The PRESIDENT: I have great pleasure in welcoming the Prime Minister, Minister of Defence and Internal Security, Minister of Reform Institutions and Minister of External Communications of Mauritius, the Honourable Anerood Jugnauth. I invite him to address the General Assembly.

37. Mr. JUGNAUTH (Mauritius): Mr. President, I thank you for the opportunity given to me to address the Assembly. I bring to you and to the eminent personalities gathered here the warm greetings of the Government and people of Mauritius. We welcome Brunei Darussalam as the 159th Member of the United Nations.

38. Mr. President, allow me to congratulate you very warmly on your election to this high office. The Assembly could not have made a better choice—a choice which bespeaks your proved personal abilities, your diplomatic skills and your commitment to the high ideals of the Organization. Indeed, Sir, it is a tribute to your great country and an acknowledgement of Africa's role and importance in world affairs.

39. I should like also to express the whole-hearted appreciation of my Government and myself to your predecessor, Mr. Jorge Illueca, President of Panama, for the highly distinguished manner in which he presided over the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly. He marked our last deliberations with the stamp of wisdom, justice and fair play. I salute this noble son of the third world.

40. I pay a tribute also to the Secretary-General for his untiring and unflinching efforts in the cause of international peace and, in particular, for his patient and ceaseless endeavours to complete the process of decolonization in Africa. In the exercise of his duties, onerous certainly, but so vital for mankind, Mauritius stands firm behind the Secretary-General and is ready to co-operate in the search for lasting peace. To this end, we are fully committed and we shall strive within our capabilities to ensure that the United Nations is in a position to perform the tasks entrusted to it under the Charter.

41. It is a matter of deep regret that this thirty-ninth session still faces many of the problems which bedevilled previous sessions. The world, which our forbears sought to create in order to protect succeeding generations from the scourge of war, is altogether different now. Man holds in his hands the power to annihilate all forms of life on this planet. And the existence of weapons of mass destruction has sown the seeds of discord and distrust amongst us and has struck terror into the hearts of mankind. War machines have far outpaced the instruments of peace.

42. The world situation today is more than ever fraught with danger. The spectre of a thermonuclear holocaust becomes more and more haunting, while the renewed escalation in the nuclear-arms race continues unabated. Resources of an unprecedented scale are being expended by certain countries while elsewhere drought, famine and diseases have claimed a heavy toll in lives from the undernourished, the old, the weak and the newly born.

43. We have no moral or other right to stand by and witness the slow death of mankind. We can all live only if we are courageous enough to combine our efforts and resources in the struggle for peace. We have already made a step in the right direction by tacitly recognizing our capacity for self-destruction. We are also all too aware of how massive military expenditure delays and inhibits the elimination of poverty, hunger and economic inequity. Let us therefore be bold enough to engage in meaningful talks for general and complete disarmament. Let us start now, for we all desire peace and security. Let there be a renaissance in values that characterize international relations. If we are truly men of dedication, then let love, mutual understanding, co-operation and trust be our guiding principles. Let us build anew a world where the strong are just and the weak secure and where peace is sacred.

44. In the name of humanity, I call upon the nuclear Powers fully to assume their responsibilities towards mankind so that tomorrow's world may be free from threat, conflict and greed and free from the terrors of mass destruction. Only general and complete disarmament can provide such credible guarantees. We therefore propose that disarmament negotiations resume promptly and continue without interruption until meaningful agreement is achieved.

45. I speak today in an hour of international peril, at a time when the world is being held ransom by the protagonists of war, neo-colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism. Peace, which should have been a vital part of mankind's heritage and a dominant element in our interdependent world, remains as elusive as ever. We have, instead, a situation of greater international rivalry and tension and conflicts. Nations tend to belong to specific spheres of influence, established and nurtured by the super-Powers. And more and more often, regional conflicts, armed intervention, foreign interference and occupation are the direct results thereof. These in our view constitute the most dangerous threats to world peace and international security.

46. We firmly believe that peace and freedom are inseparable. One cannot exist in the absence of the other. Any denial of this basic concept cannot but lead to confrontation, tension, instability and a total lack of faith in man. We have no doubt in our minds that the threats that loom large on our horizon and the catastrophe that threatens us can be averted. We have only to show courage by fully assuming our responsibilities and by standing firmly by our obligations under the Charter of the United Nations. It is because of our deep-rooted belief in such principles that we favour a world of free and equal States.

47. It is disappointing and, indeed, alarming to see how our efforts to achieve lasting peace are being frustrated by power politics. The continuous flouting of international norms of behaviour by the super-Powers, their lack of respect for their obligations under the Charter and their constant endeavour to strengthen their spheres of influence have brought about regional conflicts, tension, aggression and war. Not far from our shores, southern Africa offers a spectacle which is repulsive and abhorrent. No one can, in his heart of hearts, remain insensitive to the ordeals of the downtrodden and oppressed peoples of South Africa and Namibia, whose legitimate aspira-

tions for freedom, equality and dignity are being stifled and trampled upon.

48. We view with grave concern the events taking place in that part of the world—events which will weigh heavily against us when we stand trial in the high court of history. For years now, we have condemned the inhuman policies of *apartheid* practised by the immoral régime of South Africa. We have repeatedly affirmed the right of the South African people to accede to full independence and sovereignty. It is now most disheartening to note that those were mere words, hollow and devoid of significance, uttered with characteristic cynicism and hypocrisy by those who hold the key to this thorny issue.

49. Let us resolve now to do away with the shameful situation prevailing there. Let us heed the cry of the oppressed. Let us combine our efforts to bring home to those concerned that the continued denial of fundamental rights and freedoms to the people of South Africa cannot but push us further towards disaster.

50. The illegal occupation of Namibia, the unlawful exploitation of its natural resources and the repressive policies of the racist régime against its people constitute further grave threats to regional as well as international peace and security. We want the Namibian people to know that we fully support their heroic struggle for freedom, equality and justice. We stand committed to their noble cause and to the war of liberation that is being waged by the South West Africa People's Organization [*SWAPO*]. Our aim is to see a stable and prosperous southern Africa and this cannot be achieved as long as the occupying administration violates the Charter of the United Nations and flouts the basic principles of international law. The prevailing situation is one of grave anxiety and calls for united and determined action.

51. Mauritius stands firmly by Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia. We deeply regret the inability of the Western Powers to ensure the early implementation of the independence plan. And we consider the linkage between Namibia's independence and the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola as a lame argument, trumped up by the racist régime and supported by vested interests. We appeal to the world body to join us in our struggle to secure the early independence of Namibia.

52. It seems that the lot of mankind is one of misery, threat, tension and anxiety. From Africa to the Middle East, the ugly head of confrontation, aggression, occupation and war is reared. The explosive situation in the Middle East threatens our existence and is central to the political, economic and military stability of the world. As long as uncertainty, discord, distrust, frustration and violence prevail in that region, the world will continue to live with a profoundly destabilizing element in its affairs. A just and lasting peace can be achieved only through a comprehensive settlement covering all aspects of the question, including, and in particular, the fundamental rights of the Palestinian people.

53. All States in the region should live within secure and recognized international frontiers. Aggression and occupation of the land of others will not guarantee the security of any State or nation. The crying need of the hour is therefore negotiation, accommodation and recognition.

54. The Palestine Liberation Organization [*PLO*] has our full support in its valiant struggle to secure the inalienable and fundamental rights of the Palestinian people. We call upon all parties concerned to review their positions and seriously engage in meaningful negotiations for a lasting settlement of this problem.

55. As I said before, the world is so closely knit and interdependent that conflicts or tensions anywhere affect us all because we are citizens of one world.

56. The situation in Cyprus continues to threaten peace and international security and is a cause of deep concern to us. We strongly urge the peace-loving countries of the region and others to desist from any action that may further aggravate the explosive situation that prevails in Cyprus.

57. We fully support the people and Government of the Republic of Cyprus and we condemn any effort aimed at changing its demographic situation. We strongly favour the immediate withdrawal of all occupation forces and the resumption of intercommunal talks. We are convinced that settlement of this issue must be based on Security Council resolution 365 (1974).

58. Yet another problem, which is assuming alarming proportions and to which we must address ourselves, is the unresolved conflict between Iran and Iraq, a conflict that has weakened both countries economically and has claimed a heavy toll of human lives on both sides. This fratricidal war should be stopped forthwith. We therefore call upon both parties to show restraint and to cease all hostilities. Any further escalation of this conflict cannot but disturb regional stability and peace. We urge both Iran and Iraq to engage in serious and meaningful negotiations with a view to ending this dispute peacefully.

59. The world is still plagued by localized wars. The complex situation in Afghanistan is yet another example of the flagrant violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of a sister country. We want the Assembly to know that we strongly oppose external interference of any kind and from any source in the internal affairs of Afghanistan, or of any country for that matter. We fully support the Secretary-General in his efforts to secure a peaceful solution acceptable to all parties concerned, and we eagerly await the day when Afghanistan will resume its non-aligned status.

60. The smouldering crisis in Central America continues to threaten peace in that region and is an impediment to the efforts of countries of the area aimed at strengthening their unity, solidarity and co-operation. The traditional repressive power structure has further aggravated the situation. We firmly believe that every effort should be made to facilitate the necessary dialogue between the parties concerned for the achievement of a political and negotiated solution of the problems of the region. Such dialogue and negotiations should take place within the Contadora framework.

61. The continuing state of affairs in South-East Asia is precarious and explosive. While much effort and time has been lost in superficial matters, the tragic plight of the peoples of the region has been lost sight of. The untold sufferings of the people of the area, bearing witness to the further escalation of tensions in the region, are all the more aggravated by external interference and the use of force against

sovereign States. We condemn such action, and we strongly urge the international community, in particular the countries concerned, seriously to work for a comprehensive political solution which would provide for the withdrawal of all foreign forces from the area, thus ensuring full respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of all States, including Kampuchea. We applaud the efforts being made in this direction within the framework of the Association of South-East Asian Nations, an association we fully support.

62. The international community has for some time been discussing the question of Korea. We once again reiterate our firm belief in the urgent need for direct negotiations, without any outside interference of any kind, between the two parties concerned for a realistic and lasting solution to their problems. We call upon both North Korea and South Korea immediately to resume inter-Korean negotiations for the peaceful settlement of issues impeding the reunification of the two Koreas.

63. We have always upheld the principle of universality of membership of the Organization. We feel strongly that, for the sake of peace and international security and also because of the larger interest of the peoples of both Koreas, we should seriously consider the admission of North Korea and South Korea to the Organization.

64. I do not want to appear to be a prophet of doom, but threats, tensions and conflicts cannot but hamper political and socio-economic development, peace and international security. My own country, Mauritius, is in the midst of it all. The activities of the big Powers and the arsenals of death and destruction they have deployed in the Indian Ocean constitute one of the major threats to the countries of the region—countries which are still vulnerable to external influences. This continued refusal to implement the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace [*resolution 2832 (XXVI)*] is highly indicative of their avowed policy of establishing spheres of influence in the Indian Ocean and of continued domination. We strongly condemn such policies and attitudes, and we call upon those concerned not to vitiate efforts aimed at the complete demilitarization of the Indian Ocean. We urge them to give their full support to the United Nations so that the Conference on the Indian Ocean may be convened as early as possible.

65. Finally, I should like to address myself to yet another problem which is fast assuming alarming proportions, a problem which transcends political barriers and which is at this very moment threatening more than two thirds of mankind. I am referring to the economic plight of the developing countries, taking into consideration the world economic situation in the period 1980 to 1984.

66. The world economic scene in the 1980s has been characterized by persistent recession in the developed countries, high rates of interest and the appreciating dollar. Growth in the industrial market economies, as a group, slowed down sharply in 1980 and remained sluggish during the years 1980 to 1983. There are evident signs that, in spite of the fact that the international economic scene is picking up, the monetary market continues to be severely perturbed. Major industrial countries are pursuing restrictive monetary policies to restrain inflation. This has resulted in declines or low rates of growth in gross domestic product among almost all developing countries of the world. Unemployment rates have also reached alarmingly high levels.

67. This continuing recession in the industrial world has severely constrained growth in the developing countries through a series of direct and indirect interactions. The drop in demand in industrial countries resulted in declines in both the prices and the volumes of primary exports of both oil-exporting and non-oil-exporting countries. Growth in these countries was therefore affected by monetary, trade and fiscal policies adopted by the industrial countries to combat the recession.

68. The restrictive monetary policies pursued in a number of industrial countries, to control inflation, for example, maintained interest rates at high levels, thereby greatly increasing non-oil-producing developing countries' debt-service payments on their floating rate. The current account deficits of the oil-importing developing countries have continued to increase, from 2.3 per cent of gross domestic product in 1978 to 4.4 per cent in 1980 and this trend has kept increasing in the early 1980s.

69. The balance-of-payments position of oil-importing countries was severely affected by increases in the price of oil, coupled with increases in interest payments. A number of countries were therefore unable to meet their loan repayment obligations and, indeed, many had to pursue drastic deflationary policies to contain their growing current account deficits, with all the accompanying evils of reduced demand, lowered standard of living and higher unemployment levels. Therefore, although the long-term solution for these countries lies in the recovery in the world demand and a determined restructuring of their own economies, their immediate requirement is for continued inflows of capital to ease their liquidity shortage.

70. This need has been recognized and various formulas have been proposed, but these have not, unfortunately, proved adequate to meet the requirements of the developing world. During this period, several countries have had recourse to debt rescheduling, although this is not the solution for countries with deep-set economic and financial problems. There is, therefore, an urgent call for better and closer collaboration among creditor Governments, and for a better understanding of our commercial banking system and among international financing institutions. It is this and only this which can facilitate our long-term adjustment and pave the way for a quicker world recovery. While steps are being taken to ease the debt difficulties of the main middle-income borrowers, too little has been done to assist the low-income countries seriously affected by the recent recession, the effects of which have not yet left our doorsteps.

71. The continuing appreciation of the United States dollar and the resulting weakness of our currencies has further fuelled inflationary tendencies in most countries, and in particular developing countries, which would normally have benefited from the gain in competitiveness of their exports. This comparative advantage has been mitigated by the extremely low levels of economic activities in most developed countries and in the pressures for restrictions on imports. The benefits of the recovery in the world economy have not been felt in any significant manner by the underprivileged of this

world. Industrial countries continue to resort to protectionist measures and to invoke safeguard clauses in the various agreements—some of which were held out to be models of co-operation only a few years earlier—thereby threatening the very survival of the developing countries. The developed countries are not playing by the rules of the game and often use flimsy arguments to resort to protectionist measures. Such an approach was reflected in the outcome of the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held at Belgrade in 1983.

72. The debt problem of developing countries needs to be emphasized. Of all constraints facing us today, none is as damning in its consequences as the burden of debt. We continue to reel under the burden of successive increases in oil prices, recession, high interest rates and decreases in the price of our raw materials. Our exports to world markets have suffered drastically because of the growing surge of protectionism. And, to crown it all, debt servicing has brought development in all spheres of economic life to a grinding halt. As far back as 1981, Luis Echeverría Alvarez, former President of Mexico, gave a pertinent diagnosis of the reasons for the tensions and conflicts in the third world, emphasizing the formidable dangers of inequality.

73. In fact, at no other time in history—living as we do in the nuclear age—have the problems of humanity been so severe in their causes and in their consequences. Inequality has become for us the most outstanding institutional form of conflict among nations and peoples.

74. Above and beyond possible and foreseeable changes that might take place in the East and the West, it seems impossible to speculate regarding peace and development in the absence of an adequate solution to the traumas of the South. In short, although the East-West confrontation could lead to a nuclear war and the general destruction of civilization, on the other hand, a fruitful dialogue between the North and the South could mean a stage of reconstruction, as well as bringing about the most important change that mankind has witnessed in recent centuries—that is, the creation of a new international economic order, the only logical outcome of the North-South dialogue. The only alternative is a yearly get-together for rhetorical discourse, a dialogue of the deaf.

75. The contemporary world's greatest challenge indeed lies ultimately in the discovery of a formula to integrate science and technology into the struggle against misery, poverty and the misuse of economic and military power. This can take place. It is not a third world Utopian dream, for the world possesses outstanding and significant human resources and a great reserve of human wisdom. We have more educated people living today than during the whole of human history. Are we really to dedicate such an immense potential for creativity and change to the agony of a perpetual and implacable arms race? This undoubtedly would be a senseless tragedy.

76. Today's economic disorder, in which inequality has become the dominant institutional form of development, has changed the problems inherited from colonial times into dilemmas that are more far reaching than those involving East and West, North and South, and calls for the return to one of the most outstanding periods in international life in recent years, 1974—the year in which the United Nations condemned the old international economic order and proclaimed as imperative the establishment of a new international economic order.

77. The current world situation should make us comprehend the impossibility of maintaining an economic, monetary and institutional structure founded upon the equilibrium of terror or the explosive disarticulation of zones of influence. Such a disarticulation would affect all geopolitical fields and means of control stemming from the international division of labour.

78. The problems of the third world have assumed calamitous proportions which affect all cultures, ideologies and economic systems equally. The resulting turmoil has adversely affected the development strategies of the developing world. All nations must now take an interest in seeking a rational answer to a crisis which can no longer be resolved in the old way, one that is now impossible and unworkable, the way of areas of influence and the balance of terror. It is essential to find practical, concrete and humane solutions that will bring about a new order in the face of world economic disorder. This challenge will determine the future path of our civilization.

79. May I also state that we are anxiously awaiting the Secretariat's comprehensive study on Antarctica. I am sure the study will help the international community to fathom Antarctica. I hope that the Assembly will take the necessary and appropriate measures for the review of the existing régime. Antarctica must become part of the common heritage of mankind.

80. Before concluding, I should like to make two points which are of particular significance to Mauritius. I would like first of all to commend the work of the specialized agencies of the United Nations family and, in particular, to say a few words about the IMO. For developing countries, and especially for island countries, maritime transport is of crucial importance. Recently Mauritius has had the benefit of valuable practical help from the United Nations system by way of advice and assistance from the IMO in respect of the efforts of Mauritius to update and revitalize its shipping and related maritime programme.

81. The work of the IMO in relation to shipping, and in particular to the technical co-operation programme of that organization, is of great importance and increasing relevance to my country and to other developing countries, both in our efforts to participate more effectively and equitably in world maritime transport and also in considering new and improved programmes arising from the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea.

82. The financial support that UNDP gives to the programme of technical assistance of IMO is therefore of special significance to developing countries, and any action taken by the General Assembly to maintain and increase that support will be greatly appreciated by my country.

83. This year and next, we in Mauritius are organizing a series of activities to mark the one-hundred-and-fiftieth anniversary of the abolition of slavery and of the beginning of Indian immigration. We are confident that the Assembly will wish without hesitation to acknowledge the contributions of those innumerable men, women and children to the struggle for freedom and dignity and, at the same time, at the cost of their sweat, tears and tribulations, to the

prosperity and wealth of the then colonial Powers. Mauritius wishes to recommend strongly to the Assembly that we celebrate in a resounding fashion the abolition of slavery.

84. Let us pledge here and now our whole-hearted support to humanity, and let us work towards change and improvement in the quality of life for all peoples. Let us have a more humane world system. Let us resolve to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, be it political or economic.

85. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the Prime Minister, Minister of Defence and Internal Security, Minister of Reform Institutions and Minister of External Communications of Mauritius for his important statement.

86. Mr. JABANG (Gambia): Permit me at the outset, Sir, to extend to you the warm congratulations of the entire Gambian delegation on your unanimous election to the high office of President of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. It is for us a source of immense satisfaction and pride to see the presidency of the Assembly entrusted to a son of Africa as distinguished as yourself and representing the sister republic of Zambia, with which my country enjoys the most warm and friendly relations and whose commitment to the principles and objectives of the United Nations is exemplary. Your own broad international experience and proven diplomatic skills enjoy the highest respect—nowhere more so than here in New York, where you have distinguished yourself in your dual capacity as representative of your country to the United Nations and as President of the United Nations Council for Namibia. I place absolute confidence in your ability to guide the deliberations of this important session to a successful conclusion and wish to assure you in this regard that you may count at all times upon the full co-operation of the Gambian delegation.

87. I also wish to pay a tribute to your able predecessor, Mr. Jorge Illueca, of Panama, who presided with admirable skill over the proceedings of the thirty-eighth session. There can be no more eloquent testimony to his statesmanship and political acumen than his elevation earlier this year to the presidency of the Republic of Panama.

88. I also wish to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General for the untiring efforts which he has continued to exert in pursuit of the objectives of the Organization. He has, moreover, taken a particular interest in the problems of Africa. This was exemplified by the special initiative which he launched earlier this year in response to the economic and social crisis afflicting our continent.

89. Finally, I take great pleasure in congratulating the Government and people of Brunei Darussalam upon their accession to independence, and in welcoming the recent admission of that country as the 159th Member State of the Organization.

90. Four decades have now elapsed since the genesis of the United Nations at the Dumbarton Oaks Conference in Washington, D.C. Few, if any, will disagree that the intervening years have witnessed tremendous progress in terms of both the establishment and development of the Organization and the progressive universalization of its membership. However, as we look forward to the International Year of Peace, which will be marked by the fortieth session of the General Assembly, the moment is propitious for a review of the Organization's record in terms of the principles and objectives set out in the Charter.

91. Such an exercise provides few grounds for complacency. The dismal state of relations between the super-Powers has spurred on the already frenzied arms race, thereby heightening international tension and exposing the entire planet to the constant threat of an all-engulfing nuclear apocalypse. In international relations, meanwhile, the peaceful settlement of disputes remains the exception rather than the norm. As a result, while we may have been spared a direct military confrontation between the most powerful nations, regional conflicts often of considerable ferocity darken the horizon on every continent. In the area of fundamental freedoms, to which my Government attaches the highest importance, the most basic human rights remain more honoured in their violation than in their observance. And, notwithstanding the impressive advances that man's creative genius has continued to achieve in the field of science and technology, poverty, hunger and disease remain the miserable lot of the overwhelming majority of the Earth's inhabitants.

92. These are the principal symptoms of the crisis of multilateralism addressed by the Secretary-General in his report on the work of the Organization [*A/39/1*]. There can be no more graphic illustration of this disturbing phenomenon than the deteriorating situation in South Africa. There, a racist minority régime, representing the very antithesis of the principles and objectives enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, has continued its ruthless and systematic oppression of the majority non-white population.

93. A year ago, the racist régime adopted a series of so-called constitutional reforms aimed in reality at entrenching white supremacy at home while at the same time rehabilitating Pretoria's pariah image abroad. Although cautious support was expressed by a small number of South Africa's traditional partners, those constitutional manoeuvres were immediately and categorically rejected by the General Assembly. Disregarding this almost unanimous verdict, South Africa proceeded last August to organize sham elections for seats in the Asian and Coloured chambers of its new tricameral Parliament. Appropriately, this electoral farce was condemned as null and void by both the General Assembly and the Security Council. Any residual doubts regarding Pretoria's real intentions will have been firmly dispelled both by the climate of harassment and intimidation in which the so-called elections were conducted and by the vicious repression which continues to be unleashed systematically against any opposition to the new constitutional dispensations.

94. The Assembly has been seized of Pretoria's *apartheid* policies since its inaugural session, some 40 years ago. Evidently, more forceful measures are now called for to ensure the elimination of this barbarous and inhuman system, which my delegation unreservedly condemns. At the same time, I wish to reaffirm my Government's total support for the heroic struggle for liberation being waged by the African National Congress of South Africa and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania.

95. My Government is no less preoccupied by the situation in the Territory of Namibia, which has now endured 100 uninterrupted years of foreign occupation and colonial domination. Although the adoption

in 1978 of the United Nations plan for Namibia appeared to portend an early end to South Africa's illegal occupation, the racist régime has since then invented one pretext after another for delaying its withdrawal from the Territory.

96. In the first quarter of this year, we witnessed certain developments in the southern African subregion which were hailed in some quarters as a diplomatic watershed heralding an early transition to independence in Namibia. Predictably, such optimism has proved unwarranted, for Namibia remains under the oppressive yoke of South Africa's occupation. Meanwhile, the racist régime has formally reaffirmed its commitment to the principle of "linkage", which was categorically rejected by the Security Council in its resolution 539 (1983). This situation represents a brazen affront to the authority of the United Nations and is clearly unacceptable. Moreover, as past experience has demonstrated, it poses a grave threat to the security and stability of the entire subregion. South Africa's recalcitrance must therefore be met with appropriately firm action to compel it to withdraw from the Territory, thus enabling the Namibian people, under the dynamic leadership of SWAPO, to exercise freely their inalienable right to self-determination.

97. In addition to the critical situation in southern Africa, the unity and security of the continent remain threatened by the persistence of a number of other regional disputes. With regard to the situation in Western Sahara, my Government deplores the continued conflict over the issue of self-determination in that Territory. It is our view that the settlement of this dispute can and must be brought about within the framework of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, whose resolution AHG/Res. 104 (XIX)[2] has already provided the outlines of a negotiated settlement.

98. With regard to the question of Chad, the Gambia has followed with deep dismay the tragic fratricidal conflict which has denied peace and stability to the people of this founder member State of the Organization of African Unity [*OAU*] since their attainment of independence. My Government fervently hopes, therefore, that recent developments regarding the withdrawal of external forces will contribute to restoring the unity and territorial integrity of the sovereign Republic of Chad.

99. The highly charged situation in the Middle East represents another issue of grave concern to my Government. Here, the achievement of regional peace and stability remains effectively precluded by the continued frustration of the legitimate nationalist aspirations of the Palestinian people. In the West Bank and Gaza, which represent the last vestiges of the Palestinian State originally envisaged by the General Assembly under its resolution 181 (II), the Arab population continues to endure the rigours of Israeli occupation. In this regard, my Government deplores the illegal settlements policy and condemns, in particular, the organized terrorist activities of Jewish colonists.

100. Meanwhile, Israel's expansionist ambitions remain apparently limitless. In addition to the West Bank and Gaza, it continues illegally to occupy the Syrian Golan Heights. At the same time, it has, with equal disregard for international law, occupied fully one third of Lebanon's sovereign territory for over 20 months. At its thirty-eighth session, the Assembly endorsed the call for an international peace conference to be attended by the various parties to the Arab-Israeli conflict, including, *inter alia*, the authentic representative of the Palestinian people, the PLO. The Gambia is firmly convinced that such a conference represents the only prospect of securing the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people and restoring peace and security to this troubled area.

101. In the eastern Mediterranean, meanwhile, political normalcy has continued to elude the island of Cyprus, with which the Gambia enjoys close ties within the framework of the Commonwealth and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. We were therefore disappointed by the breakdown in August last year of the intercommunal talks, and by subsequent unilateral moves regarding the status of the northern portion of the island. However, my Government has noted with appreciation the recent resumption, under the auspices of the Secretary-General, of proximity talks between the representatives of both the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities. We fully support the search for a political solution based on a bizonal, bicommunal federation, which alone can satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the island's two communities.

102. Elsewhere in the Middle East, the unresolved hostilities in the Persian Gulf, which have now entered their fifth year, continue to provoke the concern of the international community. The Gambia is deeply saddened by this tragic conflict which has pitted against each other two sister Islamic States with which we share the warmest cultural affinities. In addition to the enormous human and material costs, the continuing hostilities represent a grave and pressing danger to international peace and security.

103. Earlier this year, the President of the Gambia, Elhaji Sir Dawda Kairaba Jawara, acceded to the chairmanship of the Peace Committee of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, of which my Government has been an active member since 1981. We have since redoubled our efforts in the search for a negotiated settlement. I wish at this point to appeal to the two parties to continue to co-operate fully with the Islamic Peace Committee in order to permit the restoration of lasting peace and stability to this troubled region.

104. I now turn to the completely unacceptable situation which continues to prevail in Afghanistan, almost six years after the invasion of that non-aligned nation. At its thirty-eighth session, the General Assembly adopted, by a majority even more overwhelming than in previous years, resolution 38/29, which reiterated the call of the community of nations for the immediate withdrawal of foreign troops. Not only have the terms of that resolution been disregarded, but the military occupation of Afghanistan has actually intensified. This was illustrated with ferocious clarity by the massive onslaughts this year in the Panjshir and Shomali valleys, in which thousands of civilians were killed, maimed or displaced.

105. In recent months, moreover, the army of occupation has expanded the scope of its bloodthirsty activities beyond the territorial limits of Afghanistan, resorting with increasing frequency to attacks upon the territory of the sovereign republic of Pakistan, which already bears the brunt of the refugee problem emanating from this conflict. The Gambia deeply deplores this ominous trend. At the same time, we wish to pay tribute to the Special Representative of

the Secretary-General for Afghanistan, Under-Secretary-General Mr. Diego Cordovez, whose indefatigable mediation efforts we continue to follow with the closest interest.

106. In South-East Asia, the situation in Kampuchea remains equally disturbing. Here, too, the illegal presence of foreign troops has transformed a large section of the population into refugees. This has placed an intolerable burden upon neighbouring countries of first asylum, particularly Thailand. Meanwhile, the serious danger to international peace and security posed by this situation has been demonstrated by the repeated eruption of hostilities along the Thai-Kampuchean border. My Government is of the view that the normalization of this unacceptably volatile situation demands the complete withdrawal of all foreign forces, in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the Assembly, thus permitting the Khmer people to determine their own future, through free and fair elections.

107. On the Korean peninsula, the situation of the divided people of Korea is still a tragic reality. My country reaffirms its position that the reunification of the two Koreas can be achieved only through peaceful and genuine dialogue between the two parties, without external intervention. With the establishment of meaningful dialogue aimed at fostering mutual confidence and improved relations, the cause of the peaceful reunification of the Korean people would be greatly enhanced and tension eliminated from the peninsula.

108. In Central America, meanwhile, peace and stability remain gravely threatened by the acute tension prevailing in the isthmus. It is the hope of my delegation that a negotiated settlement of the current disputes can be found within the framework of the regional Contadora initiative.

109. These are some of the more pressing political issues confronting the international community. In addition, however, the Assembly will have to address itself to a host of economic problems which pose no less of a threat to world order, for, although there is now indisputable evidence in the industrialized countries of the North, at least, that the recession is finally drawing to a close, this welcome recovery is unlikely in the present circumstances to be translated into improved living conditions in the developing countries of the South.

110. Already crippled by the soaring energy costs of the last decade, these countries are now having to grapple with the problem of foreign debt, which, in this period of unprecedentedly high interest rates and currency fluctuations, is further devastating their fragile economies. As a result of this crisis, developing countries have had to adopt severe retrenchment policies, which have necessitated the reduction of social programmes in such essential areas as health, education and housing.

111. On the African continent, this alarming situation has been further aggravated by the twin ravages of drought and desertification, which now afflict some 24 of our countries. This scourge has drastically reduced agricultural production throughout the region, resulting in a significant decline in export earnings, while at the same time precipitating a widespread food emergency. Paradoxically, therefore, African countries have become net importers of food at a time when their foreign reserve position is at its weakest. Our Governments, of course, realize that the primary responsibility for improving our economies rests with ourselves. It is for this reason that we in the Gambia have recently embarked upon certain internal adjustment measures, while continuing to participate at the subregional level in such collective development programmes as those of the Permanent Inter-State Committee on Drought Control in the Sahel and the Organization for the Development of the Gambia River Basin.

112. These vigorous efforts, however, need to be complemented by international assistance and co-operation. Appropriately, international attention has been focused upon the economic and social crisis in Africa since the launching in February of the Secretary-General's timely initiative [*see A/39/594*],[3] of which Africa remains deeply appreciative. At the same time, we are grateful for the high priority the international community has continued to accord to this crisis, as exemplified in the statements of solidarity and support emanating from the London Economic Summit and the more recent IMF-World Bank meeting in Washington. Indeed, the decision taken by the Assembly upon the initiative of our confederal partner, the sister republic of Senegal, to inscribe on its agenda the question of "Countries stricken by desertification and drought" [*item 141*] is a further manifestation of this encouraging trend.

113. In this connection, I am pleased to announce that a three-day round-table conference is scheduled to meet at Banjul from 28 to 30 November 1984, under the auspices of the United Nations. Therefore, I avail myself of this opportunity to renew our invitation to the international donor countries, as well as international organizations and agencies concerned with development, and to appeal for generous assistance for the rehabilitation and reconstruction of the Gambia. It is our ardent hope that the conference will effectively address the medium-term and long-term economic needs of the Gambia, particularly in the sectors of agriculture, transport and communications, and health.

114. I have dwelt at some length upon the particular concerns of my own country with regard to international economic relations. Our national situation, however, is essentially a microcosm of the economic circumstances of the developing world in general. Concerted international action is, therefore, required to redress the structural imbalances that this generalized pattern clearly reflects. For several years, developing countries have called in vain for the launching of a comprehensive North-South dialogue on the fundamental issues in international economic relations. They have called, in particular, for more equitable terms of trade, increased financial resources for development and a restructuring of the international monetary system, all within the context of a new international economic order. The Gambia remains committed to the early launching of the related global negotiations.

115. This is the background against which the thirty-ninth session is convening. As custodians of the hopes and aspirations of mankind for peace and social justice, we have the task of translating these ideals into reality. These important responsibilities have assumed a vital urgency at a time of increasing uncertainty for the majority of the human race. I speak of those who live under the threat of war and persecution, of those who languish under the spectre of starvation and disease and of those who continue to eke out a miserable existence unfit for human

beings. Let us, therefore, through collective action, rededicate ourselves to the lofty ideals and principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, in order to ensure the continued peace and progress of all our peoples.

116. Mr. MNISI (Swaziland): It is with pride and a sense of profound gratitude, Sir, that I have the honour, on behalf of the delegation of Swaziland, to address the Assembly during the presidency of a man who not only hails from our part of the world but is a true son of Africa. Your beloved country, Zambia, and the Kingdom of Swaziland share the best of relations in harmony with our common historic and cultural heritage. As Members of the United Nations, members of the OAU, of the Commonwealth and of non-aligned organizations, our sister nation States continue to share identical views and aspirations in the international arena. We are both founding member nations of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference, a united group of southern African States that seek to widen the scope of their economic development.

117. Congratulations, Sir. Your election to the high post of President of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly is clear testimony to your outstanding ability, pleasant personality and diplomatic skills. The delegation of Swaziland is convinced that under your stewardship the proceedings of the General Assembly will be conducted in a constructive manner, and wishes to assure you of its wholehearted co-operation.

118. I should also like to take this opportunity to express our warm appreciation to your predecessor, Mr. Jorge Illueca, of Panama, who presided over the deliberations of the thirty-eighth session with skill and competence.

119. Let me also convey my delegation's appreciation to the Secretary-General and the entire staff of the United Nations for the excellent work they continue to render the international community through the United Nations system in the maintenance of global peace and security.

120. My delegation is pleased to welcome into this great family of nations the newly independent State of Brunei Darussalam. We look forward to its contributing to the success of the Organization.

121. Today we live in an unstable world, a world threatened by all kinds of conflicts, whether inter-State or global. It is therefore incumbent upon us as Member States of the United Nations to uphold the Charter and to implement its provisions with utmost care. Peace and security seem to be illusive nowadays. Many nations tend to be indifferent to General Assembly and Security Council resolutions. Should such a trend persist, the world will soon find itself in Armageddon, and peaceful co-existence and good-neighbourliness will be things of the past.

122. The world is in dire need of complete disarmament. The accumulation of dangerous weapons for mass destruction by both large and small nations threatens the very existence of humanity. While many people are concerned more about a nuclear holocaust of some sort, let us remember that many of the wars fought in the past, and those that are being waged today, have resulted in the loss of millions of lives by the use of conventional weapons.

123. It is common to hear complaints about the inability of the United Nations to deal with armed conflicts around the world. Indeed, such criticism is disquieting, and it is the duty of all Member States of this Organization to abide by the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and to implement the General Assembly and Security Council resolutions without fail. The United Nations is not a world parliament. It does not enact laws but recommends appropriate action by means of resolutions. Thus, peace and security can be upheld only if Member States respect such recommendations.

124. Over the years, we have witnessed gross violations of the Charter, particularly of Article 2, paragraph 4. Interference in the internal affairs of others runs counter to civilized conduct and is a direct cause of tension around the world. My delegation hopes that those nations that have fallen into the temptation of not respecting the Charter will reconsider, for the sake of international peace and security.

125. Article 1, paragraph 3 of the Charter of the United Nations states:

> "To achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion".

126. Respect for human rights is of cardinal importance in the world. It is unfortunate that we still learn of torture, disappearances and wanton killings in some parts of the world. The international community has a fundamental duty to encourage respect for human rights and freedoms. Practices such as racism and racial discrimination, *apartheid*, exploitation of child labour and the like are all violations of human rights which are to be condemned and discouraged.

127. Efforts to restructure the international economic order continue to be thwarted by theories tending to favour the haves and not the have-nots. Many of the industrialized countries continue to hide behind economic theories and monetary policies which place very little or no value on the lives of other people.

128. My delegation views with intense shock the fact that in our present world many millions of people in Asia, Africa and Latin America continue to live in abject poverty, with unemployment and mass starvation. The problem of economic subservience is not the only humiliating constraint which faces the developing nations.

129. As a member of the OAU and of the United Nations, my delegation strongly believes that the harmonious development of the African continent and its bargaining power would be greatly enhanced by closer economic co-operation and development between African States and the rest of the third world countries, particularly in the fields of trade, industry, agriculture and natural resources. My country therefore welcomed the Treaty establishing the Preferential Trade Area for eastern and southern African countries, negotiated under the auspices of ECA.

130. Allow my delegation to place on record the mention of one of our vital contemporary economic institutions in Africa, the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference. The international community should not lose sight of its importance. It is an expression, in practical terms, of the political will of the Governments and peoples of the nine member States to improve their development and eventually assert their economic independence. It is through the Conference that we shall be able to

dictate the course of our socio-economic development on the basis of the profound knowledge of our needs and actual conditions and inspired by our own ethics of development.

131. It may well be said that over the past three years our country has suffered the worst economic set-backs in history as a result of the years of severe drought and a catastrophic cyclone, Domoina, evidence of which is well documented in a recent United Nations study dated 17 August 1984. In that report, the Secretary-General observed that:

> "The total losses to the Swazi economy represent an amount equivalent to 45 per cent of total annual government expenditure or 12 per cent of the country's gross domestic product. This is a major set-back to Swaziland after many years of substantial developmental progress and represents a burden that in proportional terms would jeopardize the growth of even the most developed country."[4]

132. These two calamities left an indelible mark of devastation on our fragile economy, to say nothing of all the great works of post-independence Swaziland that were completely washed away in less than three days of heavy rainfall—our modern, technologically constructed roads and bridges, houses, schools, offices and intensive agriculture networks, and to say nothing of the loss of precious human lives and of livestock. Economic experts have also stated that over $100 million will be needed for the rehabilitation and reconstruction of our roads and bridges that were badly damaged by cyclone Domoina.

133. On the other hand, the disastrous situation of my country's economy was compounded when Swaziland was inundated with an unprecedented influx of refugees early this year. It is a fact that maintenance of the refugees places a heavy burden on the country's resources, already exhausted by years of severe drought and by cyclone Domoina.

134. However, these multiple problems have not deterred the Kingdom of Swaziland from honouring its international obligations under the Charter of the United Nations and the Convention relating to the Status of Refugees,[5] for we are still committed to offering all possible humanitarian assistance to all genuine refugees. We are also grateful to the United Nations and other organs that continue rendering assistance to the fragile economy of Swaziland.

135. It is now a known fact that it was not only Swaziland that sustained drought conditions recently, but 23 countries of Africa. This has led to acute shortages of food and medicines, which have resulted in the deaths of millions of people, more especially children and the elderly. A good number of countries have come to the aid of Africa, and we thank them for their efforts. However, the problem is far from being solved. My delegation urges those that have food and money to lend a helping hand. The countries affected are trying their best to improve their economies, difficult as that is. As time goes on, we hope to be in a position to stand on our own feet and to feed our people.

136. Permit my delegation to reaffirm my Government's policy, the modern foundations of which were laid down by our late beloved King Sobhuza II. Our policy is based on concrete factors of pragmatism rather than narrow political and ideological expediency. The Government of the Kingdom of Swaziland remains committed to the sacred principles enshrined in the charter of the OAU and the Charter of the United Nations respected by the non-aligned countries, particularly the principles concerning the self-determination and independence of peoples under colonial rule and all other forms of oppression. We wish to reiterate Swaziland's commitment to the settlement of disputes by peaceful negotiation and non-use of force as wisely advocated by our late King. Thus, we salute the salient features of Chapter VI, in particular Article 33, of the Charter of the United Nations which advocate the pacific settlement of disputes.

137. Therefore, my Government is inspired by the noble principles of peace, democracy, freedom and justice. It is my Government's objective to enhance the economic and social welfare of our people, in unity, freedom and love for one another. Our people are resolved to ensure that our generation enjoys the fruits of peace, unity and stability while respecting the dignity and freedom of the individual.

138. My delegation wishes to state that, as a peace-loving nation, the Kingdom of Swaziland is greatly perturbed by the major conflicts that characterize the contemporary international political scene.

139. My country views with great alarm the continued conflicts in the Middle East. We recognize the difficulties in attaining international peace and security, and wish to appeal to the conflicting parties to exercise both moral and political constraint.

140. My delegation is very much concerned about Lebanon. We commend the people of Lebanon for their untiring efforts towards the continuation of their socio-economic and political development. My delegation remains firmly convinced that peace in Lebanon can be brought about only through the complete withdrawal of all foreign forces from its territory. Only then will the Lebanese be in control of their own destiny.

141. The ongoing war in the Persian Gulf is also a cause of great concern to the international community. My delegation humbly urges Iran and Iraq to exercise moral restraint and resolve their differences through peaceful contacts. My country calls upon Member States of that region to adhere to Article 2, paragraph 3, of the Charter of the United Nations, in order to safeguard international peace, security and justice.

142. In pursuance of world peace and security, it is important that we refer to the sensitive political situation that continues to divide North and South Korea. My delegation submits that the reunification of Korea is a matter to be decided by the Koreans themselves, in direct inter-Korean negotiations. It remains for the United Nations to continue to encourage the resumption of those talks without preconditions or external interference.

143. With regard to the conflicts in South-East Asia and South-West Asia, the Kingdom of Swaziland firmly supports the urgent call for all States concerned to exercise both political and moral restraint to avoid any further endangerment of peace and security in that troubled region. We call for respect for national sovereignty and territorial integrity and for non-interference in the internal affairs of States. Above all, we are convinced of the urgent need to bring about a relaxation of tensions through a solution providing for the withdrawal of all foreign forces from that region.

144. My delegation fully shares the grave concern over the unresolved problems and continuing con-

flicts in Latin America and the Caribbean. Further, we make an appeal to the parties involved to respect the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. Above all, it should be clearly noted that history shows that violence, apart from being a true exercise in self-destruction, has never profited anybody. We welcome the efforts of the Contadora Group in seeking a permanent solution to these problems.

145. The situation prevailing in Africa, particularly in those areas which are of major concern to the OAU, continues to disturb us profoundly. My Government is deeply perturbed by the conflicts in Chad and Western Sahara. We share the agony of our brothers and sisters who continue to suffer the terrible scourge of the bitter conflict. Above all, the Kingdom of Swaziland wishes to commend the good efforts of the OAU and the international community in their endeavours to find a genuine and permanent solution. We also wish to add our voice to those that have requested all the conflicting parties to exercise both moral and political restraint, for violence has never served as a basis for the peace and security of nations.

146. Regarding the thorny problem of the serious contention prevailing in southern Africa, my delegation wishes to reaffirm its known policy based on the Kingdom of Swaziland's commitment to the noble principles and objectives of self-determination, national independence and majority rule for all peoples.

147. My delegation wishes to thank and congratulate the Secretary-General, the front-line States and all others concerned for their relentless efforts in seeking a peaceful solution of the Namibian question. We stand committed to urgent implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) concerning the independence of Namibia.

148. The position of my country regarding the *apartheid* policies of the Government of South Africa remains unchanged. My delegation has stated our stand in previous years, and we continue to reiterate our Government's position that the Kingdom of Swaziland is unswervingly committed to the noble principles of non-racial democracy, non-alignment and complete respect for human dignity, justice and peaceful coexistence with all.

149. Once again, it is my country's humble submission to the Assembly that the problem in South Africa can be solved only if all concerned, irrespective of the colour of their skins, their creeds or their ideological affiliations, will come to the negotiating table. Indeed, my country has deep-rooted faith in and commitment to the mission of peace, and adheres firmly to Article 1, paragraphs 2 and 3, of the Charter of the United Nations.

150. We appreciate the efforts of the United Nations and the international community, the concern they show with regard to the problems of southern Africa and their clear understanding of the major handicaps facing the independent States which are neighbours of South Africa.

151. The Government of the Kingdom of Swaziland welcomes the expression of the need to relax the tension between the two super-Powers and we support the call to resume these vital negotiations.

152. In conclusion, my delegation wishes to reaffirm the Kingdom of Swaziland's trust and uncompromising faith in the United Nations. It is our sincerest belief that the United Nations remains the only apposite and appropriate international forum for finding solutions to major problems that beset contemporary international relations. It is therefore incumbent upon all of us as Member States to renew our commitment to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

The meeting rose at 12.40 p.m.

NOTES

[1] United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 402, No. 5778.

[2] A/38/312, annex.

[3] See also E/1984/68.

[4] E/1984/135/Add.1, para. 27.

[5] Signed at Geneva on 28 July 1951. United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 189, No. 2545.

United Nations
GENERAL ASSEMBLY
THIRTY-NINTH SESSION
Official Records

31st
PLENARY MEETING

Thursday, 11 October 1984,
at 3.20 p.m.

NEW YORK

President: Mr. Paul J. F. LUSAKA (Zambia).

In the absence of the President, Mr. Gumucio Granier (Bolivia), Vice President, took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*concluded*)

1. Mr. NGUEMA ONGUENE (Equatorial Guinea) (*interpretation from Spanish*): It is a great honour for me to address the General Assembly. We are convinced that the work of this session will be crowned with success and that the statements of the representatives of the various Member States of the Organization and the conclusions and recommendations arrived at on the items on the agenda will be governed by reason and justice.

2. As once again we begin our work, I should like to convey the sincere good wishes of Mr. Obiang Nguema Mbasogo, the President of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea, for harmonious progress in the work of this session of the General Assembly and for success in the adoption of resolutions and decisions at the end of our work. We express the hope that those resolutions and decisions will become a reality and will not result in mere rhetorical or sterile expressions of ideals which, far from proving viable, fair and equitable, will only give rise to conflicts, worsen divisions and promote extremism, in complete contradiction of the spirit of the Charter signed at San Francisco.

3. Equatorial Guinea, my country, believes that it is essential to increase efforts to promote better relations and respect for the equality of all peoples in the world, to guarantee the sacred principles of the Charter of the United Nations and to achieve its goals. The prestige and the authority of the United Nations must be strengthened. This is particularly necessary at the present time when dialogue is becoming increasingly difficult and force is likely to be used because of the juxtaposition of the interests at stake.

4. The unanimous election of Mr. Lusaka as President of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly is not only a source of pride and satisfaction for Equatorial Guinea but also a recognition of the determination of the country which he represents, Zambia, to remain faithful to the ideals of peace, justice and freedom and to maintain the dignity of man, despite temporary setbacks and difficulties. We are therefore convinced that with his qualities, professional experience and dedication he will fulfil the responsibility of guiding the destiny of this session in a most exemplary manner.

5. Similarly, we express our appreciation and thanks to his predecessor, Mr. Jorge Illueca, who, while carrying out his important and diverse functions as Head of State of Panama, guided the work of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly with outstanding competence and skill.

6. The report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization [*A/39/1*] presents a clear and complete description of the complexity of the problems facing the world. It merits our deep appreciation and it can assist us in examining the items of the agenda with which we have to deal. We should like to express our appreciation and thanks to the Secretary-General for the valuable work that he is doing as the head of the Organization. We wish him every success in the difficult but highly honourable task entrusted to him in bringing about a better world.

7. The admission of a new Member to the United Nations family has always been a source of happiness for my delegation. The recent admission of the State of Brunei Darussalam as the 159th Member of the United Nations gives us great satisfaction since this represents, among other things, a practical step towards the universality of the United Nations. We welcome and congratulate that new Member and look forward to its contribution to the maintenance of international peace and security and the establishment of fruitful co-operation in building an empire of justice for the protection and well-being of peoples.

8. As I stated from this rostrum when I spoke at the 30th meeting of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly, the Government of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea, following the changes which took place in the country in August 1979, has successfully carried out the difficult but noble task of establishing a democratic system. This has led to the effective establishment of executive, judicial and legislative systems in keeping with our constitution. Notable progress has been made in the social and political life of the country, which is reflected in the peace and tranquillity which prevails.

9. Unfortunately, notwithstanding the unceasing efforts of the Government, the economic situation of my country, which is purely the result of the situation we inherited from the previous period and the general world economic crisis, is beset by many difficulties which have yet to be overcome. Equatorial Guinea, one of the least developed countries, is in a state of devastation and a direct victim of the most harmful effects of the world crisis.

10. Nevertheless, my Government has worked to lay solid foundations for harmonious economic development, to rehabilitate our country and to bring about development in general. Negotiations at the subregional level in Central Africa led to Equatorial

Guinea's joining of the Central African Customs and Economic Union during the meeting of the Council of Heads of State of that organization held at Bangui in December 1983. Similarly, on 27 August this year, the President of the Republic signed the treaty admitting Equatorial Guinea to the Bank of Central African States. We believe that our national endeavours will thus become a part of the endeavour of the subregion to combat the underdevelopment, hunger and poverty which afflict our peoples.

11. In the context of this effort to bring about rehabilitation and development in my country, I should like to take this opportunity to express on behalf of my Government appreciation for the assistance which friendly countries and international bodies have constantly provided to the Republic of Equatorial Guinea since 3 August 1979. Nevertheless, given the long road before us, we trust and hope that this assistance will be expanded and further diversified on the basis of General Assembly resolution 38/224 of 20 December 1983.

12. On the eve of the fortieth anniversary of the Organization, the economic situation of the overwhelming majority of Member States in this great family is becoming increas- ingly critical and the possibility of overcoming this crisis seems increasingly remote, while the instability which currently characterizes international relations continues. Although some improvements have been made on the political, social and cultural levels, the influence of ideological blocs, so-called strategic interests, and selective protection of human rights, based on criteria which do not take into account the special characteristics of countries and peoples, lead us to conclude that, generally speaking, negotiations to remedy current inequalities and imbalances are deadlocked.

13. The Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, meeting at Lagos in 1980, the Political Declaration adopted by the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi in 1983, the intense activity by the Group of 77, the recent proposals of the 11 Latin American countries to solve their external debt problems—to mention only a few—are initiatives which should be matched by the developed countries, which should co-operate to ensure a fair exchange between North and South. We must accept the reality that growth and stability in the North and accelerated development in the South are interrelated. The fortieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations, if the wealthy countries were to see the light, could be remembered as the anniversary that saw the beginning of a new stage of progress towards a better world.

14. The worsening of the present international economic crisis emphasizes the vital need to apply the principles of the Charter of the United Nations in relations between States, taking into account the fact of interdependence regarding trade. The constantly increasing deficits in the balance of payments of underdeveloped countries and their growing foreign debt must be compensated by fair prices for the raw materials they produce and the establishment of appropriate measures to make possible not just increased wealth for rich countries but also a considerable improvement in the economic conditions of poor nations.

15. We hope that the economic resolutions and recommendations adopted by the General Assembly at the present session will not simply confirm the need for the developed countries to contribute to the economic recovery of the poor countries in general, but will result in a practical, positive reaction in the form of contributions to this end. We also hope that international financial organizations will set an example by contributing to the attainment of these objectives.

16. In contradiction to the provisions of the Charter, the progress in science and technology achieved by some Member States is used against the interests of peace and international security under the pretext of protecting their interests. Such progress is being used even in the pursuit of ways to exterminate mankind. While Equatorial Guinea shares the view that the future of mankind is the responsibility of all countries, the great Powers, judging by their own declarations, have primary responsibility in this area. The negotiations at Geneva should be resumed and should be used to reduce geographical distances and ideological differences. The political will of States should be brought into harmony with the higher interests of mankind on questions which are already accepted by a consensus and which we cannot ignore.

17. Considerable financial resources go to produce and develop weapons of all kinds. Millions of human beings in various parts of the world—Africa, Asia and Latin America—are being wiped out by drought, hunger, poverty and disease, as well as by natural disasters of atmospheric origin which also destroy considerable natural resources. This happened in my own country recently. We believe that these ills are so serious that scientific, technological and financial resources must be made available to check them. We appeal for international solidarity for the solution of the problem of drought, with the provision of special, immediate assistance to the countries which are the victims of this unprecedented horror.

18. While those with great stockpiles of armaments continue to arm themselves for defensive purposes, supposedly against the threat of war, weak countries also have the right to life. Thus it is necessary, in theory and in practice, to help to wind down the arms race, with the corresponding reduction in military expenditures, and to struggle to eliminate international mercenarism and terrorism, which merely contribute to the destruction of the economic and political equilibrium of independent countries.

19. The proliferation of nuclear weapons and the stepping up of the production of other kinds of weapons of mass destruction, allegedly for reasons of security and self-protection, only help to make more probable the victory of the ills afflicting the poor countries: hunger, poverty and disease. We have heard so many ringing declarations on disarmament, calling for a freeze, the prohibition and reduction of nuclear weapons, a ban on the testing, production and use of nuclear weapons and chemical and biological weapons, the prevention of nuclear confrontation and all the other proposals which we have been hearing in the General Assembly over the last few years. It is high time that these became reality; only then shall we feel protected and only then will world peace and security become a reality.

20. Equatorial Guinea is gravely concerned by the present situation in which men, women and children in all countries of the third world are the innocent

victims of the misapplication and faulty channelling of the abundant resources available in the most developed countries, which increases dependence and deprivation of the poor countries. We need relevant programmes and projects for hygiene, housing and foodstuff production to meet the basic requirements of the neediest populations.

Mr. Lusaka (Zambia) took the Chair.

21. It is not unduly optimistic to acknowledge the great work carried out by the United Nations in its almost 40 years of existence, nor to emphasize that certain items on its agenda minimize the importance and value of its activities. Now that *apartheid* South Africa is showing its true colours, the independence of Namibia recedes further into the distance. This is in flagrant violation of many General Assembly and Security Council resolutions and outright contempt for international public opinion.

22. We reiterate our position that South Africa's presence in Namibia is illegal and must be ended. We renew our support for the South West Africa People's Organization [*SWAPO*] and reaffirm that conditions and circumstances outside the Territory of Namibia should not affect or delay the process of its independence.

23. It is surprising to observe that, although every State Member of the United Nations agrees on the need to maintain international peace and security, this unanimity is not reflected in the implementation of the relevant resolutions. In South Africa, the black majority continues to suffer the effects of the policy of *apartheid*. This system that has been imposed on the majority is abhorred by all, but many appear to be selective in condemning it, and various economic, strategic and ideological interests seem to be in conflict with the efforts to eradicate it. That makes it all the harder to achieve the great objective of the protection and defence of fundamental human rights and freedoms. We must reflect seriously on this and, even though it may be difficult, accept the fact that nature itself calls for recognition of the right of all people to enjoy equal rights, and hence the abolition of *apartheid* must be brought about.

24. The Republic of Equatorial Guinea hopes that African wisdom and the spirit of solidarity will lay the foundation so that the various Governments now controlling the destiny of the continent will avoid any situation that could lead to the collapse of the Organization of African Unity. In this connection, we welcome any peaceful and constructive initiative for resolving the conflicts in Chad and Western Sahara in accordance with the relevant resolutions of our Organization.

25. In the Middle East, Israel's occupation of Arab countries continues, and poverty, hunger and death remain common currency in Lebanon. On behalf of those innocent victims who fall day after day in that sorely afflicted area, we appeal to all parties involved in that painful and protracted conflict to end the tragedy, through the use of dialogue and negotiation, in a spirit free of pride and passion and on the basis of realism, recognizing the right of the Palestinian people to establish its own State in the region and the right of Israel to continue to exist within legal and secure borders, as well as Lebanon's recovery of its sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence.

26. We are disturbed at the tension prevailing in Central America. We urge all the parties involved to have recourse to dialogue to find solutions to the differences that have arisen, with strict respect for the right of peoples to determine the political and economic systems most in accordance with their national interests.

27. We support and encourage the efforts of the Contadora Group towards the peaceful and just settlement of the conflict in Central America, a region to which Equatorial Guinea is bound by historical and cultural ties. We hope that the Contadora Group will arrive at a comprehensive solution of the problem so as to bring about a restoration of overall peace and security in that region.

28. We reiterate our solidarity with the Argentine Republic with regard to its just and legitimate claim over the Malvinas Islands, and we hope there will be a resumption of and rapid progress in the negotiations with the United Kingdom in the spirit and the context of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

29. Kampuchea, a State Member of the Organization, continues to be the scene of violent acts because of the intervention of foreign forces in that country. We reiterate our support for and solidarity with a course of action guaranteeing the return of all Kampucheans who have sought refuge in neighbouring countries and the search for a peaceful solution ensuring respect for national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, not only of Kampuchea but of all the countries of the region. The relevant resolutions of the five past regular sessions of the General Assembly and the Declaration on Kampuchea[1] have laid the necessary foundations for a broad political settlement of the problem.

30. In Afghanistan, there are no signs that the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of that country are being preserved, in spite of the appeals by the international community to the effect that only the withdrawal of foreign forces from Afghanistan can guarantee the inalienable right of the Afghan people to determine the form of Government and political and economic system most in keeping with their interests, without outside interference or influence. Accordingly, the efforts of the Secretary-General to find a peaceful solution which could facilitate the return of Afghan refugees to their own country should receive support, so as to establish the necessary guidelines for the restoration of peace and tranquillity both in Afghanistan and in the neighbouring countries which are victims of the situation prevailing in South-West Asia.

31. The war between Iran and Iraq, brother countries and neighbours, continues to be a cause for considerable concern and anxiety for Equatorial Guinea as for the entire international community. This conflict has gone on for five years. Human lives have been sacrificed, and the results of the efforts of both countries for the reconstruction of their economies have been reduced to naught. This not only impedes the harmonious development of their populations but considerably affects international economic and commercial relations. From this rostrum, we appeal for political will by the Government of Iran and the Government of Iraq so that they may see reason and consider the right to life and the need to preserve human dignity, putting an end to the unjust war imposed on Iranians and Iraqis.

32. We note with consternation that the results hoped for concerning some questions that have been considered by the United Nations in past decades

have not been produced. A recent eloquent confirmation of this is the artificial division by outside forces that has been inflicted on the Republic of Cyprus—a sovereign, independent and non-aligned country and a Member of the United Nations. At a time when the international community is promoting the ideals of reunification of peoples divided by political and ideological interests, the partitioning of Cyprus cannot but undermine those ideals. Given this sad state of affairs, Equatorial Guinea appeals for efforts to preserve the unity of Cyprus and bring about harmony between the different Cypriot communities.

33. We call for the peaceful unification of the Korean peninsula and invite the leaders of the respective Governments to create the propitious conditions which would make possible the resumption of negotiations which, we hope, will conclude to the satisfaction of all the Korean people. Interested third countries should work to ensure the success of a process for peaceful reunification so that Korea can take within the concert of nations the place to which it is entitled.

34. Finally, we propose that consideration be given to taking up the observations and proposals of the Secretary-General in his report on the work of the Organization—his third—concerning the strengthening of the role of the Organization and the efficient and smooth functioning of its bodies and specialized agencies, with particular emphasis on those which are directly involved in the social, economic and cultural development and advancement of developing countries.

35. Mr. MOLISA (Vanuatu): On behalf of the Government and the people of Vanuatu, I congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the thirty-ninth session. Your election is a tribute to you and to your outstanding work as President of the United Nations Council for Namibia. It is also a most fitting tribute to the country you represent. Zambia and the other front-line States continue to set examples of patience, perseverance and strict adherence to high principles in the face of extreme and severe provocations. For this, the international community is grateful.

36. I also congratulate your predecessor, Mr. Jorge Illueca, of Panama, for the excellent manner in which he discharged his very difficult duties.

37. I extend warm congratulations to Brunei Darussalam, the newest Member of the United Nations. We are particularly proud to greet a neighbouring State as the Organization's 159th Member. We wish its people and its Government well and assure them of our continuing friendship, respect and co-operation.

38. As this is the first time I have had the privilege of representing my country here at the United Nations, I wish to add my voice to those who have already spoken in praise of the Secretary-General. In the days to come, all of us will need to draw even further on his experience and considerable diplomatic skills. I only hope that we will all heed the words of his report on the work of the Organization, which is very thorough, and exhibit the same devotion to duty and candour for which he is so well-known.

39. As we stand poised to enter the fifth decade since the end of the Second World War and the establishment of the Organization, we, the nations of the world, face new and unique challenges. In a sense, the problems we discuss here today are fundamentally the same problems which confronted earlier generations.

40. How will our children be educated, and with what values? How will all of the people of this globe be fed, clothed and housed, and at what cost? How will our elderly be cared for, and their knowledge and experience preserved for succeeding generations? How will the resources of our planet be gathered and distributed? How shall we view our neighbours and how shall we relate to them—those who are near as well as those who are far? How will we ensure that all men and women shall in their lifetimes enjoy justice, equality of opportunity, and the right to think and worship as they wish? How shall we assure all children from every corner of this earth that they have the right to dream the dreams of childhood—the dreams of happiness and of life? Finally, how shall we ensure the survival of this and succeeding generations?

41. These are rather simple, straightforward, timeless and universal questions. Far less simple, straightforward, timeless or universal are the answers or the various equations different nations utilize to arrive at their own answers.

42. The dramatic growth of the world's population, the increasing scarcity of some resources and the imperfect allocation of others, the short-sighted view of history that some people have, and the advent of modern technology have now complicated our search for solutions to mankind's ageless problems.

43. Some feel that they know all the answers and, in their arrogance, arrogate to themselves the role of purveyors of absolute truths. "Do as we say", they admonish us—but they certainly do not wish us to do as they do. Others believe that most of us do not even know what the questions are, let alone have the faintest idea of how to answer them. One arrogance is as bad as the other. Perhaps, of mankind's many shortcomings, arrogance and lack of humility are at once the worst and most obvious.

44. If arrogance is not such a prevalent flaw in international relations today, then why is it that the threat or use of force is still the corner-stone of the foreign policies of so many States? Large and medium-sized Powers, developed and developing countries, aligned and non-aligned States, east and west, north and south—with far too much frequency—see their respective military establishments as the ultimate instruments of their foreign and domestic policies.

45. The arts of peaceful advocacy and persuasion are too often forgotten or ignored. This is not a new problem, but, given our current level of knowledge and the current as well as the future technology of destruction, are these the values we wish to bestow upon our children? Have we not yet arrived at a higher level of civilization?

46. If arrogance is not such a prevalent flaw in international relations today, then why is it that the sincere and legitimate strivings of so many people are consistently cast in, and confused by, east-west contradictions and the power politics of the world's two super-Powers? Some who should know better even continue to insist that smaller nations must choose in which "bed to lie", as if there were no other choice but to belong in spirit, if not in fact, to one of the world's two great military and economic camps.

47. We, in Vanuatu, know better. Our political independence, our membership in the United Na-

tions, and our membership in the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries—all manifest our desire to belong to no one but ourselves. Having had the unique experience of having two colonial rulers with equal powers at the same time, our people are well versed in the perils of being anyone's proxy.

48. Our unusual colonial history as a condominium left us with a great appreciation for genuine non-alignment and considerable experience in its practice. Asking us to choose between our two colonial rulers would have been a useless exercise. How can one choose between waves in the ocean?

49. We did, however, develop at the same time an understanding of how vital it is to communicate, particularly when we speak different languages. How else are misunderstandings to be avoided and misconceptions corrected?

50. Today, more than ever before, the ability to communicate is vital to our survival as a species. It is unfortunate that we do not devote more of our energy to the communication of ideas—real ideas, and not just empty rhetoric.

51. Why cannot the world's two foremost military Powers set an example and speak to each other all the time and not just for the benefit of the television cameras? Why cannot these two Powers listen to each other as well? Why cannot they listen to the rest of us even some of the time? Are they so frightened by what we say? Are our ideas so dangerous that their military might, their wealth and their power cannot protect them? Is what we, the nations of the world, have to say so unworthy that it does not even deserve a hearing?

52. If both behave in the same manner towards the rest of us, then does it really matter which of them rules the world? Is ruling the world what each super-Power really wants? We think not. Each says publicly that this is what the other wants. But is that the truth? Is it a wilful distortion, or is it simply a major miscalculation? Who in his or her right mind would even want to rule this imperfect and complicated world? Who would want to assume that responsibility or bear that burden?

53. We believe that there are major contradictions between the world's two super-Powers, but that neither realistically harbours any illusions of ruling this entire planet. Each, of course, wishes to expand its sphere of influence and gain adherents to its way of life. In part, they see the world differently. We remember, however, that monarchists and republicans saw the world differently as recently as the last century.

54. Although today's super-Powers have some different values, they also have many similar values. Unfortunately, they seldom discuss the latter. They seem to prefer focusing on the former. Also unfortunate is the fact that each seeks national security through devices which actually help create international insecurity. Their competition is indeed frightening, but at times it has actually aided the process of human development. The post-Second-World-War decolonization process is a case in point. Their co-operation could, on balance, benefit us all, although there are also circumstances in which that co-operation can work to our collective detriment. Thus we have the paradox of the rivalry between these two giants and the paradox of the impact of that rivalry on the rest of the world. Let them compete if they must, but let the competition be peaceful and full of more sound and less fury.

55. Naturally, no sane person wants to see a military contest between these two giants. We would hope that each will pursue far gentler methods to demonstrate the professed superiority of its own social system. However, who among us can guarantee that this will be the case? Not even they can give us such assurances.

56. Anger, stress, frustration, paranoia, runaway technology, or just a plain and simple mistake could easily trigger a disaster for mankind and end everything. There would be no future. Our children, all children, would cease to exist. Is that not a sufficiently chilling thought to cause us all to pause and think?

57. We believe that it is impossible for either of these great Powers to dominate the other. History, particularly the history of each of these nations, teaches us that this is just not possible.

58. An even crueller and more insidious illusion is that one of these great Powers can achieve lasting military superiority over the other. The history of the post-Second-World-War arms race instructs us that neither side can stay ahead of the other.

59. One was first to develop nuclear weapons, but the other caught up. One was first in developing long-range intercontinental ballistic bombers, but the other caught up. One was first in deploying intercontinental ballistic missiles, but the other caught up. One was even first in space, but the other caught up. Now whatever new weapons system is deployed by one, the other soon catches up with and surpasses in destructive capabilities.

60. For the entire world, and not just the people of those two societies, the real questions are: How much longer can we continue this madness? How many more billions of dollars and other wasted resources will be poured down the drain in pursuit of these false notions of national security?

61. Must we sit by idly while these two Powers try to outspend each other and one tries to bankrupt the other? They both know, just as we know, that there is no such thing as a realistic defence against the horrible weapons of destruction that already exist.

62. The only thing that makes any sense at all is an undertaking of mutual restraint. Why cannot the road to peace begin in one capital and lead to another? Why cannot the obstacles to trust and peace be seen as common obstacles to be overcome by all of us together? Whatever happened to that old saying, "Live and let live"?

63. Why should the citizens of one society be taught to hate the citizens of the other? Why should the children of one society be taught to fear the children of the other? Do we not, as rational, thinking human beings, have the capacity to recognize the greatness of both societies? Do they not as great societies have the capacity to think and act rationally?

64. The threat of a nuclear holocaust unleashed by one or both of the world's super-Powers is indeed a frightening prospect. Unfortunately, it is not the only frightening prospect mankind is confronted with.

65. Medium-size Powers and other small States also have their fingers on nuclear, chemical and bacteriological triggers. Far too often, nations attach more importance to what they can destroy than to what they can create. More prestige seems to flow from the

ability to instil fear than from the ability to educate, clothe, house or feed.

66. Drought and famine plague Africa. Tropical storms lash Asia, the Pacific and the Caribbean. Earthquakes destroy South American cities. Floods ravage the lands of developed and developing countries. Sickness and disease cross all of our borders and frontiers and touch all of our citizens. All of us have our own share of natural disasters. Yet, we seem intent on searching for and creating new disasters.

67. As if the forces of nature do not take enough lives and cause enough damage, some of us look for new man-made ways to take lives and destroy resources. Some spend excessively obscene sums of money on new weapons. Some institutionalize and expand the parameters of corruption, inefficiency and inequality, destroying, in the process, every possible avenue of escape from the cycle of poverty to which so many people are condemned. Some, through no more than their studied indifference to the plight of their fellow human beings, practise their own form of violence.

68. Each year, the agenda of vital human concerns seems to grow and grow to almost unmanageable proportions. Few things are resolved, and few sincere efforts are made by those in whose power it lies to mobilize the international community. There seems to be greater faith placed in crisis management than in crisis avoidance.

69. When will the few remaining States that have not yet done so finally sign the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea? When will there be universal participation in the vital tasks of the Preparatory Commission for the International Sea-Bed Authority and for the International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea?

70. When will there be a final commitment to abide by the international community's standards of equity with respect to the exploitation of the mineral resources of the international sea-bed? After so many years of painstaking negotiations and such careful drafting, is it not reasonable to expect nations to refrain from separate undertakings which will undermine the Convention? We urge all States to think again before acting in such a manner as to subvert this very lofty breakthrough in global economic relations.

71. The pressing need for major economic reform is well known and has been well articulated in this and other forums time and time again. How long must the world wait for concrete measures to be taken? What calamity must occur before realism replaces myopia?

72. The growing menace of organized crime and the international traffic in drugs threaten to engulf and destroy us all. Again we ask, what are we waiting for? Must personal crisis strike before we open our eyes to this clear and present danger?

73. The war between Iran and Iraq drags on at a terrible cost in human life and material destruction. Why can no solution be found? How do the parties to this tragic conflict manage to replenish their respective instruments of destruction? Whose interests are served by the continuation of this senseless carnage?

74. In the Middle East, we must ask again, why cannot the Palestinian people return to their homes and live in peace? Why must they be displaced and disenfranchised? What was their sin? How much more suffering must the people of Lebanon endure? Are there no limits?

75. How long must the people of Cyprus be divided and their land occupied? How much longer must civil war rage in Afghanistan and external forces intervene, both overtly and covertly? How much longer must the peoples of the Indo-Chinese peninsula endure warfare, economic deprivation and the Machiavellian intrigues of those who use them cynically to continue their own proxy wars? How much longer must the nations of Central America and the Caribbean endure ill-disguised interference in their internal affairs and blatant violations of the most fundamental tenets of international law? How much longer must the people of Namibia and the people of South Africa be victimized by the very fascism and racism the Organization was formed as an alliance against?

76. Let us not suffer from historical amnesia. South Africa is an openly racist régime which was imposed and is maintained by force and violence. It was illegitimately conceived and constituted. And it continues consistently to violate major principles of the Charter of the United Nations, fundamental provisions of international law and standards of common decency and civilization.

77. In short, in a very real and meaningful sense, it is a bandit régime which has institutionalized and elevated to State level the very terrorism every nation in this chamber condemns. How, then, can some continue to rationalize and excuse the actions of that State? How, then, can some continue to qualify their support for the General Assembly's resolutions because of what they term "imperfect language"?

78. How, then, can some support armed insurrection in Afghanistan, but not in South Africa? How, then, can some support armed struggle against the Government of Nicaragua, but not against the terrorists in power in Pretoria? How can those who have helped make South Africa strong and its neighbours weak applaud South Africa's ability temporarily to impose its will through the use of its military and economic might? How can those who trade with South Africa by choice equate their actions with those who are compelled to deal with South Africa?

79. Finally, what will those who today are indifferent to the plight of the people of South Africa—all of the people of South Africa—say to those people when they finally do triumph and drive the Fascists from power? Will they then claim to have always supported and loved the people of South Africa, as they now claim to have always loved and supported the people of other countries who have succeeded in overthrowing their own dictators?

80. For us, declarations of any kind can never substitute for action. With respect to southern Africa, we do what we can. Our major regret is that we can do no more. Perhaps our greatest contribution lies in our efforts to make Vanuatu a better society and to promise our people a brighter future than the current régime in South Africa is able to promise all of the people of that troubled land. We wish that those who have it in their power to change South Africa peacefully would use that power.

81. In the absence of such action, we believe that the international community is left with no alternative but to support the liberation movements of Namibia and South Africa. SWAPO and the African National Congress of South Africa are in reality acting for all of us. They are, in effect, soldiers of the

United Nations, fighting to defend and uphold the Charter and our declarations.

82. At every session of the General Assembly, most of the nations of the world declare their opposition to certain policies of the Government of Israel and of the Government of South Africa. We believe that most mean what they say. We also believe that most act accordingly and do not themselves define a person's worth or rights of citizenship on the basis of race, religion, sex or economic or social class. After all, how can we condemn the exclusionary policies of one State and then practise our own forms of exclusion or condone those of others?

83. For a few, however, the denunciations of Israel and South Africa are mere rituals. Those States are among those who live by the familiar adage, "Do as we say, not as we do". For them, there is little meaning or substance to their declarations on Israel or South Africa. They are merely reciting well-rehearsed and politically expedient words.

84. In our region, there is such a State. There is a large country many times more powerful than its neighbours. There is also a country whose anti-colonial history we have long admired and respected. However, an outstanding anti-colonial past is not sufficient to justify or excuse the excesses that State is committing today.

85. We regret that there is some justification to the Israeli and South African complaint that the international community is very selective in its denunciations. It pains us deeply that there is, indeed, a grain of truth in this argument. How else can we explain the condemnations of the annexation of Jerusalem and the Golan Heights but the silence on the annexation of East Timor? How else can we explain the condemnations of *apartheid* but the silence on the plight of the Melanesian people of West Papua?

86. How else can we explain the appeals for the severance of economic ties with South Africa while a South African company participates in the exploitation of West Papua's oil resources? How else can we explain the concern over Israeli and South African military expansionism and the indifference to the military expansionism in our region which has seen West Papua and East Timor swallowed, if not digested, and which now provokes and threatens the sovereignty and territorial integrity of our good neighbour, Papua New Guinea?

87. We are prepared to wait for answers to these questions. However, we caution the international community not to wait too long lest another South Pacific nation be threatened with extinction.

88. In the Pacific, the valid exercise of the right of self-determination for peoples of Non-Self-Governing Territories continues to be a major regional concern. Our region now has the largest number of Non-Self-Governing Territories. Our region is also probably the least known, the least discussed and the least understood of all the regions and subregions represented here in this world body.

89. Thus far, the process of decolonization in our region has, for the most part, been relatively peaceful and conducted in a climate of tranquillity and good will. East Timor and West Papua are the major exceptions and are also the areas in which the process has, through the intervention of an outside Power, been aborted. It is our belief, however, that this is only temporary. Assure the people of those lands that they will be allowed to express themselves freely and we believe that they will end their resistance, which is a product of the violence visited upon them by an outside Power.

90. Some may be surprised to hear us speak of outside intervention, violence and resistance in those Territories, because few outsiders have been allowed to visit and none have been permitted to take anything but strictly guided tours. Even humanitarian organizations have been denied access. Almost a decade ago, in East Timor, journalists who were nationals of another neighbouring country were murdered as they attempted to report on the fate of East Timor's people in the face of massive military intervention.

91. Some may have forgotten, but we have not forgotten. Some may feel that we should forget, but we cannot. We cannot forget how and why these men lost their lives any more than we can forget what is being inflicted on our fellow Melanesians in West Papua and on the Maubere people of East Timor. It is our policy to support the wishes and aspirations of all peoples in the Pacific. Cynics may think otherwise, but we believe that the peoples of East Timor, West Papua, New Caledonia, Wallis and Futuna, French Polynesia and Micronesia are as capable as anyone else in this forum when it comes to determining their own futures. Whenever possible, we counsel and encourage them to pursue the path of dialogue and peaceful negotiations, but we also know that they must have someone with whom to have a dialogue and negotiate. Let us not prejudge the results, but let there be a valid process.

92. Our region is known for its calm and serene atmosphere. The countries of the South Pacific are populated by peace-loving people of diverse ethnic and cultural backgrounds. However, our similar colonial histories have instilled in us all a strong aversion to external interference and foreign rule. On this we are in total accord. Unfortunately, the international community has not yet taken note of it. Thus, while our support is given as a matter of principle to the struggle against *apartheid*, little is known of our own struggle against the same practices in our own region. Although our support is solicited for resolutions on Afghanistan and Kampuchea, not a thought is given to our concerns in our immediate region.

93. Far too often, short-sightedness, inflexibility and parochialism have obliged colonized peoples to resort to the politics of confrontation in order to achieve justice, self-determination and independence. The voices of moderation are seldom heeded until it is far too late.

94. The people of New Caledonia have now asked for what has always been theirs—the right to determine their own future. The administering Power has recognized that New Caledonia's people have this right, and we commend the administering Power for its realism and its apparent willingness to co-operate. However, it is our sincere belief that time is of the essence. The administering Power must, we believe, negotiate a timetable and mode of self-expression that is acceptable to New Caledonia's colonized people. Failure to do so will only encourage extremist elements amongst the settler population and lead to the type of confrontation all rational persons seek to avoid.

95. As New Caledonia's immediate neighbour, Vanuatu is concerned about the maintenance of

peace and stability. However, we also recognize that a speedy redress of the grievances of New Caledonia's people is the surest way to guarantee peace and stability.

96. The Governments of the South Pacific Forum have noted the constitutional and electoral reforms which have been introduced. Like other members of the South Pacific Forum, however, we cannot understand why a referendum on the future constitutional status of New Caledonia cannot be held prior to 1989. With other Forum members, therefore, we urge the administering Power to move the date forward and to announce that independence is the logical outcome of the planned referendum. We also believe that additional political and administrative powers should be transferred to New Caledonia to ensure that it is adequately prepared for independence.

97. The nations of our region are in agreement that colonialism has no future in the South Pacific. We will do all that we can to ensure a peaceful transition to independence in New Caledonia. However, all must understand that independence is on the immediate agenda. The Kanak people have made that crystal clear. Let us now work together to ensure that all will live and prosper in harmony.

98. The denuclearization of the Pacific is, to some, an abstract idea. To us, a small island developing State in the region, it is a crucial ingredient for our survival. We are aware of the connection between the colonial and nuclear policies of certain Powers which are currently undertaking various nuclear activities in our region. We note with extreme disappointment that the consistent objections raised by the Governments and peoples of the South Pacific to certain nuclear activities seem to have fallen on deaf ears. Thus, testing of nuclear weapons continues, and it is still proposed that our waters be used for dumping nuclear wastes.

99. Arguments of relative safety do not impress us. Who can truthfully state with absolutely no equivocation that our environment will not be harmed by these activities? We know that the proponents of these activities do not even understand our environment, and we seriously doubt that their scientists ever will either. We are at peace with our environment, while they seem to be at war with theirs.

100. Accordingly, our Parliament has resolved unanimously to declare Vanuatu a nuclear-free State. We have therefore established a policy of not allowing nuclear-powered or nuclear-armed vessels to call at any of our ports. We are deeply committed to the establishment of a nuclear-free zone in our region, and this is one step in that direction.

101. History teaches us that every weapon mankind has developed has eventually been used. The human race is now at a turning point. We, the Governments and peoples of this earth, must let our would-be protectors know that reasoning and understanding are better protectors of human life than any weapons system devised or yet to be devised by the military-industrial complex.

102. In our search for justice, we must leave no stone unturned. In our search for equality, we must leave no stone unturned. In our search for peace, we must also leave no stone unturned. We must remember that we live in an imperfect world, and that we are imperfect beings. Only the most arrogant of us believe that we can pass judgement on our Creator's work. We must learn to respect our differences and our frailties. We must learn to draw comfort from our universality. Patience is needed as we try to understand each other.

103. Perhaps we would be well advised to remember the biblical admonition, "Let him who is without sin cast the first stone". If we, the nations of the world, live by these words, there will be no stones cast, and this world might just survive.

104. Mr. NGA GNII-VOUÉ TO (Central African Republic) (*interpretation from French*): Allow me first of all, on behalf of the delegation of the Central African Republic, to congratulate you, Sir, on your election to the presidency of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. Your long experience acquired in the course of your diplomatic career and your superb knowledge of international issues bode well for the great success of the work of this session. My delegation would like to assure you at the outset of its readiness to assist you.

105. I should also like to take this opportunity to reaffirm the support of the Central African Republic for the Secretary-General, whose work on behalf of the Organization is both dedicated and selfless.

106. Lastly, our delegation wishes to extend a warm welcome to Brunei Darussalam, whose admission is a further reflection of the universal role of the United Nations.

107. Since the founding of the Organization, its usefulness and effectiveness have continually been called into question. The resolutions it has adopted, the solutions it has worked out, the recommendations it has made, have never really fulfilled the hopes cherished by peoples stricken by crises and conflicts; they have never completely allayed the tensions and upheavals in the world. Therefore, despite the heterogeneous nature of the Organization and its complexity, it should show a more definite spirit of consensus and return to its original objectives, namely, the noble ideals of peace and development laid down in the Charter of the United Nations.

108. The sweeping currents of ideas, discoveries and technological innovations should lead to a change in the relations between nations; all such changes should lead to a true world balance. Unfortunately, reality is quite different. We are, in fact, witnessing a resurgence of intolerance, insecurity, selfishness and violence. Despite that gloomy picture, we shall not give in to either defeatism or scepticism. Despite numerous stumbling-blocks, the United Nations continues to be the forum in which discussions and negotiations on the fate of the world are held.

109. In today's world, which is characterized by diversity, the right to be different should be recognized as a fundamental principle governing relations among States, a right to be different that the United Nations fosters and develops, the right of each people to flourish within the context of its own history, its own culture, its own beliefs and the political and economic system it has freely chosen. When denied to others—as is so often the case—this right to be different becomes a source of turbulence, hatred and confrontation.

110. In Africa, in Asia, in Europe, as well as in America, evidence of such intolerance and selfishness is all too common. Often, peoples are stifled. Their legitimate struggles for their inevitable emancipation and their power to decide their lot in full exercise of their sovereignty are being thwarted by sordid personal interests.

111. Are examples necessary? The situation prevailing in southern Africa is a very eloquent case in point. It is, of course, true that the agreements recently concluded between South Africa and some countries of the region are an encouraging step along the road towards peace. However, that remains problematical. So long as SWAPO, the sole representative of the Namibian people, is denied recognition of its national rights, peace cannot be lasting and total. It is more than ever important that Security Council resolution 435 (1978) be fully observed and implemented.

112. The Central African Republic welcomes the recent agreements concluded between France and the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya to withdraw all foreign forces from Chad. It hopes, however, that the simultaneous withdrawals will be effective and complete, not just from the capital, N'djamena, and its immediate environs, but from all Chadian territory. Chad must regain possession of the whole of its original territory. That would enable the Government of that brotherly neighbouring country finally to dedicate itself fully to the task of reconciliation and national reconstruction begun by President Hissein Habré.

113. With regard to the question of Western Sahara, our delegation believes that an excellent basis for seeking a solution can be found in the resolutions adopted at the eighteenth and nineteenth ordinary sessions of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity. In that connection, we cherish the firm hope that the next session of that Assembly will provide an opportunity to assess the efforts made by the countries involved.

114. With regard to the question of the Middle East, everyone knows that the Palestinian problem lies at the heart of the conflict. No acceptable solution can therefore be arrived at which ignores the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination under the aegis of the Palestine Liberation Organization. In that connection, we shall continue to support any initiative in line with the spirit of Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) aimed at bringing about a lasting and comprehensive settlement of the conflict.

115. In the same context, the Central African Republic makes an urgent appeal to the international community to spare no effort to preserve and guarantee the national unity, territorial integrity, sovereignty and neutrality of Lebanon.

116. In the name of the principle of recognizing the right to be different, Democratic Kampuchea should be enabled fully to exercise its sovereignty. To that end, we hope to see the full application of the principles laid down by the Organization.

117. The Central African Republic also supports any initiative designed to enable Afghanistan to regain its national rights and its status as a neutral, non-aligned country.

118. The problem of Korea remains a pressing one. The persistent tension in the Korean peninsula is of concern to the Central African Republic. Thus, as part of our contribution to the efforts being made by the international community to reduce such tension, we shall continue to urge both parties, which undeniably aspire to reunification, to pursue their dialogue on the basis of the South-North Joint Communiqué of 4 July 1972,[2] which set forth the principles for such action. Free, direct dialogue, free of outside interference, would unquestionably enable the parties to establish the conditions for the restoration of the mutual confidence indispensable for the maintenance of peace in the region. Both parties could, in the mean time, plan for their simultaneous admission to membership in the United Nations.

119. Given the situation prevailing in Central America, the Central African Republic believes that negotiation is the only appropriate means for achieving a peaceful solution and for promoting the harmonious coexistence of the States of the region.

120. These several examples of the refusal of certain States to recognize and accept the right to differences are based on a two-pronged interest. First, there is an ideological interest, since those States which reject the right to differences are often members of an alliance bloc. A treacherous complicity does, indeed, exist on the part of part of the international community. That complicity impedes mutual understanding and confidence. And then there is strategic interest in the policies of certain States which have embarked on the arms race in order to maintain their military and economic domination.

121. Thus, while the Central African Republic welcomes the negotiations under way on disarmament, it also deplores the fact that they are brought to stalemate at a time when the proliferation and development of arms are reaching alarming levels, thus perpetuating the vicious circle of destruction.

122. The disarmament we so fervently wish for cannot be achieved solely through regional security and arms limitation agreements. All States must be aware of the pressing and collective task of championing international peace and security.

123. The Central African Republic is firmly convinced that the effective development of all the countries of our community is a condition for global balance and a guarantee of peace. Development also means the right to life and therefore it cannot be jeopardized. We call on the developed countries to contribute effectively, through bilateral or multilateral agreements, to the realistic development of the countries of the third world. For, one and indivisible, peace requires, if it is to be preserved, the universal development of all the members of the international community.

124. The inadequacy of the present international economic system is resulting in enormous difficulties for the developing countries. Will the alarm so often sounded ever be heard?

125. While concerned with providing a minimal decent standard of living for our peoples, our countries are rarely able to find the means to implement the economic plans and programmes which have been drawn up. Thus, we continue to suffer severely from the effects of the world economic crisis and from the shortcomings of the economic system. We deplore the attitude of certain industrialized countries which act as though the developing countries should come to terms with their poverty levels and even be content with them.

126. The countries of the third world are struggling not only for the right to development but also for a more significant mobilization of the means for development. The unbreakable link between the right to development and the right to security requires, in turn, the developing countries to observe an indispensable and reasonable balance between the means

allocated for security and those given over to development.

127. Thus, it is regrettable that, after the adoption in 1974 of the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [*resolution 3281 (XXIX)*], there is still a gap between the socio-economic development efforts of certain industrialized countries and others which are less industrialized.

128. The international crisis seems to have disallowed any claim of the developing countries to such development, and therefore to life. The assistance which is accorded them, dwindling day by day, is clearly inadequate and the terms of trade are growing worse at a dizzying pace.

129. Our countries are in debt and are bowed under the burden of the amounts due; these debts are worsened and inflated by the crisis of the international monetary system. At the same time, our balance of trade shows a deficit and access to development sources and new technology, which are so badly needed to maintain development projects, seems to be denied to us solely because we happen to be developing countries.

130. We continue to be greatly disappointed, and we state this in this lofty gathering, all the more so because our hopes have faded since the work of the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held at Belgrade in 1983, and of the Fourth General Conference of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization, held at Vienna earlier this year.

131. A joint definition of new international economic regulations by the industrialized countries and by the third world is needed today. The entire international community would benefit from the beginning of global negotiations designed to putting a halt to this crisis.

132. The results achieved in three years by the Military Committee for National Recovery in working to restore and rebuild the Central African Republic are very encouraging and are a cause of satisfaction for us because they result first and foremost from our own efforts.

133. But such success is also due to the valuable assistance given by friendly countries and by international organizations, including the United Nations. I should like once again to pay a heartfelt tribute to the Secretary-General and his co-workers for the unceasing concern which they continue to show for the Central African Republic. The road is still long and the task an arduous one. That is why we should like to be assured of the continuity and stepping up of international assistance.

134. While observing the third anniversary of accession to power of the Military Committee for National Recovery, the Head of State, General André Kolingba, began his speech as follows: "For three years now the Central African Republic has seen the Military Committee for National Recovery at work. These three years have been imbued, above all, with peace,"—I repeat, with peace—"a factor working for stability and a *sine qua non* condition for any kind of development."

135. That equation of peace and development is the basis of the philosophy of action advocated by the Central African Republic, on both the domestic and the international level.

136. For we have faith in the possibility of warding off those ills which loom as a serious threat over the future of the international community. The solution lies in respect by all States for the fundamental values of the right to differences and the right to development.

137. That is the message which General André Kolingba, Chairman of the Military Committee for National Recovery and Head of State, deeply convinced of the ability of the Organization to resolve world problems and drawing inspiration from the well-springs of our philosophy, has entrusted us to present for the consideration of the Assembly.

138. The entire Central African Republic joins us in wishing all possible success for the work of the Assembly.

139. The PRESIDENT: The end of the general debate marks the end of the first important stage of the work of this thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly.

140. One can say that perhaps there was nothing unusual about this year's general debate, apart from the fact that we heard statements from 150 members, including eight heads of State or Government in all, and that we completed the debate one day ahead of schedule.

141. From my vantage position at the podium as I listened to the statements, and from my assessment of the various bilateral discussions and dialogues which have taken place during the past three weeks—in hotel rooms, along the corridors of the General Assembly Hall, on the thirty-eighth floor, in the offices behind this Hall and even at cocktails, luncheons and dinners—I have the feeling that we are off to a good start. Considering the international political climate immediately before the session began, and taking into account the formidable tasks which confronted and still confront us, I can say that developments over the past three weeks augur well for the rest of the session.

142. The heads of State and Government, the Ministers for Foreign Affairs and other heads of delegation have set the scene and plotted the path which I believe we can pursue. Now we are about to embark on the more difficult task of dealing in depth with the various issues on our agenda. If we can maintain the atmosphere which has pervaded the session so far, I believe that by the time we conclude our work we will have taken one, perhaps two or even three, small steps towards achieving the objectives of the Charter of the United Nations.

143. Before adjourning the meeting, I would like to thank the Assembly for fulfilling the commitment we made earlier, that is, to enhance the proceedings by refraining from the practice of congratulating speakers in the General Assembly Hall after their statements. It is my earnest hope that the commitment will remain in force throughout the rest of the session, and that the Main Committees will emulate the example of the Assembly. I also hope we shall improve on our record of starting meetings on time. I now call on those representatives who wish to speak in exercise of their right of reply.

144. Mr. LOHIA (Papua New Guinea): Mr. President, may I thank you most sincerely for allowing me to exercise my delegation's right of reply to the statement made in exercise of his right of reply by my friend and colleague, the representative of the Republic of Indonesia, on 3 October [*19th meeting*] in

reaction to our major address to this body made by Mr. Namaliu, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade of my country, on 1 October [*15th meeting*].

145. My delegation welcomes the testimony and acknowledgement by Indonesia that our border issues are both important and dear to the hearts of our peoples and Governments. We have been engaged and will always constructively engage ourselves with the Government and people of Indonesia in the spirit of goodwill, co-operation, understanding and accommodation at all times as friendly neighbours.

146. West Irian was declared a province of the Republic of Indonesia before Papua New Guinea was granted independence in 1975 by the United Nations. We therefore had no real say in the matter. However painful it may be, my Government and people accept and respect this fact, and we have at no time violated Indonesia's sovereignty and territorial integrity. We therefore deserve to be respected in the same manner.

147. My Government and people humbly request the Government and people of the Republic of Indonesia to observe and respect our sovereign rights, territorial integrity and independence in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

148. My Government has protested to the Indonesian Government on three occasions. All three occasions involved violations of our territorial sovereignty. The first violation was in 1983 with regard to the construction of a road which crossed into my country at four points. The second violation occurred on 22 March 1984 when two military aircraft entered our airspace. The third violation involved 53 Indonesian soldiers crossing into the territory of Papua New Guinea on 21 June 1984.

149. My Government was not satisfied with the explanations offered by the Indonesian Government and, therefore, our Minister for Foreign Affairs stated at the present session: "We have then sought to look beyond our protest for ways of avoiding a repetition and of maintaining and strengthening good relations with the Government and people of Indonesia." [*Ibid., para. 333.*]

150. Our border issue has been raised in this august body for that purpose and that alone because we are friendly, open and understanding people.

151. The separatist elements to which my friend and colleague referred are found mainly on Indonesian soil, but some have been forced by the circumstances and conditions in Indonesia to find refuge in Papua New Guinea, and my Government has asked for the direct involvement of UNHCR, but the Indonesian Government has refused this valuable source of help. The Government of Papua New Guinea has always honoured the 1979 basic agreement and does not allow the Free Papua Movement to operate from its soil for very good reasons.

152. In conclusion, the Government of Papua New Guinea is committed to its policy of independent, co-operative and constructive neighbourly relations with other nations. We give our highest and continuous assurances that the forthcoming visit by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia to Papua New Guinea before the end of this month is greatly welcomed; it is both desirable and most appropriate because our peoples and Governments very much need genuinely to maintain and promote our friendly and mutual relations in a spirit of goodwill, understanding and co-operation at all times.

153. Mr. ALATAS (Indonesia): In the course of the general debate, several speakers have again indulged in slanderous accusations against my Government while referring to the so-called question of East Timor.

154. This recurrent exercise, carried out by the same handful of delegations year after year, has become a routine which surely does not add anything to the quality of our debate. We have heard again the same wild allegations of tortures, massacres and even genocide, of famine and violations of human rights. In total disregard of all facts to the contrary, the canard is perpetuated of large-scale military operations in the territory and of international humanitarian organizations being denied access to East Timor.

155. My delegation has time and again exposed this persistent pattern of disinformation and deliberate distortion of facts for what it is: a systematic campaign to malign my country and my people and a desperate attempt to keep alive a non-issue built around a non-existent cause.

156. We would, indeed, have preferred to ignore this seasonal farce and not lend dignity to it by responding. However, the constant repetition of even the most ridiculous charges or claims, if not rebutted, has a tendency to make them appear in the end as "facts", even to those who originally fabricated them.

157. One delegation suggested that it was time for the international community to address itself seriously to finding a durable solution to a problem which, it was said, had dragged on for nine years. We wholeheartedly agree, for we believe that it is high time for the Organization to decide once and for all to let facts triumph over fiction and falsehoods and to allow the wishes of the overwhelming majority of the East Timorese people to prevail over the self-serving interests of but a few.

158. It is high time for those who still cling to myths and wishful thinking to accept the fact that decolonization has taken place in East Timor and that its people have determined to choose independence through integration with Indonesia, in conformity with General Assembly resolutions 1514 (XV) and 1541 (XV). Far from invading and occupying another independent State as has happened elsewhere, Indonesia's role was precisely one of contributing to that process of decolonization by helping to ensure that in its essence and realization the democratically expressed will of the majority would not be overruled by the armed terror, intimidation and unilateral imposition of a ruthless minority, posing as pseudo-revolutionaries but in fact collaborators with the former colonial Power.

159. It is high time for those who espouse the lofty principles of self-determination and of democracy based on majority rule to realize that they cannot at the same time continue to support the obsessions of a small, unrepresentative group of political adventurers in exile without doing grave injustice to the real interests of the East Timorese people.

160. Indeed, it is high time to bring to a definitive end this so-called question of East Timor and to remove the item once and for all from the agenda, where it should never have been inscribed in the first place.

161. Allow me now to direct my remarks to some of the statements made by the representative of Vanua-

tu For the past two years, we have observed the propensity of the representatives of Vanuatu to engage in hostile statements and offensive remarks on Indonesia and Indonesia's foreign policy. So far we have restrained ourselves and remained silent, for we were only too willing to allow Vanuatu some time to adjust to a new world of independence and interaction among sovereign States. Some of the things the representative of Vanuatu said this afternoon, however, are of such a nature that they cannot and should not remain unanswered. He has taken it upon himself to comment on the bilateral relationship between Indonesia and Papua New Guinea. We do not know what his real motives are for doing so, but let me reiterate what I have said in replying to the statement of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Papua New Guinea on 3 October [*19th meeting*]: whatever problems have arisen between Indonesia and Papua New Guinea have either been or are being amicably resolved between our two Governments, as is appropriate between close neighbours genuinely interested in maintaining friendly and mutually co-operative relations.

162. We therefore question the propriety and the motives of Vanuatu in intruding on these questions, which, mildly put, constitutes unwarranted and unwanted meddling in the internal affairs of others. Even worse than his intrusion in the bilateral affairs of Indonesia and Papua New Guinea are the offensive remarks by Vanuatu's representative about one of our provinces, Irian Jaya, to which—and this is quite revealing of his neo-colonial mentality—he persistently refers as "West Papua". I shall not repeat what he has actually said, but his allusions become clearer when I recall a statement made by his Prime Minister. On 10 August, the Prime Minister of Vanuatu was reported as stating that Vanuatu does not recognize Irian Jaya as an integral part of Indonesia, that it regards "West Papua" as a Melanesian State in the same way as Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands, Vanuatu and New Caledonia, and that he would demand that Indonesia accord independence to the people of "West Papua".

163. For the benefit of Vanuatu, as a newly independent State and a relatively new Member of the Organization, I should like to remind its representative that, after five years of physical revolution and 12 years of unflinching struggle against the forces of neo-colonialism and imperialism, the people of Indonesia finally succeeded in restoring its territorial integrity when, in 1962, with the assistance of the United Nations, Irian Jaya was reunited with the Republic. Subsequently, in 1969, the act of free choice by its people was endorsed by the General Assembly in resolution 2504 (XXIV).

164. The Indonesian people, therefore, cannot take lightly any threat to its national unity and territorial integrity, for the preservation of which it has paid in blood and with great sacrifices, even if that threat comes from a country which, by its intemperate and immature past acts and words, can hardly be taken seriously.

165. Should we interpret the statements of the representative of Vanuatu as a statement of intent to reopen the issue of Irian Jaya? If so, let the Assembly take note that the onus of provocation will be solely for Vanuatu to bear. The representative of Vanuatu in his statement continues to allude to the thesis that nationhood should be based on race and that existing State borders should be redrawn along racial and ethnic lines. Does he realize the implications of his statement? Does he understand at all how many State borders in Africa, Asia and elsewhere would have to be reviewed and redrawn if we were to accept the validity of such a pernicious notion?

166. Indonesia is a multiracial and multi-ethnic nation, where unity in diversity is the bedrock of our country's strength. There are perhaps more Indonesians of Melanesian stock in the eastern part of our Republic than there are to be found in the entire South Pacific. Together with their brothers and sisters of Malayan and Polynesian extraction, they have shared a proud history of principled struggle and actual revolution for independence, national identity and integrity. By what right, I ask, does Vanuatu now attempt to speak for them?

167. We were greatly surprised by the allegation by the representative of Vanuatu that a South African company participates in the exploitation of Irian Jaya's oil resources. Again, I should like to remind him that Indonesia, as a member of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, as a member of the Group of Experts on the Supply of Oil and Oil Products to South Africa, nominated by Governments, and as a member of the Group of Oil Producing and Oil Exporting Countries, committed to the oil embargo against South Africa, cannot be accused of such a thing. We have no relations with South Africa in any field, and that cannot be said of all of us here.

168. Therefore, we ask the representative of Vanuatu to substantiate his allegation, lest he be unmasked once again as a source of baseless and repeated slander against my country.

169. Separatism, incitement to separatism and threats to the territorial integrity of States are matters too serious, especially for the non-aligned and other developing nations of the world, to be irresponsibly bandied about. We have never begrudged a newly independent nation the urge to show itself also capable of revolutionary zeal in the historic and world-wide struggle against colonialism, but I wish to suggest to Vanuatu that, in trying to make its mark in this respect, it would be in its own best interests to exercise greater circumspection, maturity and restraint.

170. Mr. BARBOSA MEDINA (Portugal) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation has noted the statements made during this debate concerning the situation in East Timor. This is within the context of the facts stated in the progress report of the Secretary-General, contained in document A/39/361 of 25 July of this year. We wish to reiterate what was stated by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Portugal in his statement at the current session, on 24 September, to the effect that without dialogue it would not be possible to reach a solution of international conflicts. He said:

> "We are entirely sincere when we say that we want to see a solution found to the problem of East Timor and that we are confident a global solution, one that respects international principles and human rights principles, can be found if this dialogue continues." [*5th meeting, para. 263.*]

171. My delegation will therefore refrain from comment. We do so bearing in mind the decision of the General Assembly to postpone the debate on East Timor until its fortieth session [*decision 39/402*] and the mandate conferred by virtue of resolution 37/30

on the Secretary-General, whose efforts continue to receive the firm support and whole-hearted co-operation of my Government.

172. Mr. de La BARRE de NANTEUIL (France) (*interpretation from French*): I wish to reply to the statement made yesterday by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Solomon Islands [*29th meeting*] regarding our nuclear tests and the future of New Caledonia. First, regarding the nuclear tests, I remind the Assembly of the main conclusions of the committee of eminent foreign scientists, open to all countries of the South Pacific region and presided over by Mr. Atkinson, which visited the French testing centre in October of last year. The very fact that the scientific committee took the responsibility of publishing its conclusions proves that it found its reception and the working conditions at Mururoa satisfactory.

173. Moreover, those internationally known scientists noted—and I should like to draw the attention of the Assembly to this very important point—that the level of ionizing radiation at Mururoa and in the South Pacific is lower than in other regions of the world. In particular, it is lower than in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United States and other geographical regions of the world—and I am speaking now of all continents.

174. Regarding the transfer of radioactivity that could take place, according to the conclusions in the committee's report, this might occur, at the earliest, in 500 or 1,000 years' time, that is, in five or 10 centuries hence, or in 10 or 20 generations—and I ask the Assembly to reflect on this—this is based on the hypothesis that the power of all the tests carried out in Mururora would be 100 times greater than that of all the tests in the past 10 years.

175. Those, therefore, are the conclusions supported by the eminent experts from the scientific community invited by the French Government to visit, freely and in the best possible conditions, the French testing centre at Mururoa. Their statistics and observations need no further comment.

176. I should like now to turn to the future of New Caledonia. Everybody knows that, as the French Government has indicated on many occasions, the population of New Caledonia will be called on to exercise its right to self-determination. It was in that context that the French Government organized in July 1983 a conference in which all the political forces in the Territory participated. That conference adopted by consensus a declaration which establishes a certain number of principles, which my country has duly endorsed, regarding the countries of the South Pacific region.

177. For the time being, a statute providing for broad national autonomy has been adopted. A territorial assembly will be elected by a ballot set for 18 November 1984. Finally, a referendum on self-determination in 1989 will allow for all possible options, including that of independence.

178. Such is the policy of France. A process has begun. That process encompasses all the conditions necessary to ensure the population of New Caledonia, in all its diversity and as a whole, a future which we hope will be one of peace and brotherliness. That process will continue.

179. Mr. MOLISA (Vanuatu): I have asked to speak in response to the desperate, flailing attacks upon my country by the representative of Indonesia. As Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Vanuatu, I stand by our statement delivered today. We will let history judge who has spoken the truth. The international community shall be the judge.

The meeting rose at 5.20 p.m.

NOTES

[1] *Report of the International Conference on Kampuchea, New York, 13–17 July 1981* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.81.I.20), annex I.

[2] *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 27*, annex I.

كيفية الحصول على منشورات الأمم المتحدة

يمكن الحصول على منشورات الأمم المتحدة من المكتبات ودور التوزيع في جميع أنحاء العالم . استعلم عنها من المكتبة التي تتعامل معها أو اكتب إلى : الأمم المتحدة ، قسم البيع في نيويورك أو في جنيف .

如何購取聯合國出版物

聯合國出版物在全世界各地的书店和经售处均有发售。请向书店询问或写信到纽约或日内瓦的聯合國销售组。

HOW TO OBTAIN UNITED NATIONS PUBLICATIONS

United Nations publications may be obtained from bookstores and distributors throughout the world. Consult your bookstore or write to: United Nations, Sales Section, New York or Geneva.

COMMENT SE PROCURER LES PUBLICATIONS DES NATIONS UNIES

Les publications des Nations Unies sont en vente dans les librairies et les agences dépositaires du monde entier. Informez-vous auprès de votre libraire ou adressez-vous à : Nations Unies, Section des ventes, New York ou Genève.

КАК ПОЛУЧИТЬ ИЗДАНИЯ ОРГАНИЗАЦИИ ОБЪЕДИНЕННЫХ НАЦИЙ

Издания Организации Объединенных Наций можно купить в книжных магазинах и агентствах во всех районах мира. Наводите справки об изданиях в вашем книжном магазине или пишите по адресу: Организация Объединенных Наций, Секция по продаже изданий, Нью-Йорк или Женева.

COMO CONSEGUIR PUBLICACIONES DE LAS NACIONES UNIDAS

Las publicaciones de las Naciones Unidas están en venta en librerías y casas distribuidoras en todas partes del mundo. Consulte a su librero o diríjase a: Naciones Unidas, Sección de Ventas, Nueva York o Ginebra.

Litho in United Nations, New York 05000 88-64848—April 1990—2,100